

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Committee of Publication.

CHARLES DEANE.

SAMUEL A. GREEN.

CHARLES C. SMITH.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Massachusetts Historical Society.

1871-1873.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THIS volume contains a selection from the Proceedings of the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, beginning with the monthly meeting in January, 1871, and ending with the monthly meeting in March, 1873.

CHARLES DEANE,
For the Committee of Publication.

Boston, 16 June, 1873.

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OF THE
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Col. Joseph L. Chester.
Hon. Edward T. B. Wislerton.

MEMBERS DECEASED.

Resident, Honorary, and Corresponding Members who have died since the publication of the last volume of Proceedings, March 15, 1871; or of whose death information has been received since that date.

Resident.

Rev. Charles Brooks, A.M.

Rev. John Stetson Barry, A.M.

Charles Folsom, A.M.

Hon. James Savage, LL.D.

Hon. William Minot, A.M.

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Joshua Francis Fisher, A.M.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

JANUARY MEETING, 1871.

A STATED meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read by the Recording Secretary.

The Librarian read the usual monthly list of donors.

The Corresponding Secretary announced the receipt of a letter from John Foster Kirk, of Philadelphia, accepting his election as a Corresponding Member.

The President announced the death of a Corresponding Member, — Mr. Buckingham Smith, of Florida, — which took place in New York the 4th of January, 1871.

Henry T. Tuckerman, Esq., of New York, was elected a Corresponding Member.

The President exhibited three small pictures, drawn in crayons, belonging to the daughter of Captain Robert Gray, of Boston, the discoverer of Columbia River, designed to illustrate his connection with that historical event. On the back of one of them was this inscription: "Capt. Gray giving orders concerning the building of the ship." On another this: "Capt. Gray obliged to fire upon the natives who disregard his order to keep off." On the third, the following: "Capt. Gray, Commander of ship Columbia, facing his ship while discussing with a friend upon the discovery of Oregon."

The President exhibited a pack of cards made of horse-hide, presented to the Peabody Museum of Ethnology, at Cambridge, by Lieut. Duncan Sherman, U. S. Cavalry, and obtained from the Arizona Indians.

Dr. GREEN communicated and read in part the following paper, on the Bibliography of the Historical Society:—

The first publications of the Society appeared Jan. 6, 1792, in "The American Apollo,"* a weekly magazine beginning at that time. They were printed in connection with the magazine during thirty-nine weeks, and comprised usually a signature of eight pages, which could be separated from the rest of the pamphlet, and was called Part I. of each number. The first 208 pages of Vol. I. of the Collections were published in this way; and the remainder, consisting of 80 pages, came out in monthly parts, in September, October, November, and December, 1792. The second and third volumes were continued in monthly parts, but the fourth and fifth were issued in quarterly parts. The Collections—of which there are now thirty-eight volumes—are divided into series of ten volumes each. Hubbard's History of New England, which constitutes Vols. V. and VI. of the second series, was published with a title-page to correspond with the other volumes of the Collections,—also with a different one, so that the work might be sold separately. This History passed through a second edition in 1848, when it was again printed on the same plan. This edition was carefully collated with the original manuscript, and contains numerous additional notes. The same method was followed in publishing Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, which is Vol. III. of the fourth series, so that it appears both as an independent volume and as one of a set. It will be seen from the list given below, that the first twenty-one volumes have been reprinted, and that Vols. I. and V. have reached a third edition.

Vol. I. was printed in 1792, reprinted in 1806, and again reprinted in 1859.

Vol. V. was printed in 1798, reprinted in 1816, and again reprinted in 1835.

Vol.	II.	was printed in 1793, and reprinted in 1810.
"	III.	" " " 1794, " " " 1810.
"	IV.	" " " 1795, " " " 1835.
"	VI.	" " " 1800, " " " 1846.
"	VII.	" " " 1801, " " " 1846.
"	VIII.	" " " 1802, " " " 1856.
"	IX.	" " " 1804, " " " 1857.
"	X.	" " " 1809, " " " 1857.

SECOND SERIES.

Vol.	I.	was printed in 1814, and reprinted in 1838.
"	II.	" " " 1814, " " " 1846.
"	III.	" " " 1815, " " " 1846.
"	IV.	" " " 1816, " " " 1846.

* The Prospectus of this magazine reads as follows:—
To all the Friends of Science, Arts, Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce.
 Proposal of Joseph Belknap and Alexander Young, for printing a weekly paper; to be entitled *THE AMERICAN APOLLO*. Containing the Publications of the HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Political and Commercial Intelligence, and other entertaining matter.
 Printed at Boston, (Massachusetts) by J. Belknap and A. Young. MDCXCXI.

Vol.	V.	was printed in 1815, and reprinted in 1848.
"	VI.	" " " 1815, " " " 1848.
"	VII.	" " " 1818, " " " 1826.
"	VIII.	" " " 1819, " " " 1826.
"	IX.	" " " 1822, " " " 1832.
"	X.	" " " 1823, " " " 1843.

THIRD SERIES.

Vol.	I.	was printed in 1825, and reprinted in 1846.
"	II.	" " " 1830.
"	III.	" " " 1833.
"	IV.	" " " 1834.
"	V.	" " " 1836.
"	VI.	" " " 1837.
"	VII.	" " " 1838.
"	VIII.	" " " 1843.
"	IX.	" " " 1846.
"	X.	" " " 1849.

FOURTH SERIES.

Vol.	I.	was printed in 1852.
"	II.	" " " 1854.
"	III.	" " " 1856.
"	IV.	" " " 1858.
"	V.	" " " 1861.
"	VI.	" " " 1863.
"	VII.	" " " 1865.
"	VIII.	" " " 1868.

The first volume of the Proceedings was published in 1859, and the series has been continued to the present time. These volumes comprise the proceedings of the Society, and begin with the Annual Meeting, April 12, 1855. Nine have now been published. They are not numbered on the title-pages, but have been marked on the backs of the covers with the years in which the meetings were held; for example, the first volume which ends with December, 1858, is marked 1855-1858. The last volume, for 1869-1870, has appeared in eight parts, each one, with a single exception, containing the proceedings of two meetings, or more, according to the length of the record. One hundred copies of these parts have been printed for the convenience of members. This plan gives an opportunity to detect mistakes for correction in the stereotype plates.

The first printed Catalogue of the books in the Library was a pamphlet of 40 pages, and appeared in 1796. This was followed by a "Catalogue of the Books, Pamphlets, Newspapers, Maps, Charts, Manuscripts," &c., in 1811. The first volume of the present Catalogue appeared in 1859, and the second volume was issued the next year. These three are the only printed lists of the books in the general library. A few copies of the first 240 pages of Vol. I. of the Catalogue were printed separately as specimen numbers to show to the members. It may be worth the while to put on record a fact in regard to the Catalogue of the Dowse Library. The book was printed before the Library was given to the Historical Society, and a

title-page was prepared for twenty-five copies, the owner deciding to limit the issue to that number during his life. At a later period, however, the additional sheets of the catalogue were found, and it was deemed advisable to print a new title-page for the remaining copies. In the list hereafter given, it appears that there are two Catalogues of the Dowse Library, bearing the dates 1856 and 1870 respectively, though in fact they are the same work with different title-pages.

In 1869 a volume was published, entitled "Lectures delivered in a Course before the Lowell Institute, in Boston, by Members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, on Subjects relating to the Early History of Massachusetts."

This course comprised thirteen lectures, of which twelve were published in a pamphlet form by their respective authors. The following is a list of those that were thus printed:—

Massachusetts and its Early History. Introductory Lecture in the course on the Early History of Massachusetts, by Members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, at the Lowell Institute, delivered January 5, 1869. By Robert C. Winthrop. pp. 27.

I. The Aims and Purposes of the Founders of Massachusetts.

II. Their Treatment of Intruders and Dissentients.

Two Lectures, delivered January 8 and January 12, 1869. By George E. Ellis. pp. 100.

History of Grants under the Great Council for New England, delivered January 15, 1869. By Samuel F. Haven. pp. 36.

The Colony of New Plymouth and its Relations to Massachusetts, delivered January 19, 1869. By William Brigham. pp. 27.

Slavery as it once prevailed in Massachusetts, delivered January 22, 1869. By Emory Washburn. pp. 35.

Records of Massachusetts under its First Charter, delivered January 26, 1869. By Charles W. Upham. pp. 30.

The Medical Profession in Massachusetts, delivered January 29, 1869. By Oliver Wendell Holmes. pp. 45.

The Regicides sheltered in New England, delivered February 5, 1869. By Chandler Robbins. pp. 36.

The First Charter and the Early Religious Legislation of Massachusetts, delivered February 9, 1869. By Joel Parker. pp. 85.

Puritan Politics in England and New England, delivered February 12, 1869. By Edward E. Hale. pp. 22.

Education in Massachusetts, delivered February 16, 1869. By George B. Emerson. pp. 36.

The following is a list of the minor publications of the Society, and includes all papers, as far as can now be ascertained, that have been brought before it and afterward printed. They have for the most part been reprinted from the Collections, or the Proceedings. When they are not otherwise described, they are in octavo form and bear the imprint of Boston. The editions of such publications are usually limited to a small number of copies,—generally from thirty to one hundred,—and are printed for the persons most interested in them. Since 1859 it has been the custom at the Annual Meeting, for the Treasurer of the Society to give on a printed sheet a statement of the funds. But these sheets do not appear in the list.

ACTS, BY-LAWS, &C.

Acts of Incorporation, Laws, and Circular Letter, with Appendix. 1794. pp. 14.

The Act of Incorporation, By-Laws, Catalogue of Members, and Circular Letter of the Mass. Hist. Soc. 1813. pp. 26.

Laws and Regulations of the Mass. Hist. Soc., revised and reported by the Standing Committee. Cambridge, 1833. pp. 8.

The Act of Incorporation and By-Laws. 1833. pp. 12.

The Act of Incorporation, with the Additional Acts, and By-Laws. 1857. pp. 19.

CIRCULARS, &C.

Circular Letter of the Historical Society. [1791.] pp. 3.

Circular Letter addressed in 1794, by Jeremy Belknap, to Gentlemen of Science in America, requesting Historical Information, and Contributions to the Library and Cabinet. [No imprint.] 4to, pp. 3.

Circular Letter in relation to the Society. 1832. 4to, 1 page.

Circular Letter to the Members. 1844. 4to, 1 page.

Circular Letter to the Members. 1854. 4to, pp. 3.

Circular Letter to the Members. 1857. 4to, 1 page.

Circular Letter to the Resident and Corresponding Members, soliciting Contributions to the Library and Cabinet. [No imprint.] 4to, pp. 3.

Circular relating to the Collection of Memorials of the War. August 8, 1861. 4to, 1 page.

Circular to Members relating to Photographs. February 15, 1865. 12mo, 1 page.

Circular relating to the Publications of the Society, with Table of Contents. [1865.] 4to, pp. 4.

Prospectus for Hubbard's History of New England. [1814.]

Prospectus for the Historical Collections. 1814.

Prospectus for the Proceedings for 1855-58. 1859.

Prospectus for the Lectures on the Early History of Massachusetts. 1869.

Prospectus for the Sewall Diary 1870.

Notification of an election of a member, with a Circular soliciting Contributions to the Library and Cabinet. [No imprint.] 4to, pp. 3.

List of Resident Members. June, 1864. Folio, 1 page

MEMOIRS, TRIBUTES, &C.

Memoir towards a Character of John Eliot. [By Joseph McKean.] 1813. pp. 40.

Notices of the Life of Benjamin Lincoln. [1815.] pp. 23.

[This paper is signed P. C. It is accredited, however, in the Index of Authors, to John T. Kirkland. Vol. X., 2d Series, pp. 201.]

Memoir of William Tudor. [By William Tudor, Jr.] 1826. pp. 41.

Biographical Notice of Dudley A. Tyng. By John Lowell. [No imprint.] pp. 17.

Memoir of John Allyn. By Convers Francis. [1836.] pp. 8.

Memoir of John Pickering. By William H. Prescott. Cambridge, 1848. pp. 27.

Memoir of Thaddeus Mason Harris. By Nathaniel L. Frothingham. 1854. pp. 28.

Memoir of Abbott Lawrence. By Nathan Appleton. 1856. pp. 21.

Memoir of William P. Lunt. By Nathaniel L. Frothingham. [No imprint.] pp. 8.

The Same. Privately printed. 1858. pp. 16.

Memoir of William Appleton. By Chandler Robbins. 1863. pp. 64.

Memoir of Nathan Appleton. By Robert C. Winthrop. 1861. pp. 79.

- Memoir of Luther V Bell. By George E. Ellis. 1863. pp. 75.
 Memoir of Charles Mason. By A. P. Peabody. [With an appendix.] 1863. pp. 39.
 Memoir of William Sturgis. By Charles G. Loring. 1864. pp. 64.
 Memoir of Josiah Quincy. By James Walker. Cambridge, 1867. pp. 76.
 Memoir of Joseph Willard. Cambridge, 1867. pp. 25.
 Memoir of Joseph Story. By George S. Hillard. 1868. pp. 32.
 Memoir of George Livermore. By Charles Deane. Cambridge, 1869. pp. 60.
 Memoir of Jared Sparks. By George E. Ellis. Cambridge, 1869. pp. 106.
 The Same. [50 copies printed on large paper.]
 Memoir of Levi Lincoln. By Emory Washburn. Cambridge, 1869. pp. 39.
 Memoir of Charles Greeley Loring. By Theophilus Parsons. Cambridge, 1870. pp. 31.
 Memoir of Nathaniel L. Frothingham. By Frederic H. Hedge. 1870. pp. 20.
 Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Soc. in respect to the memory of William Hickling Prescott, February 1, 1859. pp. 53.
 Tribute of the Mass. Hist. Soc. to the memory of Josiah Quincy, July 14, 1864. 1864. pp. 32.
 [Tribute by the President to Benjamin Silliman and Charles Christian Rafn. 1864. pp. 4.]
 Tribute of the Mass. Hist. Soc. to the memory of Edward Everett, January 30, 1865. 1865. pp. 90.
 Tribute of the Mass. Hist. Soc. to the memory of George Livermore. 1866. pp. 19.
 Tribute to Henry H. Milman. [1868.] pp. 4.
 Tribute to John Pendleton Kennedy. [1870.] pp. 16.

DOWSE LIBRARY.

- Catalogue of the Private Library of Thomas Dowse. Presented to the Mass. Hist. Soc., July 30, 1856. [Twenty-five copies printed.] 1856. pp. 214.
 The Same. 1870. pp. 214.
 Report of the Proceedings at the Annual Meeting, on the presentation of the Dowse Library, April 9, 1857. pp. 8.
 Eulogy on Thomas Dowse, of Cambridgeport, pronounced before the Mass. Hist. Soc., December 9, 1858, by Edward Everett, with the Introductory Address of Mr. Winthrop, and an Appendix. 1859. pp. 82.
 Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Soc., relating to the donations from Thomas Dowse; with Eulogy of Edward Everett. Privately printed. 1859. pp. 80.

MISCELLANEOUS.

- A Discourse intended to commemorate the Discovery of America by Columbus. Delivered at the request of the Historical Society in Massachusetts, October 23, 1792. With Four Dissertations connected with various parts of the Discourse. By Jeremy Belknap. 1792. pp. 132.
 Historical Journal of the American War. [By Thomas Pemberton.] 1795. pp. 304.
 Description and History of Newton, in the County of Middlesex. By Jonathan Homer. [1798.] pp. 28.
 The History of Cambridge. By Abiel Holmes. 1801. pp. 67.
 A Memoir of the Moheagan Indians. [By Abiel Holmes. 1804.] pp. 27.

A Memoir of Stephen Parmenius, of Buda; with a Latin Poem, &c. [By Abiel Holmes. 1804.] pp. 19.

Order of Services, December 22, 1813, at King's Chapel, Boston, in Commemoration of the Landing of the Forefathers. 1813. pp. 4.

A Discourse before the Mass. Hist. Soc., Boston, December 22, 1813, at the Annual Commemoration of the First Landing at Plymouth, 1620. By John Davis. 1814. pp. 31.

Annals of New England. By Thomas Prince. Vol. II. Nos. I.-III. 1818. pp. 97.

A Memoir of the French Protestants, who settled at Oxford, in Massachusetts, 1686, with a Sketch of the Entire History of the Protestants in France. By Abiel Holmes. Cambridge, 1826. pp. 84.

Vocabulary of the Massachusetts Indian Language. By Josiah Cotton. Cambridge, 1829. pp. 112.

List of Portraits in the Hall of the Historical Society. [1838.] pp. 285-292.

[Regulations of the] Library of the Mass. Hist. Soc., April, 1841. pp. 2.

The New England Confederacy of 1643. A Discourse delivered before the Mass. Hist. Soc., May 29, 1843. By John Quincy Adams. 1843. pp. 47.

Memoirs of the Pilgrims at Leyden. By George Sumner. Cambridge, 1845. pp. 35.

The first Plymouth Patent, granted June 1, 1621. Edited by Charles Deane. Privately printed. Cambridge, 1854. pp. 16.

Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Soc. [An account of the Annual Meeting, April 12.] 1855. pp. 15.

Washington chair presented to the Mass. Hist. Soc., by Benjamin R. Winthrop. [1856.] pp. 7.

A Bibliographical Essay on Governor Hutchinson's Historical Publications. By Charles Deane. . . . 1857. pp. 39. Fifty copies privately printed.

Memorial of the Mass. Hist. Soc. to the Legislature. [1858.] 4to, pp. 3.

Speech of Josiah Quincy before a Committee of the Legislature, February, 1858. pp. 8.

A Declaration of the Affairs of the English People that first inhabited New England. By Phineas Pratt. Edited with notes, by Richard Frothingham, Jr. 1858. pp. 20.

Paper read before the Mass. Hist. Soc., January, 1859 [on the uniform of the Continental Army]. By C. H. Warren. pp. 6.

Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Soc. 1858-1860. Selected from the Records. [Specimen.] 1859. pp. 21.

Naturalization in the American Colonies, with more particular reference to Massachusetts. By Joseph Willard. 1859. pp. 30.

Report of a Committee on Papers read at the Meetings of the Society. 1860. 4to, pp. 2.

Report of a Committee appointed by the Mass. Hist. Soc., on Exchange of Prisoners during the Revolutionary War. [By George T. Curtis.] 1861. pp. 26.

An Historical Research respecting the Opinions of the Founders of the Republic, on Negroes as Slaves, as Citizens, and as Soldiers. By George Livermore. 1862. pp. 215.

Supplementary Notes and Index to be added to the First Edition of "An Historical Research." [1862.] pp. 217-236.

An Historical Research, &c. Second edition. 1862. pp. 236.

The Same. Third edition. Published for the New England Loyal Publication Society. 1863. pp. 184.

The Same. Fourth edition. 1863. pp. 184.

The Same. Fifth edition, fifty copies on large paper. 1863. pp. 184.

Remarks on the Narraganset Patent, June, 1862. By Thomas Aspinwall. 1863. pp. 41.

The Same. Providence, 1865. pp. 40.

Plan for the General Arrangement of the Militia of the United States. By General Knox . . . with remarks by Joseph Willard. 1863. pp. 42.

List of the Maps of Boston. By Nathaniel B. Shurtleff. 1863. pp. 8.

Letters of Phillis Wheatley, the Negro-slave Poet of Boston. Privately printed. [Edited by Charles Deane.] 1864. pp. 19.

"Journal de Castorland." By John Appleton. 1864. pp. 15.

Notices of the Triennial and Annual Catalogues of Harvard University: with a reprint of the Catalogues of 1674, 1682, and 1700. By John Langdon Sibley. 1865. pp. 67.

The Same. Thirty copies on large paper.

The Origin and Sources of the Bill of Rights declared in the Constitution of Massachusetts. By Emory Washburn. Cambridge, 1866. pp. 22.

Letters of John Andrews, of Boston, 1772-1776. Compiled and edited by Winthrop Sargent. Cambridge, 1866. pp. 100.

(A list of *errata* in these letters appears in the Proceedings for 1864-1865.)

The Origin, Organization, and Influence of the Towns of New England; a paper read before the Mass. Hist. Soc., Dec. 14, 1865. By Joel Parker. Cambridge, 1867. pp. 54.

Notes concerning Peter Pelham, the earliest Artist resident in New England, and his Successors prior to the Revolution. By William H. Whitmore. Cambridge, 1867. pp. 31.

Sermon preached at Boston, in New England, upon a Fast Day, the 19th of January, 1636-37. By John Wheelwright. [With a Prefatory Note by Charles Deane.] Cambridge, 1867. pp. 22.

The Same. With notes by Henry B. Dawson. Morrisania, N. Y. 1867. pp. 28.

History of Bacon's and Ingram's Rebellion in Virginia, 1675 and 1676. [With a Prefatory Note by Charles Deane.] Cambridge, 1867. pp. 60.

John Sullivan. A Vindication of his Character as a Soldier and a Patriot. By Thomas C. Amory. Morrisania, N. Y. 1867. pp. 52.

Last Will and Testament of Capt. John Smith, with some additional memoranda relating to him. [Edited by Charles Deane.] 1867. 4to, pp. 7.

Seal of the "Council for New England." By Charles Deane. [1867.] pp. 4.

[Resolutions of the Society relating to the bust of George Peabody. 1868.] page 1.

Harvard College Monitor's Bill. Communication addressed to Mr. J. L. Sibley, from Mr. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, of Yale College. [1868.] pp. 6.

The Forms in issuing Letters-Patent by the Crown of England. By Charles Deane. Privately printed. Cambridge, 1870. pp. 24.

Life of Thomas Dudley, written as is supposed by Cotton Mather. Edited by Charles Deane. 1870. pp. 20.

Description of a Selection of Coins and Medals relating to America, exhibited to the Mass. Hist. Soc., April 28, 1870. By William S. Appleton. Cambridge, 1870. pp. 16.

"The St. Regis Bell." [By Geo. T. Davis. 1870.] pp. 311-321.

Letter written from San Francisco, Cal., to the Mass. Hist. Soc. By Robert C. Waterston. Cambridge, 1870. pp. 10.

A Dialogue or Third Conference between some Young Men born in New England, and some Ancient Men which came out of Holland and Old England, concerning the Church and the Government thereof. By William Bradford. Edited, with a preface and notes, by Charles Deane. 1870. pp. 78.

Bibliography of the Massachusetts Historical Society. By Samuel A. Green. 1871. pp. 10.

The President called attention to a volume presented to the Society by Mr. Whitmore, compiled by him, and entitled "The Massachusetts Civil List, for the Colonial and Provincial Periods, 1630-1774," &c.

He also alluded to the presence at this meeting of our Corresponding Member, the Rev. Leonard Woods, D.D., late President of Bowdoin College, who briefly responded.

Prof. WASHBURN, who had served as a delegate of the Society at the Plymouth celebration on the 21st December, reported that every thing that was done was worthy of the occasion.

Mr. C. F. ADAMS presented and read to the Society an official copy, in the handwriting of William Cooper, Town Clerk, of the Instructions of the Town of Boston to Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, and William Phillips, the Representatives to the General Court. Although the paper was probably printed in the newspapers of that day, it is believed to be of sufficient interest to be given here.

Boston, May 25, 1772.

At the adjournment of the May meeting of the Freeholders & other inhabitants of this town, on Wednesday last, the committee for that purpose appointed reported the following Draft of Instructions; which, being read Paragraph by Paragraph, was unanimously accepted by the town. Viz:—

To the Honorable Thomas Cushing, Esq^r, Mr Sam^l Adams, the Honorable John Hancock, Esq^r, & Mr William Phillips.

GENTLEMEN,—The Choice we have made of you to represent us in the Assembly of the Commons of this Province at the ensuing sessions of the General Court, is the strongest testimony of the high Opinion which we entertain of your integrity & abilities. Nevertheless we think it Our duty at such a time as this, when the very being of our constitution is so dangerously attack'd, to express to you whom we have deputed, & impowered to act for us, the sence we have of the Oppressions which we suffer. No People were ever in circum[stances] more truly alarming than those in which the People of this Province now are. An exterior Power claims a right to govern us, & have for a number of years been levying an illegal Tax on us; whereby we are degraded from the Rank of free subjects, to the dispicable condition of Slaves. For it is evident to the meanest Understanding, that Great Britain can have no right to take our money from us, without our consent, unless we are her slaves; unless our bodies, our persons are her property, she surely cannot have the least claim to dispose of Our Earnings; & though we have hitherto failed of success in Our applications for the redress of this cruel grievance, we are still determined to exert our utmost efforts to break up this banefull source of Despotism & misery. The attention of every one, who has the least affection to his country, must be awakened to this important subject, when he sees the

long train of evils which flow from it. We are especially under the most uneasy Apprehensions from the repeated refusals of Our Governor to Accept of an honorable support from the People; & we have the highest reason to believe that a part of the very money Unjustly taken from us is Applied to support him in a state of Independance upon the People Over whom he presides; if this is the case, our situation is truly deplorable. The same oppressions, of which we so justly complain, are made the support of the man, who ought to exert his Utmost power to Obtain a redress of Our Grievances. A ruler independant of the People over whom he presides is abhorrent to the principles of a free Government. Power without a Check is Tyranny: whoever is possessed of such a power is a master, instead of a Governor, & whoever submits to such a power is a slave, instead of a subject. The intention & only reasonable end of Government is the happiness of Mankind; and every branch of a legal Government ought to be interested in the publick welfare, & should have every possible inducement to study & promote the Happiness of the Governed. But we fear that the interest of this People, & of the Gentleman who presides over us, are made as distinct & even as opposite as they possibly can be; & if we allow Ourselves to form a judgment from what has taken place since his Excellency's Accession to the chair, our fears must be augmented & confirmed, as the administration of affairs has been altogether such, as must necessarily have resulted from an opposition of interest and the Governors entire independancy on us. We shall mention to you a few striking instances of the Justice of this remark. We think it impossible that our Governor should be at liberty to consult, like the Father of this People, their true interest, whilst he considers himself bound to Obey instructions sent to him from the Other side of the Atlantic. For altho' he may know that doing any particular act would be beneficial to the People, & conducive to his Majesty's service, yet if he is instructed to the contrary it must not be done. But if he is instructed to do an Act which he knows will be injurious to the People, & detrimental to his Majesty's service, yet according to this new system he must do it. Every consideration of the fitness & Reasonableness of the transaction is thrown aside; & whatever may be the consequence to King or People the Governor must exercise the power committed to him, not agreeable to his Discretion & the apparent interest of the province, but according to the instructions received from a minister Three Thousand Miles distance. Instructions are urged in excuse for Almost every thing of which we complain. By an Instruction, our Legislative body are restrain'd from meeting at their antient & establish'd seat, contrary to their inclinations so repeatedly declared to the Governor. By an instruction Our Fortress Castle William, built & for a long time supported by the Province for its Defence, has been delivered to Troops, over whom the Captain General of the Province has declared he has no controul; & who to appearance have taken more care to make it formidable to this Town, than to any Foreign enemy. Under the influence of an instruction the Governor has refused his consent to a Tax Bill, for defreying the necessary charges

of Government, because such persons as the British Minister was pleased to point Out were not expressly exempted from bearing their due proportion of said Tax. And what seems to complet our misfortune is, that an instruction is pleaded for refusing a Grant for the payment of Our Agents at the Court of Great Britain. Thus we are to be cut off, even from complaint, that last Resource of the wretched.

His Excellency is instructed not to sign any Grant for the payment of an agent, unless he is chosen by the three Branches of the Legislature. He cannot consent to the choice of any One who is proscribed in his instructions. It is against an administration in which Lord Hillsborough & his dependants are principal Actors, that we complain; but no One whom he disapproves must be allowed to manage Our Complaints!

It is difficult to restrain our indignation at the gross affront offered to our understanding in this affair. A capacity but little remote from Idiotism is sufficient to discover the fatal consequences of this Ministerial Plot.

The Town have in times past declared to their Representatives their sense of the Burthen laid upon the commercial interest of the community, by the extention of the powers of the Court of Admiralty. A Jurisdiction, in its very nature, repugnant to our constitution, & contrary to Magna Charta, as it invests one judge, appointed by the Crown, with Authority to determine concerns the most important to the property & liberty of the subject. And they express'd their sense of this Grievance, as sharpened by the contrast which appears in the same statute, between the Mother Country & the Colonies. For however it may be Urged, that the Court of Admiralty is established by the Charter of this Province, yet by the same Charter the People of this Province are intituled to all the Liberties, Privileges & immunities of free British Subjects. And to see the British Parliament, by One & the same statute, taking from the Colonies an important right, namely, TRIALS BY JURIES, and securing that right to themselves, in cases of the same nature & importance, must be deeply affecting to us. We take this Opportunity of renewing our Protestation against the powers of that Court, which have already proved so vexatious to persons concern'd in Trade; & in a very recent instance, according to the best information we are able to obtain, have been made use of to disturb & harrass the industrious Farmer, & which, if not restrain'd, bid fair to render all property, either Real or Personal, to the last degree precarious.

Thus Gentlemen, have we exhibited to you a View of many of the Grievances which distress this People, & we expect that you will use your Utmost influence, in the ensuing sessions of the General Court, to have them radically redressed; not doubting but you will receive the most ready & effectual assistance, from those wise Patriots who are or shall be Chosen to represent our Brethren in the several Towns of this faithful Province. In particular, we desire that you would use your influence that a Remonstrance be presented to his Majesty, (whose elevated station denominates him the Father of his People, & the tenure of whose Throne is the protection of his subjects) against the

Oppressions which we suffer: Laying open to his view in the fullest & plainest manner the true state of this his province of the Massachusetts Bay, & pleading with him, with that Freedom & Firmness which the Justice of the cause & the exigences of your Country demand. And that you may not fail reaching the Royal Ear, we instruct you to exert yourselves to procure a proper Grant from the House of Representatives, for the payment of the Agents who have served the Honorable his Majesty's Council, and the Honorable House of Representatives for some years past; & that you take timely care to know whether the same is concurred with, & consented to by the other two Branches of the Legislature, & if it is not, that you endeavour to Obtain a Resolve of the House for a Brief, for raising a sum sufficient for the defraying the Charges of a Agency for the year ensuing, that so we may at least in this way make use of Our Own money to purchase an Access to the ear of our King. There are Gent^l many other matters of great importance to the Province, which will come before you and we are happy that we can with confidence commit our concerns to you. Hoping that by the favour of divine Providence, you will be greatly instrumental in restoring, and securing, both to us & our Posterity, our violated rights. Then Only may we with reason expect to enjoy the invaluable blessings of harmony & good Government.

A true Copy.

Att. WILLIAM COOPER,
Town Clerk.

FEBRUARY MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th of February, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

The record of the preceding meeting was read.

The Librarian read his monthly list of donors to the Library.

The President called special attention to a volume presented by Mr. Edward Doubleday Harris, of Cambridge, containing a record in manuscript, executed in a beautiful manner, of "Ancient Epitaphs contained in the old Burying Ground of Lexington, Mass., 1690-1799."

He also spoke particularly of a volume presented by the author, entitled "A Collection of Curious and Interesting Epitaphs copied from the Monuments of Distinguished and Noted Characters in the Ancient Church and Burial Grounds of Saint Pancras, Middlesex. By Frederick Teague Cansick. London, . . 1869."

In presenting this volume the author said it would be followed by others, which he would also present to the Society as they appeared.

The thanks of the Society were returned for these gifts.

The President now spoke of the decease, since the last meeting, of two Resident Members of the Society; namely, the Hon. David Sears, and George Ticknor, LL.D. : —

It may be remembered that, at our last monthly meeting, it was proposed that we should hold a social gathering, at the house of the President, on some evening of the following fortnight. But events soon occurred which made it fit that this arrangement should be postponed. A few days only had elapsed before we heard of the death of one of our most venerable members; and on the very morning of the day for which the meeting had originally been fixed, a second honored name was stricken from the roll of our living associates.

I proceed, according to usage, before entering upon other business to-day, to make formal announcement of these events, so that they may be the subject of such notice in our proceedings and on our records as may be thought appropriate by the Society.

On a humble tablet in the graveyard beneath our windows, at the top of which is inscribed, "John Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts, died 1649," may also be read the inscription, "Ann Winthrop Sears, the wife of David Sears, died October 2d, 1789, aged 33." This lady was a lineal descendant, in the fifth generation, of the old first Governor, and was an elder sister of the late Lieut. Governor Winthrop, a former President of this Society. She left at her death one child, a son, of about two years old, who bore the name of his father, and of whose death, on the 14th of January last, we are now called to make mention.

Born on the 8th of October, 1787, and deprived thus early of maternal care, he received the best school education which those days could afford; entered the University at Cambridge at sixteen years of age; and was graduated with the Class of 1807. The only son of a rich father was not likely to engage very earnestly either in business pursuits or professional studies; and, after a brief course of legal reading, Mr. Sears married a daughter of the late Hon. Jonathan Mason, and proceeded to make a tour in Europe. The sudden death of his father,—"an eminent merchant and excellent citizen," to whose enterprise and virtues a funeral tribute was paid by the Rev. Dr. Gardiner, then the beloved Rector of Trinity Church,—devolved upon him, in 1816, the care of as large an estate as, probably, had ever passed into the possession of a single hand in New England. And

thus, before he was quite thirty years of age, Mr. Sears was called to assume that responsible position among the very richest men of our city, which he has continued to hold for more than half a century.

Building for himself a costly and elegant mansion, fit for the exercise of those generous hospitalities which belong to wealth, he began early, also, to make plans for doing his share in those acts of public and private beneficence, which are the best part of every rich man's life. As early as 1821, a donation was made by him to St. Paul's Church, in this city, with whose congregation he was then associated, which has resulted in their possession of a valuable library, a site for their lecture room, and a considerable fund for charitable purposes; and this was followed, in succeeding years, by various provisions for other religious, literary, or charitable objects, which, while accomplishing valuable purposes at once, may not exhibit their full fruit for a long time to come.

The Sears Tower of the Observatory at Cambridge, built at his cost, gave the first encouragement to an establishment which has since been munificently endowed by others, and to whose permanent funds he was also a handsome contributor.

A stately rural chapel on the crowning ridge of yonder village of Longwood,—after the design of the church of his paternal ancestors at Colchester in Old England,—for which he had carefully prepared a form of service in correspondence with the peculiar views of his later life, and beneath which he had caused vaults to be constructed for the last resting-places of himself and those most dear to him, will stand as a monument of his aspirations after Christian Union.

A spacious block of houses not far from it, destined ultimately for the dwellings of such as have seen better days, and an accumulating fund, under the control of the Overseers of the Poor of Boston, which has already added not a little, year by year, to the comfort and support of a large number of poor women,—the two already involving an amount of hardly less than \$90,000,—will bear testimony to his thoughtful and well-considered benevolence.

We may not forget that our own Society owes to him the foundation of our little Historical Trust Fund, which, it was his hope, might be built upon by others, until it should have put us in a condition of greater financial independence.

Mr. Sears had often enjoyed such public honors as he was willing to accept, and had served his fellow-citizens acceptably as a Senator in our State Legislature; as an Overseer of the University; and as a member of the Electoral College at the

very last Presidential election. He had occasionally mingled in the public discussions of the day, and an elaborate Letter which he addressed to the late John Quincy Adams, on the best mode of abolishing slavery, while that was still a living question, will be particularly remembered among his contributions to the press. Living to the advanced age of eighty-four, it was only during the last year that his familiar form has been missing from the daily walks of our citizens. He will long be remembered by all who have known him, as one of those courteous and dignified gentlemen of the old school, of whom so few are now left to remind us of the manners and bearing of other days.

When the owner of great pecuniary wealth passes away, his possessions, whether divided among heirs or bequeathed to the public, are not lost. But when one is taken from us, whose whole life has been spent in amassing the treasures of literature and learning, there is nothing to supply the void, save as some part of those treasures may have been "embalmed for a life beyond life" in the written or printed page. Such a loss our community and the literary world have sustained in the death of Mr. Ticknor.

He was born in Boston on the 1st of August, 1791, and would seem to have been dedicated to letters from his childhood. He was graduated at Dartmouth College in 1807, at an age when boys, in these days, have hardly finished their schooling. During the next seven or eight years he was pursuing studies of many sorts in his native place, and he even proceeded far enough in legal preparation to be admitted to the Suffolk bar. But the modern languages and literature were destined to supply the field of his triumphs, and in 1815 he embarked for Europe, and entered systematically on the labors which were to be the crown of his life. Two years at Göttingen, and shorter terms successively at Rome, Madrid, Paris, and Edinburgh, made up the five years of study, observation, and travel, from which he returned to assume the newly established Professorship of Modern Languages and Belles Lettres at Harvard University.

His lectures, during fifteen years in this chair, served, as was well said by Prescott, "to break down the barrier which had so long confined the student to a converse with antiquity;" and "opened to him a free range among those great masters of modern literature, who had hitherto been veiled in the obscurity of a foreign idiom." But while he was thus employing his acquisitions for the instruction and inspiration of his

immediate hearers, Mr. Ticknor was making the best preparation for the great work by which he was to be known to posterity; and, on the resignation of his Professorship, he at once entered upon that work. "The History of Spanish Literature" was first published in 1849; and a third American edition, enlarged and corrected, received his last hand as late as 1863. His charming biography of Prescott, partly prompted by a vote of our own Society, soon followed. By the first of these works, Mr. Ticknor secured for his name a permanent place in the libraries and literature of the world; by the latter he most gracefully entwined his own memory, in the hearts of thousands at home and abroad, with that of one, who will be remembered with affection as well as pride by all who knew him.

I need say nothing of the inestimable services rendered by Mr. Ticknor in the organization of our Boston Public Library, to which, it is understood, he has ultimately bequeathed his own large and precious collection of Spanish and Portuguese books.

I need say nothing of the great number of eminent persons whose acquaintance and friendship he had enjoyed abroad and at home; or of the charms of his conversation and correspondence, during these latter years, when the mellowing touch of time had reached him.

Nor will I venture to anticipate what will be so much better said by others in reference to his personal virtues, his private charities, and his Christian principles.

Dying, in the eightieth year of his age, on the early morning of the 26th of January, and buried without parade, agreeably to his own request, at noon of the 28th, it was not alone the few friends who were privileged to follow his hearse who felt deeply, at that hour, how much of acquisition and accomplishment, what a fund of anecdote and reminiscence, what stores of rare learning and of rich experience, were buried with him.

And thus, within a fortnight of each other, have passed from among us the honored heads of two of our most conspicuous houses:—one of them distinguished for pecuniary wealth, yet not without the added charm of high culture and refinement; the other pre-eminent for intellectual wealth and accomplishments, yet not without the independence of an ample fortune; both natives of Boston; both only sons of prosperous and public-spirited merchants; both Christian gentlemen; both associated with the establishment or advance-

ment of more than one of our most important institutions ; both more than common friends of some of our most lamented statesmen and scholars. There were no homes, certainly, in which Prescott, to name no one else, was a more frequent and endeared visitor — I had almost said, inmate — than the two which now together have been left desolate.

Our own Society has its full share in this double bereavement ; and I am sure we shall all concur in the adoption of the Resolutions, which our Standing Committee have authorized and instructed me to submit : —

Resolved, By the Massachusetts Historical Society, that by the recent deaths of the venerable DAVID SEARS, a former Vice-President of the Society, and of GEORGE TICKNOR, one of the most eminent of American scholars and authors, our roll has been deprived of names which will ever be held in honored and grateful remembrance.

Resolved, That the President be requested to appoint two of our members to prepare Memoirs of these lamented associates for some future volume of the Society's Proceedings.

The Rev. SAMUEL K. LOTHROP, D.D., in seconding the Resolutions, said : —

MR. PRESIDENT, — I have listened, as we all have, with deep interest to the beautiful, just, and truthful tribute which you have paid to the memory of the two venerable and honored associates ; to whose decease you have called our attention. I can add nothing, and nothing needs to be added, to the eloquent utterance of your lips ; but I feel constrained by many pleasant memories to say a few words in relation to one of those gentlemen, whom it has been my good fortune to know for nearly half of his and about two-thirds of my own life ; and with whom, in various ways, officially and socially, I have for many years past been so intimately associated that my feelings would largely influence my judgment did I attempt a critical analysis of his character. I only wish to say that I had a very sincere and affectionate respect for Mr. Sears ; and as his image comes up to me this morning, it is that of a man endowed with many noble and generous qualities, many Christian virtues largely cultivated ; of great cheerfulness of temper, courtesy of manner, and kindness of heart. As you have said, sir, Mr. Sears's life was singularly fortunate. Inheriting great wealth, which he largely increased by his own sagacity and enterprise ; early and happily married to a lady of uncommon beauty and attractions, the union severed by her death only a few short months ago ; called to no very severe trials and sacrifices ; never engaged in the storms or conflicts of public political life, — his career has

been one of dignified ease, enjoyment, and usefulness. Mr. Sears had the best instruction and education that our schools and the University at Cambridge afforded in the days of his youth; and, added to them, all that could be gained by extensive travel and observation in Europe. His intellectual powers were of no ordinary kind; his literary culture was large and constantly increasing; and had he felt the spur of necessity, and been thrown upon his own resources in early manhood in some professional walk of life, he would undoubtedly have developed more, and risen to a broader fame, and a broader, more enduring connection with the community than he attained; for he had a large share of those qualities which command success, — great firmness and independence of character, a self-reliance that seldom doubted the wisdom or correctness of its own judgments, and a tenacity of purpose that persevered resolutely till the end he sought was accomplished.

The uprightness, integrity, purity, and beneficence of Mr. Sears's life and character, claim for him our grateful consideration and respect. He was a devout Christian gentleman, who felt the responsibilities of life, and aimed conscientiously to meet them. His benefactions in behalf of the poor of the city of Boston, of the library of St. Paul's Church, of the College and the Observatory at Cambridge, of this Society and other institutions, were large for the time, and some of them important from the cumulative conditions attached to them. He will not be forgotten: his good deeds will live, and they would give him a more prominent rank among our public benefactors than they now do, were it not that the benevolence, the public charitable gifts of this city, are getting to be something marvellous, and to as great, if not greater extent than those of any city in the world, have kept pace with the increase of its wealth. We of this Society have abundant reason to honor the memory of Mr. Sears as one of our wisest benefactors, — one who felt, and showed that he felt, a hearty and zealous interest in our welfare.

Mr. Sears is to be honored as decidedly a religious man, devout and reverential in spirit and principle. "Christ's Church" at Longwood will remain a monument and testimony of his Christian faith and piety. I have known persons to smile at the seeming vanity of an attempt to form a basis of faith, worship, and the administration of religion, in which all could unite to the overthrow of all sectarian differences and organizations; but in the idea, spirit, purpose, that actuated Mr. Sears in this movement, there was something so broad, noble, generous, Christian, that it should excite some-

thing more and something different from a smile; and, so far as I understand his plan and purpose, it was not visionary or impracticable; and so far as it has or may fail of its end, it is and will be through various accidental influences, rather than from any thing inherently impracticable in it. His purpose in the first instance was simply to found a Church that should be "common ground," where clergymen of different sects and denominations could officiate. To this end he prepared a Prayer and Service Book, and built at his own expense a Church, where that Prayer-book and the order of service it instituted should be used by the rector or incumbent. He then proposed to get, and did get, many clergymen of different denominations to agree to exchange, as often as once a year, if invited, with the rector of "Christ's Church," in the expectation that the clergymen of different denominations, thus exchanging with the rector of "Christ's Church," would ere long come to exchange with each other, and that thus sectarian distinctions would pass away, become mere lines of demarcation and not barriers or walls of separation; and had he succeeded in the outset in obtaining a rector of tact and talent adequate to the situation, the enterprise would have been crowned with a more abundant success. The enterprise itself, in the whole spirit of its conception, and in the efforts made to realize it, entitles Mr. Sears to our reverence and respect as a devout and earnest religious man, broad, catholic, and benevolent in purpose.

Permit me a single word more, sir, in conclusion. It was in private life, in the bosom of his family, and in social intercourse, that Mr. Sears appeared to the greatest advantage. His manners were formed at a time when there was more of ceremonious courtesy than is common nowadays, but there was a large, warm heart beneath an apparent formality; and to all of us who had the pleasure of intimate personal acquaintance with him, his image will ever come before us as a model of all that was courteous, kind, amiable, and attractive. I desire, sir, with all my heart, to second the appropriate Resolutions you have submitted.

The Hon. GEORGE S. HILLARD next addressed the meeting in the following remarks:—

I feel embarrassed in speaking of Mr. Ticknor from the fact that there is so much that I might say. We speak more easily and fluently of one whom we knew well than of one whom we knew very well,—of one whom we lament and regret than of one whose death makes our daily life a different thing from what it was.

Mr. Ticknor has been my friend for forty years, and for more than half that time he was my intimate friend; and now that he is gone, the very sense of my irreparable loss rather seals than opens the fountains of speech.

He has been for half a century a conspicuous person in Boston; no man not in public life has been more so. Many conditions combined to give him this position, such as great literary accomplishments, strong social tastes, and an independent fortune; a union of advantages not common now, and still less common half a century ago. We have grown greatly and changed much in that period; and the place he took and maintained in our social life is not likely to be filled by any one else, and could hardly be asserted to-day by one equally favored by nature, culture, and fortune.

Mr. Ticknor was born with a love of knowledge, and he was born under conditions eminently favorable to the indulgence and cultivation of this taste. His father, a graduate of Dartmouth College, himself a fair scholar, early discerned the promise of his only child, and gave him the best advantages, first of America and then of Europe, with a wise liberality which the son always remembered with an affectionate gratitude, similar to that which Milton has expressed in one of his Latin poems towards his father, for giving him the means "to breathe the still air of delightful studies," and not requiring him to dedicate himself to any gainful profession.

His love of knowledge continued unabated to the last moment of his life. He was a man of regular and systematic industry: few have ever worked more diligently in a profession than he did in self-imposed occupation. His mind was full, exact, and ready; for he read much, wrote much, and conferred much. He was a various, but not a desultory reader: there were many subjects on which he was content to be ignorant.

He was as diligent in writing as in reading. Some students are averse to the exercise of writing, and do not take the pen in hand except upon compulsion. Not so with him. He wrote with ease, both mentally and mechanically, and thus he wrote much. Besides a very extensive correspondence, he has left behind him, in his manuscript lectures and journals, all carefully written, an amount of matter probably much exceeding that of his published works.

He had enjoyed uncommon opportunities for acquiring that knowledge which comes from conversation with others. He had seen and known a large proportion of the eminent men of this century, whether in Europe or America. And all that he

had learned, whether from books or discourse, was intrusted to the charge of a memory that was alike retentive and ready. How instructive, how entertaining, his conversation was, need not be said.

Mr. Ticknor was known to the world chiefly, almost exclusively, as a scholar and man of letters; but he was something more than these. He had an excellent capacity for business, for the conduct of affairs; and all the good habits of an accurate man of business were native to him. He was in all things careful and methodical: he never broke an appointment; he never kept a man waiting; he never left a note or a letter unanswered; there was never any thing that came to him in the way of a duty that he did not do. He had no small amount of the power of administration and organization. All these qualities were fully displayed, to the great advantage of the community, during his connection with the public library.

There was a certain harmony between Mr. Ticknor's mind and character. His mind was careful and exact: he was thorough in research, and allowed nothing to go out of his hands until it was complete in substance and form. We know how long he waited before he gave his "History of Spanish Literature" to the world. And he had no patience with looseness, inaccuracy, carelessness, or superficial knowledge. He had no sympathy with the impatience which shakes the tree before the fruit is ripe. A book was to him a grave thing; and to rush rashly into print, without full preparation, was in his eyes a breach of the moral law.

And so it was as to character. His will was strong, and his resolve firm. Force, and not softness, was his characteristic. Promptness, decision, directness, marked his movements. Whatever he had resolved to do he did. He went straight to his mark, without turning aside to the right hand or the left. And he had no patience with weakness and indecision, with a feeble will and a hesitating resolve. He could not endure aberration, infirmity of purpose, and irregularity. He had been happily born and reared: he had known nothing of poverty, of struggle, of the bitterness of deferred hope, of the sharp pangs of disappointed effort; all these were to him like the sounds of a storm heard in the shelter of home, with the light of a cheerful fire playing on the faces of wife and children. His were health, peace, happiness, competence, obedient passions, a sovereign will; and thus he was not quite tender enough to those who through poverty and a losing contest with life were led astray from the right path. He did not fully

comprehend the strength of temptation and the weakness of humanity.

What Mr. Ticknor did is familiar to all. We all know the extent and accuracy of his knowledge, and that to the last he was glad to learn and glad to teach. We know how ready he was to help young students, not merely by the free use of his ample library, but also by counsel, encouragement, and sympathy. Nor need I say any thing here about the worth of his published works, and the high place in the literature of our language which has been given to them by the consenting judgment of America and Europe.

But permit me a word as to what Mr. Ticknor was, since on this point he was not entirely understood by those who saw him only incidentally and occasionally. Herein I feel that I have had peculiar opportunities of judging, and that I am entitled to be heard.

He was a very frank and a very earnest man. There was nothing languid in his temperament, or neutral in his position. And he was a man of very strong convictions. His opinions were not lightly formed, and they were held with a very tenacious grasp. And he had missed the attrition which lawyers, politicians, and men of business gain in the conflicts and contacts of life. By nature somewhat fervid in spirit and not patient of contradiction, not having been trained to repression by the discipline of life, he sometimes in the heat of discussion broke into a tone and manner which caused him to be misunderstood by mere acquaintances. One must have known him well in order to learn how much there was in him to love. I have never known a man more faithful to all the claims and offices of friendship than he. I have never known a man to whom a friend, burdened with any kind of trouble, could go with a more assured certainty of warm sympathy, good counsel, and efficient aid.

From the long and close friendship which has been between us, it may be supposed that we agreed on all points; but such was not the case. We often differed: upon politics, upon literary topics, and upon questions touching the conduct of life. Much of our discourse took the form of discussion; and our discussions were full, frank, and earnest. But in these he always bore himself like a man. He was willing to take as well as to give. He exacted nothing which he was not, in his turn, prepared to yield. And no difference of opinion ever caused any divergence of feeling between us.

Let me advert to a single point wherein he was very faithful to the duties of friendship. He was an admirable critic of

style, and some of his friends were always anxious to have the benefit of his judgment and taste in the revision of their productions. To carefully read and correct a manuscript, especially if it be long, is no light task; and a lover of ease would readily find an excuse for putting it aside. But Mr. Ticknor never declined such requests, and the duty he assumed was most conscientiously discharged. He was a strict and unsparing critic. He used the file and the pruning-knife wherever they were needed. An over-sensitive nature might sometimes wince a little at the downright way in which he would change and cut out; but, as with the steel of a skilful surgeon, every touch was for the patient's good. No writer ever took back a manuscript from his hands without acknowledging the justice of every correction, or without a grateful sense of the service which had been rendered. I feel a melancholy satisfaction in here expressing, in the strongest terms, my own acknowledgments to him for more than one kindness of this nature.

His life was long and active and happy. God gave him in large measure the blessings which men pray for, and he enjoyed them wisely and well. Wealth did not make him indolent, and success did not make him self-indulgent. Faithful friends stood by him at all times. His name was widely known, and his praise was on many lips. His old age was attended with

"That which should accompany old age:
As honor, love, obedience, troops of friends."

And the good Providence which had presided over his life was not changed at its close. On the verge of fourscore, death is "kind Nature's signal of retreat." When this mortal life had begun to be a burden, it was gently taken away, with no acute suffering, no sad, long-lingering, hopeless decay.

"Why
O'er ripe fruit seasonably gathered
Should frail survivors heave a sigh?"

The President then read the following letter from the venerable JACOB BIGELOW, M.D., who was unable to be present at the meeting:—

Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP,
President of Mass. Hist. Soc.

BOSTON, February 8th, 1871.

MY DEAR SIR,—Not being able to be present at the next meeting of the Society, I am desirous to add my voice to the other remembrances of our departed friend. It has been my happiness to know

Mr. Ticknor long and well. I associate him with the pleasant memories of early life. I have accompanied him into the vale of declining age. I have known him youthful, social, genial, jovial. I have parted from him after more than sixty years' intercourse, infirm of limbs and of memory, but still courageous, still friendly, buoyant, and self-relying. Like many, even of the most gifted intellects of all times and ages, he has at last not always been able to complete the unfinished thought of the present hour; while at the same time the things, the persons, the readings of times long passed by, have remained, like the fern-prints and foot-tracks in ancient rocks, indelibly impressed on his remembrance.

I remember his hospitable receptions at his father's house in Essex Street, where a few of his young friends strove to repair the defects of existing means of culture by combining study with recreation, and where we read in concert things as old as Homer and Pliny, and things as new as Byron and Scott.

I remember him in the old Anthology Club, a circle of students and professional men, who kept watch and ward over the infant literature of Boston, who established a reading-room of newspapers and magazines bearing the ambitious title of the Boston Athenæum, which afterwards, under the engineership of William S. Shaw, the Gambetta of New England literature, rose into a noble and prosperous Institution. The Anthology Club met at the house of Mr. Cooper, the clerk of Trinity Church, where their extremely frugal suppers drew zest from the contributions, and light from the scintillations, of Kirkland and Buckminster, of Gardiner and the elder Emerson, of William Tudor and Maynard Walter, of James Savage and Alexander Everett, and of as many others, who for years struggled manfully to keep alive the embers of a declining periodical.

Mr. Ticknor left his home in Boston for five years of study and travel in the Universities and society of different countries in Europe. The letters which he carried, and the accomplishments which he manifested, gave him access to many of the literary celebrities of the Old World. His facility of adaptation saved him from obtrusiveness and offence. Among the more aristocratic orders he knew the privileges accorded to birth and rank, and the doctrine *noblesse oblige* found favor in his sight. He was, perhaps, more a student of men than of things, more observant of characters than of ideas.

He returned home to assume a professorship of modern languages and literature in Harvard University, to which he had already been appointed, the same since occupied by Longfellow and Lowell. He has published several well-known volumes, and left large materials for others, for which we are still to hope.

His historical and biographical works are monuments of research as they are models of style; but his aspirations for literary reform, grounded more upon transatlantic usage than upon the actual needs and capacities of his own countrymen, were not destined to find immediate realization.

In his political views in regard to the prospects of his own govern-

ment, Mr. Ticknor was not an optimist. He had grave apprehensions as to the possible despotism of an ignorant, uneducated, and unscrupulous majority; nevertheless, he was unable to indicate any other country to which he would willingly transfer his allegiance and his home, and, like other men of sense, he settled down into a willingness to accept what is practicable for what might be desirable, and fell back upon universal education, intellectual and moral, as the greatest safeguard for national progress and prosperity.

With assurances of my personal regard, and of my respect for the Society,

Yours faithfully,

JACOB BIGELOW.

MR. GEORGE B. EMERSON then said, —

MR. PRESIDENT. — All who are present feel the great loss we have sustained by the death of our friend. To me it is peculiarly severe, as I lose one of the oldest and dearest friends I have had in this city, — the oldest and dearest indeed, except classmates, whose friendship and affection are often more than fraternal.

I was an officer in Harvard College when, more than half a century ago, Mr. Ticknor came there to give his first course of lectures on Spanish Literature. I heard as many of them as my duties in the college permitted me to hear, and thus formed his acquaintance. He often came to my room in Holworthy when he had reached Cambridge a few minutes before his hour, or, after his lecture, when he wished to meet some other young men then residing at Cambridge; and I sometimes drove back with him to town.

It is difficult for a person accustomed, as everybody now is, to our innumerable courses of lectures, — inaugurated by those given with such success before the Mechanics' Institute and the Lowell Institute, — to imagine the excitement produced among the students at Cambridge by this course. It was upon a subject entirely new. These lectures and those of the French course, with the equally able and still more eloquent lectures of Edward Everett upon Greek Literature and Greek Art, given about the same time, excited attention everywhere, and opened the eyes of thoughtful men to the capacity of the American Colleges for giving instruction by lectures upon high and important subjects, — a capacity which apparently had not occurred to the founders and friends of the colleges.

The lectures of Mr. Ticknor were among the most efficient of the causes which have led to a more general and more thorough study of the modern languages. The lectures of

these two distinguished scholars were an auspicious beginning of what is now becoming a most important part of University education. And their authors were safe architects to lay the foundation; for both, from their own education and their delicate and cultivated taste, would have the study of modern languages and investigation built upon a pretty thorough knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages and literature.

Mr. Ticknor's first love was the Greek language; and, if he had not early been turned away from that, we might now be speaking of the author of the best History of Greek Literature that had ever been written. That early study was not lost to us. He would never have been able to write the Spanish History so nobly and thoroughly as he did, if he had not been familiar with the best Greek and Roman writers. He could not elsewhere have found the lofty standard to which he is always really, if not expressly, referring in his criticisms.

An old friend of mine, who calls himself a trembling old man, in a letter written immediately after receiving the news of the death of our friend, suggests the question, What has become of those pleasant lectures upon Spanish Literature to which we listened with such delight, half a century ago? The answer we can give is more satisfactory than has often been given to such a question. They have grown into the most perfect history of a language and literature that has ever been written. Those one or two lectures upon the Spanish Ballads have grown into those delightful chapters upon the ballads in the different dialects of Spain; and so of the rest.

Any one then listening to the lectures would have been inclined to say, How interesting, but how short! The same feeling probably took possession of the writer. How pleasant would it be to go thoroughly into this subject, to find out and to write down all that led to it and all that relates to it! This feeling, which must have arisen many times and demanded gratification, probably led to the expansion of those sketches into the noble history we have. The same now takes full possession of the reader. How satisfactory would it be to read the original of these curious matters at large! No doubt this feeling has often attracted admiring readers to become Spanish scholars. And who shall say how far the very living spirit which first suggested these lectures may not have insensibly acted upon the present mover of things at Cambridge to bring out that array of courses which is every year giving more of a University aspect to old Harvard College?

"The History of Spanish Literature" has taken its place at

the very head of the best histories of literature that have been written. For all those who read it without filling up, from other sources, what is wanting to make it a history of the country, it is perhaps to be regretted that the author did not give more of the civil history. He would certainly have made it as entertaining as his present work is; and, to the great mass of readers, still more so. Of this no one can for a moment doubt who remembers how the first chapter of this work, or the first Appendix, upon the history of the language, or, especially, how the charming little sketch of the History of La Fayette, which he wrote immediately after that man's return to Europe, were written. But Mr. Ticknor could not do this without doing it thoroughly, and so doing it would have expanded this work to vast dimensions.

But is not this work, as it is, a truer history of the nation than a mere civil history could be? These volumes give us the history of thoughts, feelings, life at home, character. And does not he who tells us what have been the superstitions, vagaries, delusions, beliefs, songs, sports, amusements, of a people, their proverbs, the character of their teachers, their thoughts and their capacity for thought, by showing us the very language they used, make us better acquainted with them than he who only tells us what they have done and suffered? And I venture to say that no three volumes of civil history can be found which will give a person so just an idea of the real condition of any nation, in the several stages of its history, as is given of the Spanish nation in the three charming volumes of our lamented friend.* For does not a history of the intelligence, the moral and the religious character of a people make us understand what they have been, and especially what they are capable of becoming, better than a mere history of events, of political changes, successes, and failures, could possibly do?

Soon after my first acquaintance with Mr. Ticknor, I came, on an invitation from the School Committee of the Town of Boston, to take charge of the English Classical School, since known as the English High School. I came an unknown school-master, and I have never been or aspired to be any thing else; and although I succeeded in banishing from the interior of the school the fear of the school-master, that fear

* A few days after writing this sentence I read, in a letter from Henry Thomas Buckle to Theodore Parker, in the *Life and Correspondence of T. Parker*, vol. i. p. 468, the following unexpected confirmation of my opinion:—

"In Mr. Ticknor's singularly valuable '*History of Spanish Literature*' there is more real information than can be found in any of the many Spanish histories which I have had occasion to read."

lingered in almost every family. But there was always one house into which I dared to come uninvited, and where I always received a cordial welcome. I should have to use what would seem extravagant language, if I should declare what a difference that made in the happiness of my life. There I came also by invitation, and met many persons whom it was a privilege to know: richly freighted and exuberant souls, like Agassiz; and meditative, poetical minds, like the elder R. H. Dana. How many pleasant hours have I spent in that old house at the corner of Boylston Street and Boylston Place, where Mr. Ticknor's father dwelt! how many in that hospitable house in Colonnade Row on Tremont Street, when that street was almost as quiet as a road in the country! how many in that palatial library in Park Street where I saw him last!

Mr. Ticknor was always kind and hospitable to poor scholars ambitious of excellence, and generously gave encouragement, good advice, the loan of books, and, when he could do it delicately, the offer of pecuniary aid.

He was always ready to do his part in any work that belonged to a good citizen. He was early a member of the Primary School Board, long before the care of the Primary Schools was given to the General School Committee; and when I became a member of that Board, I found that his visits had been not less frequent and his reports more fully and carefully made than those of any other member of the Board. This work may have been urged upon him by a feeling of filial piety, as his father, Elisha Ticknor, with James Savage and Mr. Wait, had been the first to recommend and to secure the establishment of this branch of the Public Schools, before which event no child under the age of seven or eight had been admitted to their privileges.

There was another thing which Mr. Ticknor did better than it had ever been done before; and, so far as my knowledge goes, better than it has been done since. On the 24th of August, 1832, he delivered, before the American Institute of Instruction, a lecture upon the best modes of teaching the living languages. He assures us that the views he presented were not new, but that they coincided with the systems pursued by Cardinal Wolsey, Roger Ascham, Milton, and Locke. They were undoubtedly the methods he had himself pursued in Europe, in mastering the languages with which he had become so familiar, and which he continued to speak readily and idiomatically, with perfect purity and correctness, to the last days of his life. They consisted essentially in teaching

the facts of the language first, and putting off the philosophy, the laws of syntax and construction to the last, but teaching every thing in its proper place as thoroughly as possible. All the principles of that masterly discourse are really applicable, with slight modifications, to the teaching of the classical languages: was not every language once a living language?

Of the "Life of Prescott" I need say nothing. Every one who hears me has read that, and has felt it as I have myself.

We thus have the best history of a language that has ever been written, the most delightful and instructive Biography, and the best treatise upon the teaching of language, that have been written during our lives,—all from our departed friend. Can any thing higher in the line of authorship be said?

The Resolutions were unanimously adopted; and the Rev. Chandler Robbins was appointed to prepare the Memoir of Mr. Sears, and the Hon. George S. Hillard that of Mr. Ticknor, for the Society's Proceedings.

The Rev. William I. Budington, D.D., of Brooklyn, N. Y., and Benjamin Scott, F.R.A.S., of London, were elected Corresponding Members.

The President said that No. VIII. of the "Proceedings" was ready for distribution; that it included the doings of the Society for October, November, and December, 1870, and concluded a volume.

The Treasurer, Mr. FROTHINGHAM, said he had received a letter from the Rev. William A. Stearns, D.D., resigning his membership in this Society.

On motion of Dr. ELLIS, Mr. Edmund Quincy was added to the committee on the publication of the Sewall Papers, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the absence, in Europe, of Dr Dexter.

Mr. LINCOLN presented, in the name of Mr. Nathaniel C. Peabody, of Boston, a copy of an address composed by a Cherokee Indian, named Dewi or David Brown, who visited New England over forty years ago, and was the object here of some interest and attention.* The copy was made by Miss Elizabeth

* It appears from some letters, which were also communicated by Mr. Lincoln at this time, that Dewi or David Brown came from the region of the Yazoo River; that he had a sister Catharine, a remarkable woman, who was converted to Christianity by missionaries; and that it was through her influence that her brother was sent to a school, where he was educated for the ministry. A daughter of the late Hon. John Pickering writes: "I remember David Brown perfectly, as he was much at our house, in Salem, many years ago. We removed to Boston in 1827. It was in consequence of my father's interest in philology, and in the North American Indian languages particularly, that he undertook the preparation of a Cherokee Grammar with David Brown, and it was this that brought him to our house often. While this was in progress (and

Manning Peabody, of Salem, from the original manuscript, previous to the year 1830. The address is here printed.

Address of Dewi Brown, a Cherokee Indian.

In conformity to the request of friends, and in compliance with my own sense of duty, I avail myself of this opportunity to appear before this assembly, and raise my voice in favor of the Aboriginal inhabitants of America.

Convinced that sympathetic feelings begin to glow in the bosoms of many Americans for the natives of this country, I gladly present this theme for your consideration. Before I proceed, however, indulge me in the pleasure of informing you that I am one of the sons of the forest, yea! the image of an Indian is upon me, and Aboriginal blood runs in my veins. I have worn the armour of a Cherokee warrior, have traversed the western wilds in pursuit of an Osage scalp, and far toward the setting sun have I gone, to avenge the blood of my fathers.

By reflecting on the state of the Indians we naturally trace their tradition and history to the time when no person of European extract was seen in all this vast continent, when the Indians were in full possession of this country, and reigned with triumphant sway from Hudson's Bay to Cape Horn, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, when an Indian chief could look upon the vast herds of deer, elk, and buffaloes, and pronounce them his own, and given to him by the great Galplatchi.

It is delightful as well as important to throw ourselves back to those times when the fire of war was scarcely seen to blaze, and the smoke of the pipe of peace ascended round the council fires.

A man of Christian philanthropy, who is versed in the American history, and is accustomed to deplore the hapless fate of the natives, does not forget that they were once independant and happy, and that they were formerly free from direful and destructive wars in which within three hundred years they have been involved.

It is a matter of fact, proved by the authority of the first and most respectable of this country, that the natives were in a more tranquil and prosperous state previous to their acquaintance with Europeans than at any subsequent period. The testimony of Columbus himself confirmed this point, when he declared to his sovereign that the Indians were affable and mild, and that they loved their neighbour as themselves.

This is evident also from the immensity of their numbers, the kind reception of Europeans, the apparent harmony that reigned amongst them.

a portion of the sheets actually printed) the whole undertaking was abandoned; as the remarkable invention, by the native Cherokee, George Guess, of an alphabet is special characters, for writing the hitherto unwritten dialect of his nation, made any previous efforts useless." The writer adds, that a memoir of the Life of Catharine Brown was published under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. — Eds.

Had the natives been in perpetual warfare with each other, had they been in constant commotion, and thirsting for human blood, as some fancifully assert, the first discoverers of America, especially the illustrious Columbus, and the benevolent Penn, would have known it, and reported to the world accordingly. If the natives had always waged bloody wars with each other, it is reasonable to suppose that their number would have greatly decreased from their arrival in this country to its discovery.

When and in what manner the Indians came to this country, is a question the investigation of which has not a little agitated the minds of philosophers of the preceding and present time. From their relics, antiquities, and the general aspect of the country, it is certain that they came here many centuries ago. In all probability their arrival here was not many centuries after the flood. And is it true that they have in every succeeding age been diminishing? Has the hand of pestilence or the ravages of war pursued them for so long a time, and swept off vast numbers from the earth? Every person reasoning from analogy will answer in the negative, for it is absurd to suppose that the Indians were perpetually decreasing, and yet that so many remained in existence when America was discovered. It is probable that at the first arrival of the natives their number was small in comparison to their subsequent number. I cannot believe that there were no more in existence at the discovery of America, than at first emigrated.

I am led then to the conclusion that their number increased after their arrival. It is obvious, too, that they increased with rapidity, from the fact that they were so generally dispersed over the country.

It would be an useless attempt in me to unfold to your imagination the number of this people that have disappeared within the last three hundred years, some of whose nations were once great and renowned; but now they are gone, and their council fires are extinguished to burn no more. And let me here affirm, and may it be borne in everlasting remembrance, that their reduction in numbers commenced soon after their acquaintance with Europeans, at the introduction of European vices, especially those produced by ardent spirits, under whose influence the Indians began to melt away and to fall victims to degeneracy. Add to these, the formidable corruptions of war amongst them, which have, and are still sinking the indigenous population in oblivion. Ah! how little did Christopher Columbus imagine, while the heavenly breeze was gently wafting his fleet to these western shores, that he was transporting vice and diabolical spirit to be imbibed by thousands, and that his voyage would cause rivers of blood to flow in this western world! Far from me, however, to insinuate that the native population were free from vice, immorality, and occasionally destructive wars; for they are also the descendants of sinful apostate man; they, like all the nations of the earth, wage bloody wars, and turn their pleasant places and forests into a field of carnage and slaughter. But those were nothing to what have subsequently taken place. What direful catastrophies have darkened the page of American history! At their first interview with Europeans, the natives generally manifested themselves kind and

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hospitable; the hand of friendship was given to the white man, and a bear skin spread before him, on which to repose his head, the pipe of peace was offered to him; and thus the Indian alleviated his sorrows and misfortunes. After a lapse of time, the red and the white man became more acquainted. Happy would it have been had they brightened the chain of friendship, and embraced each other as brothers, and as the children of the same Galolatichi.

But, alas! formidable wars broke out, and the hand of vengeance arose from its slumbers; over-reached on many occasions for a thirst of gain, their friends and relations treacherously entrapped, and carried away to be sold as slaves, themselves injured, oppressed, and deceived, driven from their lawful possessions: no wonder the natives unbound the tomahawk of war, and made ready the arrows of vengeance against the usurpers of their dominions. — no wonder the white intruder found an inveterate enmity, hereditary animosity, and perpetual revenge. Dreadful to the Indian was the thought that the white man had come to throw him into the convulsions of war, to lay waste his dominions, and to disturb his peaceful repose. In the bosom of a country once his, commenced the bloody struggle which terminated in the peace and independence of these United States; the land of his ancestors, his beloved forests, and delightful plains, became a scene of slaughter, and a theatre for the ambitious but direful display of European prowess. Repulsed from one clime to another, their coasts echoing with cries and agonies of the dying, their villages destroyed, themselves sharing a dreadful fate, the Indians were in consternation. As the Indian turned his sorrowful eyes toward the north, he beholds a dark cloud gathering in Canada. An overwhelming storm met his view in the South, by the English and Spanish threatening to deluge the whole country with human blood. While the northern winds wafted to his ears the desolations of Canada, the noise of the French troops, the feats of General Wolf, he was no less distracted by the voice of *Washington* in the United States, and the thunder of war in South America. In the midst of confusion and despair, the Indian was compelled to raise the tomahawk against his red brothers, as well as against the sons of Europe: hence rivers of Indian blood were shed in aiding the forces of Britain, or while fighting for the freedom and liberty of this renowned republic. The position in which the natives were placed, especially in the Revolutionary war, was not only singular but extremely dangerous. They were surrounded by foreigners in every quarter: for them to be neutral it was impossible, they had to fight or die. But let me not be understood that in all cases I justify the natives for their conduct. Far from me to speak in favor of the cruelty and depredations committed against the whites. But while I condemn the conduct of some of my ancestors, while my soul revolts from the murder of many innocent and Christian people, a silent indignation rises within me, at the impious and savage procedure of Europeans. As things have been in America for three hundred years, better would it have been had the natives never seen even the shadow of a white man. Far from the convulsions and agitations of the old world, they could have sat peacefully on their

native shores, enjoyed the game with which America abounds; they could have inhaled their native air in tranquility and with the utmost ease. But fatal has been their doom! Every Christian must now condole with them on their unhappy state. In view of their reduction in number, the corruption of their morals, the degradation into which they have been plunged, the philanthropist mourns for them. The American history is replete with the sufferings of the original inhabitants of this country. If there is any humanity implanted within our bosoms, if we know how to commiserate the woes of fallen man, we can hardly forget the natives of this country. Never can we forget the bloody conquests of Mexico, never can we forget General Cortes with his hounds of war, deluging all Mexico with native blood. Such scenes as these were not rare and well deserve the everlasting condemnation of good men. Oh! the doleful fall of Peru, and the bloody scenes of Chili! Humanity shudders at the transactions of Muskingum, the destruction of the Creeks in Talishetisis town, the fatal blow of the Virginian, Pennsylvanian, and Massachusetts Indians. Where now are the Mohawks, Iroquois, Catawors, and other great nations? I repeat the painful enquiry, where now are the natives whose population covered these United States, and whose sons once drank the waters of Massachusetts? Alas! they are gone; as the falling leaves before a mighty storm, they have disappeared; nothing now reminds one of them but a mere name, excepting here and there one of their sons, who had the fortune, or I may rather say the misfortune, to escape the ravages of war. He alone is left to witness the subjugation of the country. When prompted by his religion to visit the depositories and graves of his ancestors, as he walks lonely through the streets of New England, often is the finger pointed at him, saying, "There goes one of the savages of America." Friendless and forlorn does he go. No one to drop a sympathetic tear with him while he sighs for his country, and weeps over the sepulchres of his fathers. Notwithstanding, however, that the aboriginal race is almost extinct in the United States, blessed be God! there are yet many tribes and nations of them in America. The Indian blood is not all, as yet, wasted away. Though many have already descended, with their ancestors, to the land of shadows, there is yet a remnant. The great wampum of peace is yet seen in its original purity, and the council fires still burn by the rivers of Missi[ssip]pi; the sons of Tutsela and the daughters of Talontiske still drink the waters of Arkansaw, and repose themselves beneath the sylvan shades of Zazoo.

From the forests of Tsusæyæaso, beneath the tall trees that bloom in its plain, and not far from the banks of Tsikcamega, in the Cherokee nation, I sprung, and was there reared up in the habits of my country; of course my parents are heathen. Yænugvyaski, my honoured father, early taught me the religion of my ancestors. Many times did he relate to me, while sitting in some solitary retreat, the wars with Europeans, and the wrongs and losses sustained by them. My fond mother too, when I was quite young, often sung for me a mournful song, commemorative of the death of some of my valiant forefathers,

who fell in the arms of death while defending the rights of our country. Importunate was she to inform me of the injuries done to her countrymen, and often invoked the Great Spirit to destine her son to aid the return of peace and gladness in all the dwellings of Tsalagi.

Permit me here to say a word on the religious views of the Indians. Ask an Indian if he is religious, and he will answer in the affirmative, and tell you that his usual custom is to worship Galplatchi, the good spirit, the heavenly inhabitant. This deity is said to inhabit eastwardly, or far beyond the rising of the sun. The Indian also has an idea of another deity, whom he calls Askina, the accursed or evil spirit. Askina is considered as inferior to Galplatchi, and as far as the Indians are favored with the Good Spirit, the evil one has no power over them. Askina dwells in the western region; he is said to cause all evil, and is ever ready to do harm. He is considered also to be the father of sorcery, poison, witchcraft, and deceit. To Askina the Indians apply for aid, when they want to revenge, deceive, and kill. There are also subordinate spirits who reside at the four cardinal points, but their power is not great. Their province is to attend to inferior matters, and to obey the commands of the supreme being. When an Indian has performed some heroic act, he will not forget to acknowledge it as a mark of divine favor, by offering sacrifice to Galplatchi. On the vintage season, the first fruits are offered to the Good Spirit in a solemn manner; feasts and religious dances are likewise held in this season, which continue for several days, during which the Indians praise the author of their blessings, feast on the bounties of providence, and renew their vows to the great Galplatchi; by doing this, they say they will be successful in war; and while chasing the game in the plains and over the mountains, they will be in health and prosperity. When going to war, the Indians generally have a prophet with them, who pretends to foretell future events. This prophet, of course, makes great pretensions to magical and supernatural powers. I shall illustrate this by a short statement from my own observation. In the year 1817, when the war between the Cherokees and Osages was raging, I accompanied 600 warriors of the Cherokees, Shawnees, Delawares, and Quappaws. This army was divided into several companies. I shall only relate one scene of the company, with which I was connected.

A short time before we arrived to the place of our destination, we halted. The prophet, whose name was Wiluga, and who was ever ready to prognosticate and disclose the fate of the men, was remarkably grave. He appointed a place on the bank of a river, at a considerable distance from the main army, to display religious rites. At a given time the whole company, the prophet at their head, moved in procession toward the place. On our arrival there he commanded us to bathe in the river (notwithstanding the cold weather), and to plunge ourselves four times into the water, looking at each time towards the sun; after which he summoned us on the bank of the river, and we seated ourselves according to rank. In a few moments a profound silence followed — then the prophet began to sing a low but melodious

song. After singing prayer commenced. This prayer, though indistinct to all the warriors, was extremely mournful, as well as solemn. Every mind was filled with awe at the prophet's solemnity and gravity. These exercises being finished, he produced several strange skins, one of which I think was an eagle's skin, with all its feathers. In these skins was the depositories of his supernatural apparatus, the archives of future events. He began first to examine the fate of the head warrior, by looking through some of his strange works, and after spending considerable time with each man, he finished his course, and pronounced prosperity and success to our arms. There are some traits in the character of my countrymen that are truly admirable, and are worthy of imitation; such as extreme love to friends, hospitality to strangers, respect for the aged, &c. In these respects I firmly believe that the Indians are much more like the offspring of Jehovah, than many who call themselves civilized. I fondly hope that these principles of virtue will never be wholly eradicated from the Indian character.

In other points, however, especially in their religious views, they are immersed in delusion and gloom; and when we view them through the gospel of Jesus Christ, we lament their deplorable condition. Like all the heathen nations of the earth they are in darkness. The Indians have an imperfect idea of a future state, a state of rewards and punishments. The brave and the good will be rewarded for every virtuous deed done on the earth, and the coward and base will suffer for their conduct. The good will go to a delightful country called Galgle-litsar, or the happy heaven. This delightful and lofty region abounds with deer, bear, elk, and game of every description. Every imaginable pleasure there will be enjoyed without molestation, and free from all the pains prevalent in this world. I know that this account of Galgle-litsar will remind you of Mahomet's paradise, the dreams and fanciful imagination of a Turkish Prince. But when you pray for the devotee of Mahomet, may you not forget the Indian savage of the west; some of whose theories are as wild, and are as delusive and absurd as those of Mahomet. But to return: the coward and base class of men will be banished to a dreary region called [blank] or the place of devils, where they will continue objects of misery, and outcasts from the blessed abode of the happy. It is customary among some tribes, particularly so with the Quappaws, who reside beyond the Missis[sip]pi, to feed the dead. Every morning for several days after the death of a friend, they carry food to the grave for his repast on his journey to the world of spirits. But enough of this subject. I now beg leave to turn the attention of this audience to the happy effects of missionary labours amongst my kinsmen according to the flesh. Having briefly noticed the unhappy state of my countrymen, having unfolded to you some of their delusive and absurd theories, after your imagination has followed me through regions of sorrow, oh! how readily will you approve of the great injunction, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature." How readily will you pronounce Christian missions to the Indians, as of high importance! I shall not here enter into discussion with that class who object to sending missions to

the Indians, neither shall I weary your patience by a protracted refutation of the erroneous theory that they are incapable of civilization, for I believe this assembly too enlightened, and that benevolence burns too high in the bosoms of many to need details of facts so authentic and in themselves so glorious. No one who has any acquaintance with the natives can doubt of their natural capacities for moral cultivation; that they are as susceptible of mental as well as religious improvement, as much as any people on the Globe, I frankly assert without any fear of contradiction. True we have not as yet seen a Washington, Franklin, or a Brainerd arise from the western wilds; but who denies that if Tocum[s]ach, Phillip, or Telentici had been men of erudition and piety that their names would have been enrolled with the accomplished scholars and profound statesmen of the age in which they lived? Ah! had an Eden bloomed beneath their feet; had [they beheld] the morning star that once illuminated Bethlehem, the world would have seen luminaries of the west of no ordinary splendor. The grand point then should be to make every effort to have the Indian civilized, and above all evangelized. Nothing can bring the untutored sons of the forest to the blessed wreaths of science and religion but the Gospel of Christ. When a barbarian becomes a Christian, he easily becomes a civilized man. The Missionary operations of the day, therefore, claim the attention as well as the admiration of all. The heralds of the cross have already gone to carry the glad tidings of Salvation to the children of the forest. These almoners of benevolence go not to speculate on lands, they go not to cheapen fur and peltry, but to teach the ignorant, and serve the friendless soldiers of the cross. Bound on no expedition of violence, but on an errand the most benign. "The Missionary establishments at Brainerd and Eliot, and in the Arkansaw territory," as a distinguished reviewer justly observes, "are admirable in their plan and must be the means of incalculable good." The Indians are making rapid advances towards the standard of morality, virtue, and religion. Cordially are they receiving the useful manners and customs of Europeans. This as nations is particularly applicable to the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Creek nations, whose council fires still burn on the eastern side of the Missi[ssip]pi; bright is the chain of friendship that binds those nations of Indians to the government of the United States. The bow and the quiver are converted into utensils of industry; and the bloody tomahawk that used to be bathed in human blood is buried deep, I hope to rise no more. The Cherokee code of laws, legislatures, courts of justice, though as yet in their incipient state, are similar to those of the United States. Agricultural, literary, and religious schools are in operation, and I fondly hope that the time is not far distant when these nations shall unite with the great commonwealth, and their sons participate in the glory to which our happy America is destined. It is with interest that an American, of patriotic, as well as philanthropic zeal, considers the glorious beams of peace that now begin to dawn upon the aboriginal race. In the Cherokee and Choctaw nations there are about fifteen schools in which there are four or five hundred Indian children. Under the tuition of

missionaries in these schools, the children are taught the habits of industry, sobriety and refinement. The Cherokees are extremely pleased with the Christian religion, and are willing to adhere to its divine precepts; that religion which teaches men to love and do good to all men, even those who hate them. To love God supremely they think far surpasses the religion of their fathers. It must be gratifying to the Christian public that some of the most influential chiefs in the Cherokee nation are now members of the church, and that Christianity is generally respected by those who have had opportunities to know something about it. Those who have united themselves to the Christian church I am happy to say are exemplary, and in their lives adorn the doctrine of God their Saviour. Now they are no more heathen and destitute of the consolations of the Gospel of Christ, no more foreigners but fellow citizens with the saints, and of the household of God. It may be well said of the Cherokees in the language of inspiration: "The people which sat in darkness saw great light, and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death, light is sprung up." I am glad to say that your missionaries are much beloved by my countrymen, and I would here publicly express my warmest gratitude to the benevolent of New England, for their exertions to send the blessings of civilization and the Gospel to my nation. Long shall I cherish the memory of those who are actively engaged for the peace and happiness of my kindred and brethren of the west.

Much gratitude is due to the government of the United States for its generosity, especially of late, toward the Indians. The Cherokee and Choctaw nations have appropriated many thousand dollars for the support of schools amongst themselves. To complete, however, a work so extensive, large funds are requisite, and many hands to move the grand system. The missionaries to the Indians of the west, let it be remembered, are not from Great Britain, France, or Spain, but they are from New England, they are your friends and countrymen, they have left your firesides, and gone far from civilization and friends, embarked in the glorious cause of humanity and virtue; of course they need and expect the aid of their friends in New England; and let me remark again that the missionaries are much beloved by my countrymen. But they want more teachers and missionaries to be sent to them. And who, let me ask, who will send to them missionaries, and support them? Who will obey the voice that sounds from the west for aid? Shall not you who now stand on the soil once possessed by the natives? Think of the aboriginal inhabitants of this land, who are now far removed from the land of their fathers, some of whom with sorrow and deep regret have turned their faces toward the setting of the sun, and who will ere long be extinct if the hand of charity does not rescue them. And as you here enjoy the consolations that flow from the glorious Gospel, as you behold with delight your empire rising with rapidity, while you send your missionaries over the Atlantic and Pacific, oh! remember, remember, your red brethren, the original proprietors of America.

My Christian friends, this is the only opportunity which I shall

probably ever have of addressing you. I solicit your prayers that I may aid the cause of missions to my countrymen; that I may return to them in the fullness of the blessings of the Gospel of peace.

Mr. Lincoln communicated at the same time a copy of the letter printed below, giving an account of the early manufacture of salt in Kentucky, and information about the country generally:—

LINCOLN COUNTY, KENTUCKY, Feb. 27th, 1785.

HONORED SIR, — It is not from inattention or forgetfulness that I have suffered your inquiries concerning the Salt Springs of this country to remain thus long unanswered; but from a hope that by this time I might be able to give you some satisfactory account of them. I must, however, confess that, notwithstanding all the information I am able to get, I am still as ignorant of the matter as I was the moment I came into the country.

The owners of those Springs reside commonly in the old part of Virginia or Maryland, and carry on the business of salt-making by negroes and ignorant people, under the direction of an overseer as ignorant as themselves; so that it is impossible to learn any thing from them worth hearing.

I have seen but one spring of consequence in this district, which is at a place called Bullet's Lick, on a small branch of Salt River which empties into the Ohio about twelve miles below the rapids. At this spring, by the best information I could get, about forty gallons of water will produce a bushel of salt. At the distance of a quarter of a mile from the spring is a small mountain, perhaps half a mile high, in the form of a sugar loaf, from the bottom of which the salt water appears evidently to proceed; and they now dig wells between the spring and the mountain, thirty or thirty-five feet deep, and find that the nearer they approach the mountain the stronger the water is impregnated with salt.

It is remarkable that the water from which they boil the salt is almost as black as ink, owing, as it is supposed, to its passing through a large pit of coal; and this idea is strengthened by the smell of the water when boiling, resembling that of the burning of coal, with a very strong mixture of sulphur. This blackness, however, disappears before the water is half boiled away; and the salt appears perfectly clean and very white, and is made with so much ease, notwithstanding they labor under every inconvenience from the want of proper pans, &c., that they can well afford to sell it at three dollars per bushel.

I have just heard of a very fine salt spring on Green River, a part of the country that is settling very fast. One half of it, with a small tract of land, — perhaps five hundred acres, — belongs to Col. Richard Anderson. He is not now in this country; but I am informed by a gentleman who transacts his business here, that he would sell his part of the spring and the land for five hundred pounds, Massachusetts currency,

and would make the terms of payment very easy, in case the interest be punctually paid, and good security for the principal.

I cannot learn that any experiments have yet been made, from which a judgment of the strength of its water may be formed, as every one goes with his kettle and boils for himself, without regard to any object but that of making as much as will serve him, as soon as possible; but if the spring in any measure answers the description given of it, it must undoubtedly be a fortune to any man who is able to carry on the business to advantage, unless the discovery of a salt-rock in the neighborhood — which many people expect — should prevent.

There are several other salt springs in this district; but the people make very little use of them at present, owing partly to the difficulty of procuring kettles, and partly to their laziness, or to the necessity they are under of turning their attention to other objects, which offer a more immediate subsistence.

Would the nature of my business admit of it, I should take great pleasure in rambling through this country in quest of curiosities, among the first of which I should reckon the Sulphureous and the Oil Spring, as I can no longer consider their existence as a fable. One of these was, not long since, discovered by a number of hunters, who pitched their tent by its side for the sake of water: one of them going in the evening to drink, with a firebrand in his hand for light, a coal by accident fell into the Spring and set it on fire, and it continued burning till morning. I have heard that it burns so well in lamps as to answer the purpose of oil.

There are many things in the country which attract the attention of the curious, but few have leisure and abilities to examine them to any valuable purpose.

We begin to talk warmly of a new State in this part of Virginia, and have already held one general convention of the people to consider of ways and means. Our motions, however, are retarded by our unfriendly neighbors, the Indians, who are frequently making incursions upon us, stealing our horses and cattle, and killing the people.

The subject of Kentucky has insensibly led me on to the end of my paper without once mentioning my friends in your family and neighborhood, for whom I shall ever retain a very friendly remembrance. Please to make my best compliments acceptable to them, and believe that I am, Sir, with much respect and esteem your

Friend and humble servant,

THOMAS PERKINS.

The Honorable J. PALMER, Esq.

Superscribed, — THE HONORABLE JOSEPH PALMER,
Braintree, near
Boston.

SPECIAL MEETING.

A special meeting of the Society was held at the house of the President, No. 145 Beacon Street, on the evening of Thursday, the 23d of February, at 7½ o'clock. The President was in the chair.

A letter from Henry I. Bowditch, M.D., was read by the President, in which he said that he had forwarded to the Society, at the request of Mrs. W. T. G. Morton, the letter of the Executive Committee on the Morton Testimonial, to be placed in the volume, now in the Society's keeping, which contains the original documents relative to Dr. Morton's discovery of Anæsthetic Inhalation as a safe and certain remedy for pain in surgery; and it was accordingly so ordered.

The President exhibited a volume of folio size, entitled "Letter of Hernando De Soto, and Memoir of Hernando De Escalante Fonteneda, translated from the Spanish by Buckingham Smith: Washington, 1854," which had been presented to the Society by George W. Riggs, Esq., of Washington.

The thanks of the Society was ordered for this gift.

He also read a letter from Surgeon General W. J. Dale, of Massachusetts, accompanying a copy of the "Old South," a volume published in 1803, containing a series of papers originally printed in the "Independent Chronicle" under that signature, written by Benjamin Austin, Jr.; together with the following letter, written soon after the encounter between Selfridge and Austin, in 1806, in State Street:—

CAMBRIDGE, [Wednesday], August 6, 1806.

DEAR COUSIN,—I received yours of the 22d ult., and thank you for your kind intention of sending after me; but as I have had opportunities of sending up so many of my things, and have a prospect of sending the rest, and some prospect of getting a ride up myself, without detracting any of my gratitude to you, I shall save you the trouble and myself the cost of procuring a horse and chaise to come after me.

Last Monday in the forenoon, an accident, equally melancholy and detestable, happened in Boston. Mr. Charles Austin, son of Benj. A., was purposely and designedly shot thro' the heart, in State street, by one Selfridge.

The circumstances, as far as I can collect, were as follows: Self. was a lawyer in Boston. Austin was a member of the present Senior class in college, and was about 18 years of age.

On Monday morning there appeared a piece in the B. Gazette,

intituled, "Austin posted," and the substance of it was as follows: Benjamin Austin having aspersed my character, I have often requested that satisfaction which is due to a gentleman, and not being able to obtain it, I declare said Austin to be a coward, a scoundrel and a liar. Some time before noon young A. was walking on the exchange, and met Self, and what took place previous to the fatal event is difficult to determine, reports are so various. Some say Austin began to cane him, others say that he only appeared in the attitude of raising his cane in order to strike. But this is fact, that Self drew a pistol, and shot him through the heart, that the young man expired almost instantly, that Self was apprehended, and that the verdict of the juror's inquest was willful murder.

A glairing specimen of Federal virtue!

I have not been to Boston since the fourth of July, but I propose going this week. Mr. Austin's funeral will be this afternoon, and I think it not improbable that I shall go over to that, if it does not rain.

Give my love to all the folks.

With much respect yours,

S. STEVENS.

MR. WILLIAM JOHNSON.

Mr. WATERSTON exhibited a silver medal, struck in Boston in 1787 to commemorate the fitting out of two vessels—the "Columbia" and the "Washington"—for trading to the North-West Coast.* The medal bore the name of Captain John Kendrick, who commanded the expedition. The "Washington," the smaller vessel, was at this time commanded by Captain Robert Gray, who, in 1792, while in command of the "Columbia," discovered the river which now bears that name. Among other names, the medal also bore that of Mr. Charles Bulfinch, afterward a distinguished Boston architect, of whom Mr. Waterston gave an interesting biographical sketch.†

Dr. JACOB BIGELOW related some interesting reminiscences of the expedition of Lewis and Clark across the Rocky Mountains in 1803–1806.

Remarks, suggested by previous speakers, were made by Messrs. Dana, Deane, Ellis, Green, Hillard, Parkman, Sibley, and the President.

Mr. SMITH read extracts from letters now in course of publication by the Society, from the collection of "Winthrop Papers" in the possession of the President.

The President remarked that his late visit to Philadelphia

* A representation of this medal may be seen in Robert Greenhow's "History of Oregon and California." Boston, 1845. p. 180. Greenhow speaks of this medal as of "copper."—EDS.

† As Mr. Waterston's remarks were not written, we are not able to print them here.—EDS.

had recalled to his remembrance the cordial relations which existed between William Penn and the second Governor Winthrop of Connecticut, the grandson of the Governor of Massachusetts. He then read, from the originals in his possession, the following letters:—

William Penn to Fitz John Winthrop.

Addressed, "For Coll. Winthrop, at a grocers in Clements Lane, London."

WORTHY FRIEND,—I would be glad of a line how y^e L. of A. & thyselfe parted; if any more news from America or y^e office, the L^{ds} of T. & Plant. I mean. I can't say I am lonely, but quiet, a blessing I can hardly finde in the town; the scheam begins to entertain me, I hope it will the Lords, to our gen^l ease. However, I shall have the satisfaction of haveing meant well to my neighbours as well as myselfe. Remember y^t Coll. D. can serve you of Coñ. with L^d of A. I will press no more; I fear I have the lot of thos y^t would haue both remitt to meet in a better good. I am, be y^t as it will, very much

Thy reall & aff. Friend,

WM. PENN.

WARMINGHURST, 27, 10^m, 96.

All is well here. Salute me to our Society.

Indorsed, "Dec^r. 27th 1696, W^m Penn, Esq^r., to Col. J. Winthrop."

Rough Autograph Draft of the Reply of Fitz John Winthrop to Wm. Penn.

HON^{BLE} SR,—I am very thankfull for y^e favour of yo^r letter, & therein the acc^t of yo^r welfare & repose under the contentment of yo^r country enjoyments. I haue been very uneasy with some indispositions w^{ch} haue hung about me & kept me within more than was fit, yet I may present to you that our affaires with the Lords Commissioners of trade & Plantation continue under theire favourable opinion, as much as can be expected under the disadvantage of yo^r absence. I parted from the L. A. I hope with his good opinion, and desire to heare nothing farther till yo^rselfe (able to governe in y^e most boysterous storme) shall thinke fit to come to towne. If the person you mention has influence upon his Lordship, w^{ch} I hope is not by yo^r interest, I can expect nothing but mischief & disturbance, and as much as can be from a spirit restless to our ruine. There is something of a generous spirit, or secret devill, in most inclinations. One caryes its sweete influences to every good; the other malice, revenge, & ruin to all mankind. Natural inclinations under the power of y^e lust of y^e world, &c., are with difficulty governed to any moderation, from whence procedes, &c. Tis y^e first tyme in my life that I haue let loose upon any, & now under as soft resentm^t as are fit, and hinted to you rather as a caution than any prejudiced reflection. But noe more of this at p^rsent. Tis rude to trouble you farther, or divert yo^r thoughts from that scheme.

(*The end torn off.*)

Wm. Penn to Fitz John Winthrop.

PHILADELPHIA, 13, 3^m 1700.

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND,—I have thought myself rude that I should be four months in America, without telling Coll. Winthrop of it, for whom I have always entertained a very particular esteem. But this I can say to abate my own reproach, I heartily & often meant it, & I will not otherwise make excuses where y^e case will not afford it; but I must do my selfe y^e right to say, I have asked of thy welfare, & pleased myselfe wth the good news of it, w^a it has been reported to me. And hearing by the bearer he intends to take his course for New England that way, I have embraced this happy opportunity of congratulating thee upon y^e honour that sober people have done themselves to elect thee to be their Gover^r, as a publick acknowledgem^t & reward of thy Merrit, of w^{ch} I have been an eye & ear witness, & y^t with great honour & courage. I also wish y^e continuance of it for their felicity. I know no body there, but have good will for all, & a particular esteem for thy Predecessor, of whose justice, plainness, & good understanding I have heard with esteem, whom pray salute in my name. Here are three ships lately come from England, but no news, and y^e ever pleases me, for then we heare of no wars. I pray God teache us to sanctify his great name in all our comforts, that he may please to continue them to us. I please myselfe to hope that I shall have a good correspondence with Coll. Wintrop, & by y^t means y^e opportunity of y^e news of his welfare, which will be very acceptable to

His very cordiall Friend,

WM. PENN.

Indorsed, "May 13th, 1700, Gov. Penn's Let^r to Gov. Winthrop."

Mr. FROTHINGHAM called attention to the Broadside printed in the Proceedings for October, 1870, containing the names of the "addressors" to Governor Hutchinson, previous to his departure for London on the 1st of June, 1774. They were printed in the "Massachusetts Gazette" (Tory) of June 2, 1774, appended to the following address, which, as printed in the newspaper, has this heading: "On Saturday last a number of gentlemen waited on our late Governor, Mr. Hutchinson, and presented to him the following address:—

Address "To Governor Hutchinson."

SIR,—We, Merchants and Traders of the Town of Boston, and others, do now wait on you, in the most respectful Manner, before your Departure for England, to testify, for ourselves, the entire Satisfaction we feel at your wise, zealous, and faithful Administration, during the few Years that you have presided at the Head of this Province. . . . Had your Success been equal to your Endeavours, and to the warmest

Wishes of your Heart, we cannot doubt that many of the Evils under which we now suffer would have been averted, and that Tranquility would have been restored to this long divided Province. But we assure ourselves, that the Want of Success in those Endeavours will not abate your good Wishes when removed from us, or your earnest Exertions still on every Occasion to serve the true Interest of this your native Country.

While we lament the Loss of so good a Governor, we are greatly relieved that his Majesty, in his gracious Favor, hath appointed, as your Successor, a Gentleman who, having distinguished himself in the long Command he hath held in another Department, gives us the most favorable Prepossession of his future Administration.

We greatly deplore the Calamities that are impending and will soon fall on this Metropolis, by the Operation of a late Act of Parliament for shutting up the Port on the first of the next Month. . . You cannot but be sensible, Sir, of the numberless Evils that will issue to the Province in general, and the Miseries and Distresses into which it will particularly involve this Town, in the Course of a few Months. Without meaning to arraign the Justice of the British Parliament, we could humbly wish that this Act had been couched with less Rigour, and that the Execution of it had been delayed to a more distant Time, that the People might have had the Alternative, either to have complied with the Conditions therein set forth, or to have submitted to the consequent Evils on Refusal; but as it now stands all Choice is precluded, and however disposed to Compliance or Concession the People may be, they must unavoidably suffer very great Calamities before they can receive Relief.

Making Restitution for Damage done to the Property of the East India Company, or to the Property of any Individual, by the Outrage of the People, we acknowledge to be just; and though we have ever disavowed, and do now solemnly bear our Testimony against such lawless Proceedings, yet, considering ourselves as Members of the same Community, we are fully disposed to bear our Proportions of those Damages, whenever the Sum and the Manner of laying it can be ascertained. We earnestly request that you, Sir, who know our Condition, and have at all Times displayed the most benevolent Disposition towards us, will, on your Arrival in England, interest yourself in our behalf, and make such favourable Representations of our Case, as that we may hope to obtain speedy and effectual Relief.

May you enjoy a pleasant Passage to England; and under all the Mortifications that you have patiently endured, may you possess the inward and consolatory Testimonies, of having discharged your trust with Fidelity and Honor; and receive those distinguishing Marks of his Majesty's Royal Approbation and Favor, as may enable you to pass the Remainder of your Life, in Quietness and Ease; and preserve your Name with Honor to Posterity.

Mr. Frothingham stated that other addresses were presented to Hutchinson at this time, which he carried to London, and

exhibited to Lord Dartmouth, who showed them to the king on the first of July.

The names of the "Protesters" against the Solemn League and Covenant, mentioned in the Broadside, were printed in the "Massachusetts Gazette" of July 7, 1774. It should be said that this "Solemn League and Covenant" had its origin in the Boston Committee of Correspondence. Joseph Warren, on the 2d of June, was appointed the chairman of a committee to draft such a paper. It was reported on the 5th, and sent with a circular to the towns. It was printed in the "Massachusetts Gazette" of June 23, 1774, from which the following is copied:—

Solemn League and Covenant.

We the subscribers, Inhabitants of the Town of —, having taken into our serious Consideration the precarious State of the Liberties of North America, and more especially the present distressed Condition of this insulted Province, embarrassed as it is by several Acts of the British Parliament, tending to the entire Subversion of our natural and Charter Rights; among which is the Act for blocking up the Harbour of Boston; and being fully sensible of our indispensable Duty to lay hold on every Means in our Power to preserve and recover the much injured Constitution of our Country; and conscious at the same time of no alternative between the horrors of slavery, or the carnage and desolation of a civil war, but a suspension of all commercial intercourse with the Island of Great Britain; *do*, in the Presence of God, solemnly and in a good faith, covenant and agree with each other:—

1st, That from henceforth we will suspend all commercial intercourse with the said Island of Great Britain, until the said Act for blocking up the said Harbour be repealed, and a full restoration of our Charter Rights be obtained.

2ndly, That there may be the less temptation to others to continue in the said, now dangerous, commerce, we do in like manner solemnly covenant that we will not buy, purchase, or consume, in any manner whatever, any goods, wares, or merchandize, which shall arrive in America from Great Britain aforesaid, from and after the last Day of August next ensuing. And in order as much as in us lies to prevent our being interrupted and defeated in this only peaceable measure, entered into for the recovery and preservation of our rights, we agree to break off all trade, commerce, and dealings whatever, with all persons, who, preferring their own private interest to the salvation of their now perishing Country, shall still continue to import goods of Great Britain, or shall purchase of those who do import.

3rdly, That such persons may not have it in their power to impose upon us by any pretence whatever, we further agree to purchase no Article of Merchandize from them, or any of them, who shall not have signed this, or a similar Covenant, or will not produce an oath, certified by a Magistrate to be by them taken to the following purpose, viz.,
I of in the county of do solemnly swear, that the

goods I have now on hand, and propose for sale, have not, to the best of my knowledge, been imported from Great Britain into any Port of America, since the last Day of August, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, and that I will not, contrary to the spirit of an Agreement entering into thro' this Province, import, or purchase of any person so importing, any goods as aforesaid, until the Port, or Harbor of Boston, shall be opened and we are fully restored to the free use of our constitutional and Charter rights.

Lastly, We agree that after this, or a similar covenant has been offered to any person, and they refuse to sign it, or produce the oath above said, we will consider them as contumacious importers, and withdraw all commercial connections with them, so far as not to purchase of them any article whatever, and publish their names to the world.

Witness our Hands.

JUNE, 1774.

This measure occasioned the following Protest, submitted at a town meeting. It was printed in the "Massachusetts Gazette" of July 7, 1774, with the names of the "Protesters," as contained in the Broadside already referred to:—

Whereas at a meeting of the Freeholders and other inhabitants of this Town, held at Faneuil Hall, the 27th instant, and from thence adjourned to the South Meeting House, copies of certain Circular Letters, wrote by the Committee of Correspondence, so called, for this Town, to the other Towns in the Province, and other Places on the Continent, and answers thereto from the several Towns and Colonies were read, likewise a certain Circular Letter, accompanied with a Solemn League and Covenant of a most dangerous Nature and Tendency, which hath been drawn up by the said Committee of Correspondence, copies whereof have been by them clandestinely dispersed through the Province, without the Consent or Knowledge of the Town, and recommended to the People of the Country, to execute without loss of time, "least their *enemies* should defeat its purpose." These points being fully spoke to, with Candour and Moderation by Gentlemen of different Sentiments, it was at length motioned and seconded, That the Committee of Correspondence be censured by the Town and dismissed from any further Service in that Capacity. After some Discussion on the Subject and other letters produced and read, the Question was put and passed in the Negative.

Wherefore, we the Dissentients do now make this publick and solemn Protest against the Doings of the said Committee, as such, against the Solemn League and Covenant afore-mentioned, and against the Proceedings of the Town so far as they have adopted the illegal Proceedings of the said Committee of Correspondence, for the following Reasons, viz.:—

First, Because, with regard to the Solemn League and Covenant afore-mentioned, we look on it to be a base, wicked, and illegal Measure, calculated to distress and ruin many Merchants, Shop-keepers,

and others, in this Metropolis, and affect the whole commercial Interest of this Province; to put a Check at once to our Industry, by stopping the Exportation of all the Staple Articles of our Trade, such as Oil, Pot and Pearl Ash, Flax Seed, Naval Stores, Lumber of all sorts, and likewise Cod Fish by way of Spain and Portugal, the Proceeds of which go to Great Britain as Remittance for Goods; also will put an end to a very valuable Branch of Trade to the Province of Ship Building; to create unhappy Divisions in Towns and in Families; to open a door for the most wicked Perjuries, and to introduce almost every Species of evil that we have not yet felt, and cannot serve any good purpose.

Secondly, Because that the Committee of Correspondence in many of their Letters held forth Principles, which, instead of extricating us from our Difficulties, serve, in our opinions, still further to involve us, to which Principles we cannot accede.

Thirdly, Because that the Committee of Correspondence, in some Letters that were read from them to New York, Philadelphia, and other Places, particularly two to New York of the 28th and 30th May, have falsely, maliciously, and scandalously vilified and abused the Characters of many of us, only for dissenting from them in opinion; a Right which we shall claim, so long as we hold any Claim to Freedom or Liberty.

Boston, June 29, 1774.

The Solemn League and Covenant elicited the following Proclamation, which is copied from the "Massachusetts Gazette" of June 30, 1774:—

PROVINCE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

BY THE GOVERNOR.

A PROCLAMATION.

For discouraging certain illegal Combinations.

Whereas certain Persons, calling themselves a Committee of Correspondence for the Town of Boston, have lately presumed to make, or cause to be made, a certain unlawful Instrument, purporting to be *A Solemn League and Covenant*, intended to be signed by the Inhabitants of this Province; whereby they are most solemnly to covenant and engage, to suspend all commercial Intercourse with the Island of Great Britain, until certain Acts of the British Parliament shall be repealed: And whereas printed Copies of the said unlawful Instrument have been transmitted, by the aforesaid Committee of Correspondence, so called, to the several Towns in this Province, accompanied with a scandalous, traiterous, and seditious Letter, calculated to inflame the Minds of the People, to disturb them with ill-grounded Fears and Jealousies, and to excite them to enter into an unwarrantable, hostile, and traiterous Combination, to distress the British Nation by interrupting, obstructing, and destroying her Trade with the Colonies, contrary to their Allegiance due to the King; and to the Form and Effect of

divers Statutes made for securing, encouraging, protecting, and regulating the said Trade; and destructive of the lawful Authority of the British Parliament, and of the Peace, good Order, and Safety of the Community: And whereas the Inhabitants of this Province, not duly considering the high Criminality, and dangerous Consequences to themselves of such alarming and unprecedented Combinations, may incautiously be tempted to join in the aforesaid unlawful League and Covenant, and thereby expose themselves to the fatal Consequences of being considered as the declared and open Enemies of the King, Parliament, and Kingdom of Great Britain:—

In observance therefore of my Duty to the King; in Tenderness to the Inhabitants of this Province; and to the End that none who may hereafter engage in such dangerous Combinations, may plead, in Excuse of their Conduct, that they were ignorant of the Crime in which they were involving themselves; I have thought fit to issue this Proclamation, hereby earnestly cautioning all Persons whatsoever within this Province against signing the aforesaid, or a similar Covenant, or in any Manner entering into, or being concerned in such unlawful, hostile, and traitorous Combinations, as they would avoid the Pains and Penalties due to such aggravated and dangerous Offences.

And I do hereby strictly enjoin and command all Magistrates and other Officers, within the several Counties in this Province, that they take effectual Care to apprehend and secure for Trial, all and every Person who may hereafter presume to publish, or offer to others to be signed, or shall themselves sign the aforesaid, or a similar Covenant, or be in any wise aiding, abetting, advising, or assisting therein.

And the respective Sheriffs of the several Counties within this Province are hereby required to cause this Proclamation forthwith to be posted up, in some public Place, in each Town, within their respective Districts.

Given under my Hand at Salem, the 29th Day of June, 1774, in the Fourteenth Year of His Majesty's Reign, By His Excellency's Command.

THO'S GAGE.

THO'S FLUCKER, *Sec'y.*

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Mr. Frothingham said that the Proclamation was disregarded by the patriots. This measure, however, was superseded by the wiser determination, extending through the thirteen colonies, to await the action of congress on a non-importation agreement. The popular party, from June to September, in courts and provincial conventions, pledged themselves on this subject to abide by the decisions of the congress; and generally voted to cut off all dealings with the colony or the individual who should refuse to come into the plan that might be agreed upon. It was thus determined, through the instrumentality of representation, that the decisions of this body, in matters common to all, should be paramount.

MARCH, 1871.

A stated monthly meeting was held on Thursday, March 9th, at 11 o'clock, A.M.; Vice-President ADAMS, in the absence of the President, in the Chair.

The record of the last monthly meeting was read.

The Librarian read his monthly list of donors to the Library.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter of acceptance from the Rev. W. I. Budington, D.D.

Mr. Abner C. Goodell, Jr., of Salem, was elected a Resident Member.

Dr. GREEN read some original letters of Benjamin Franklin, of which copies are here given:—

Address, — To Mess^{rs} WRIGHT, SMITH, & GRAY, Bankers,
Lombard Street.

GENTLEMEN, — Inclos'd I send you three Bills of Exchange, White on Bacon, for five hundred pounds sterling. They are different bills, tho' on the same paper. Please to present them for acceptance, and enter them in my book.

Send me p M^r Stevenson, the bearer, thirty guineas, of which two in silver.

I am, your most obed^t hum^{bl} serv^t,

B. FRANKLIN.

CRAVEN STREET, July 13, 1765.

Address, — Mr. DAVID HALL, Printer,
Philadelphia.

Via Boston.

Free, B. FRANKLIN.

LONDON, April 9, 1761.

DEAR FRIEND, — I receiv'd yours of Feb. 9, with the bills for 200*l*, for which I thank you. I shall take care to send the lower case Brevier r's that you write for; and acquaint M^r Strahan with what you mention. The loss of Faulkner & Lutwydgc has baulkt correspondence between Philad^a & London a great deal. I lately receiv'd the enclos'd from Edinburgh, & sent the answer you will find copy'd on the back. I cannot but blame Mess^{rs} Scot and McMichael, for continuing to draw on such correspondents, after what pass'd last year, and think they ought now to suffer a little. As the goods you order'd from M^r Balfour were, or would be, sent, I judg'd your affairs would not suffer by my not taking it up, for otherwise I should have done it.

I hope you will not disapprove my conduct in this respect, being,
dear friend,

Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

Indorsed, — Mr FRANKLIN,
April 9, 1761.

Address, — To Mr HUMPHRY MARSHALL,
West Bradford,
Chester County.

P Capt. Osborne,
with a brown paper parcel.

LONDON, April 22, 1771.

SIR, — I duly received your favours of the 4th of October and the 17th of November. It gave me pleasure to hear, that, tho' the merchants had departed from their agreement of non-importation, the spirit of industry & frugality was likely to continue among the people. I am obliged to you for your concern on my account. The letters you mention gave great offence here; but that was not attended with the immediate ill consequences to my interest that seem to have been hoped for by those that sent copies of them hither.

If our country people would well consider, that all they save in refusing to purchase foreign gewgaws, & in making their own apparel, being apply'd to the improvement of their plantations, would render those more profitable, as yielding a greater produce, I should hope they would persist resolutely in their present commendable industry and frugality. And there is still a farther consideration. The colonies that produce provisions grow very fast: but of the countries that take off those provisions, some do not increase at all, as the European nations. and others, as the West India Colonies, not in the same proportion. So that tho' the demand at present may be sufficient, it cannot long continue so. Every manufacturer encouraged in our country makes part of a market for provisions within ourselves, and saves so much money to the country as must otherwise be exported to pay for the manufactures he supplies. Here in England it is well known and understood, that wherever a manufacture is established which employs a number of hands, it raises the value of lands in the neighbouring country all around it; partly by the greater demand near at hand for the produce of the land; and partly from the plenty of money drawn by the manufacturers to that part of the country. It seems, therefore, the interest of all our farmers and owners of lands, to encourage our young manufactures in preference to foreign ones imported among us from distant countries.

I am much obliged by your kind present of curious seeds. They were welcome gifts to some of my friends. I send you herewith some of the new barley lately introduced into this country, & now highly spoken of. I wish it may be found of use with us.

I was the more pleas'd to see in your letter the improvement of

our paper; having had a principal share in establishing that manufacture among us many years ago by the encouragement I gave it.

If in any thing I can serve you here, it will be a pleasure to
Your obliged friend and humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.*

M^r HUMPHRY MARSHALL.

Address, — To Mess^{rs} SMITH, WRIGHT, & GRAY, Bankers,
Lomb^d Street.

GENT^l — Enclosed I send some bills; viz.:

Harly & Drummond	£200 0 0
W. Cunningham	20 0 0
D. Milligan	52 0 0
Alex Grant	30 0 0
	<hr/>
	302 0 0

for which please to return receipt p bearer.

Yours, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

Mess^{rs} SMITH, WRIGHT, & GRAY.

The Chairman took notice of the recent decease of an Associate Member, JOSEPH PALMER, M.D., and reported from the Standing Committee the following Resolution, which was adopted:—

Resolved, That the Society have heard with regret of the death of Dr. JOSEPH PALMER, a Resident Member, and that the President be requested to appoint one of our number to prepare a Memoir of him for the Society's Proceedings.

Mr. DEANE read the following extract from a letter addressed to him by the President of the Society, then in New York, dated 5th March, in which reference was made to the late Dr. Palmer:—

I see that our friend, Dr. Palmer, has at length been released from his infirmities. I would gladly have said a kind word about him at our meeting on Thursday; but I cannot be at home, and it will be better said by some one else. Hillard and I were among his pupils, when he was an usher of the Latin School, half a century ago. His "Necrology" of Harvard is really valuable. Perhaps Mr. Sibley would undertake a Memoir of him.

In haste,

Yours sincerely,

ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

CHARLES DEANE, Esq.

Messrs. Mason, Thayer, and E. B. Bigelow were appointed a Committee on the Treasurer's accounts.

* This letter is printed from a lithographic copy. — Eds.

Messrs. Lincoln, Blagden, and W. G. Brooks were appointed a Committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

Dr. GREEN exhibited a medallion of Dr. Franklin, in red clay, made by Nini in 1777. An engraving of it, on a reduced scale, appears in Lossing's "Field Book of the Revolution," ii. 855. It was probably this medallion that Franklin refers to in a letter to his daughter, dated June 3, 1779 (Sparks's Life, viii. 373). He there says: "The clay medallion of me, you say you gave to Mr. Hopkinson, was the first of the kind made in France. A variety of others have been made since of different sizes; some to be set in the lids of snuff-boxes, and some so small as to be worn in rings; and the numbers sold are incredible."

Mr. ELLIS AMES exhibited two very large, elegant, colored maps or plans, on parchment, of the territory formerly "Dorchester South Precinct," now comprising the towns of Canton, Stoughton, Sharon, Foxborough, a part of Dedham, and a large portion of Wrentham; and extending on the Plymouth Colony Line from Braintree to within one hundred and sixty rods of Rhode Island.

The earlier of the two plans was a copy made by James Blake, Jr., surveyor, in 1726, from a plan made by John Butcher, surveyor, from the surveys by the latter in detail made in 1696 and 1697, of what is now Canton, from the lines of Milton and Braintree, in the Blue Hills, including the reservation for the Punkapog Indians, and extending some distance into the northerly part of what is now Stoughton, and as far into Sharon as the east side of Massapoag Pond. This was what was called the "Twelve Divisions."

The second was an original plan of great length, made by James Blake, Jr., himself, from his own surveys of the "Twenty-five Divisions," so called, and finished by him in 1730; comprehending a laborious, complete, and detailed survey of the easterly, south-easterly, and southerly part of Stoughton, and of all the territory of ancient Dorchester South Precinct not described upon Butcher's plan, including the residue of Sharon, all of Foxborough, the gore of Wrentham, and about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles into Wrentham on the Plymouth Colony Line. That gore of Wrentham was cut off from Dorchester South Precinct in 1724, and set to Wrentham by an Act of the General Court.

Upon these plans the few then existing roads or paths and all the rivers and ponds were delineated, and all the sections of land plotted, and the owners' names inserted. The first child of English origin born upon that territory was in the

year 1700. These surveys of sections were chiefly of the earliest sale and laying out to individuals of the lands of that territory. Mr. Ames said that he had never known or heard of any ancient surveyors' plans of the kind, of equal extent, to compare with these in elegance and finish.

The Cabinet-keeper called attention to a portrait in oil, of cabinet size, of Governor Mascarene, of Nova Scotia, painted from the original (which is now in Nova Scotia) by our member, Mr. WHITMORE, who presented it to the Society.

Mr. WHITMORE presented a copy of the National Intelligencer, of Oct. 25, 1862, containing some letters of General Washington, addressed to Lund Washington, which were referred to the Publishing Committee. They are here printed:—

*Letters of General Washington to Lund Washington, Esq.**

ALEXANDRIA, Oct. 22, 1862.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

I send you extracts from three of Gen. Washington's letters. They will be found exceedingly interesting, and I offer them for publication.

CASSIUS F. LEE, Jr.

COL. MORRIS'S, ON THE HEIGHTS OF HARLEM,
30th September, 1776.

DEAR LUND,—Your letter of the 18th, which is the only one received and unanswered, now lies before me. The amazement which you seem to be in at the unaccountable measures which have been adopted by — would be a good deal increased if I had the time to unfold the whole system of their management since this time twelve months. I do not know how to account for the unfortunate steps which have been taken but from that fatal idea of conciliation which prevailed so long,—fatal, I call it, because, from my soul, I wish it may prove so, though my fears lead me to think there is too much danger of it. This time last year I pointed out the evil consequences of short enlistments, the expenses of militia, and the little dependence that was to be placed in them. I assured — that the longer they

* "Mr. Lund Washington was the agent for superintending General Washington's plantations, and managing his business concerns, during the Revolution. It was not known what degree of family relationship existed between them, though it was supposed that they both descended from the same original stock. . . . From the beginning to the end of the Revolution, Lund Washington wrote to the General as often at least as two or three times a month, and commonly every week, detailing minutely all the events that occurred on the plantations. . . . These letters were regularly answered by the General. . . . Hardly any copies of this description of letters were recorded, if retained, and the originals have been lost or destroyed. But Lund Washington's letters are preserved. . . ."—*Sparks's Writings of Washington*, III. 170, 171.—Rds.

delayed raising a standing army the more difficult and chargeable would they find it to get one, and that, at the same time that the militia would answer no valuable purpose, the frequent calling them in would be attended with an expense that they could have no conception of. Whether, as I have said before, the unfortunate hope of reconciliation was the cause, or the fear of a standing army prevailed, I will not undertake to say; but the policy was to engage men for twelve months only. The consequence of which, you have had great bodies of militia in pay that never were in camp; you have had immense quantities of provisions drawn by men that never rendered you one hour's service (at least usefully), and this in the most profuse and wasteful way. Your stores have been expended, every kind of military (?) destroyed by them; your numbers fluctuating, uncertain, and forever far short of report,—at no one time, I believe, equal to twenty thousand men fit for duty. At present our numbers fit for duty (by this day's report) amount to 14,759, besides 3,427 on command, and the enemy within stone's throw of us. It is true a body of militia are again ordered out, but they come without any conveniences and soon return. I discharged a regiment the other day that had in it fourteen rank and file fit for duty only, and several that had less than fifty. In short, such is my situation that if I were to wish the bitterest curse to an enemy on this side of the grave, I should put him in my stead with my feelings; and yet I do not know what plan of conduct to pursue. I see the impossibility of serving with reputation, or doing any essential service to the cause by continuing in command, and yet I am told that if I quit the command inevitable ruin will follow, from the distraction that will ensue. In confidence I tell you that I never was in such an unhappy, divided state since I was born. To lose all comfort and happiness on the one hand, whilst I am fully persuaded that under such a system of management as has been adopted I cannot have the least chance for reputation, nor those allowances made which the nature of the case requires; and to be told, on the other, that if I leave the service all will be lost, is, at the same time that I am bereft of every peaceful moment, distressing to a degree. But I will be done with the subject, with the precaution to you that it is not a fit one to be publicly known or discussed. If I fall, it may not be amiss that these circumstances be known, and declaration made in credit to the justice of my character. And if the men will stand by me (which by the by I despair of), I am resolved not to be forced from this ground while I have life; and a few days will determine the point, if the enemy should not change their plan of operations; for they certainly will not—I am sure they ought not—to waste the season that is now fast advancing, and must be precious to them. I thought to have given you a more explicit account of my situation, expectation, and feelings, but I have not time. I am wearied to death all day with a variety of perplexing circumstances—disturbed at the conduct of the militia, whose behavior and want of discipline has done great injury to the other troops, who never had officers, except in a few instances, worth the bread they eat. My time, in short, is so much engrossed that I have not leisure for corresponding,

unless it is on mere matters of public business. . . . I am, with truth and sincerity, dear Lund, your affectionate friend,

GEO. WASHINGTON.

Another letter dated —

FALLS OF THE DELAWARE, SOUTHSIDE,
December 10, 1776.

DEAR LUND, — . . . I wish to Heaven it was in my power to give you a more favorable account of our situation than it is. Our numbers, quite inadequate to the task of opposing that part of the army under the command of Gen. Howe, being reduced by sickness, desertion, and political deaths (on or before the 1st instant, and having no assistance from the militia), were obliged to retire before the enemy, who were perfectly well informed of our situation till we came to this place, where I have no idea of being able to make a stand, as my numbers, till joined by the Philadelphia militia, did not exceed three thousand men fit for duty. Now we may be about five thousand to oppose Howe's whole army, that part of it excepted which sailed under the command of Gen. Clinton. I tremble for Philadelphia. Nothing, in my opinion, but Gen. Lee's speedy arrival, who has been long expected, though still at a distance (with about three thousand men), can save it. We have brought over and destroyed all the boats we could lay our hands on upon the Jersey shore for many miles above and below this place; but it is next to impossible to guard a shore for sixty miles with less than half the enemy's numbers; when by force or stratagem they may suddenly attempt a passage in many different places. At present they are encamped or quartered along the other shore above and below us (rather this place, for we are obliged to keep a face towards them) for fifteen miles. . . .

From the same letter, dated —

DECEMBER 17, ten miles above the Falls.

. . . I have since moved up to this place, to be more convenient to our great and extensive defences of this river. Hitherto, by our destruction of the boats, and vigilance in watching the fords of the river above the falls (which are now rather high), we have prevented them from crossing; but how long we shall be able to do it God only knows, as they are still hovering about the river. And if every thing else fails will wait till the 1st of January, when there will be no other men to oppose them but militia, none of which but those from Philadelphia, mentioned in the first part of the letter, are yet come (though I am told some are expected from the back counties). When I say none but militia, I am to except the Virginia regiments and the shattered remains of Smallwood's, which, by fatigue, want of clothes, &c., are reduced to nothing, — Weedon, which was the strongest, not having more than between one hundred and thirty to one hundred and forty men fit for duty, the rest being in the hospitals. The unhappy policy of short enlistments and a dependence upon militia will, I fear, prove the downfall of our cause, though early pointed out with an almost

prophetic spirit! Our cause has also received a severe blow in the captivity of Gen. Lee. Unhappy man! Taken by his own imprudence, going three or four miles from his own camp, and within twenty of the enemy, notice of which by a rascally Tory was given, a party of light horse seized him in the morning after travelling all night and carried him off in high triumph, and with every mark of indignity, not even suffering him to get his hat or surtout coat. The troops that were under his command are not yet come up with us, though they, I think, may be expected to-morrow. A large part of the Jerseys have given every proof of disaffection that they can do, and this part of Pennsylvania are equally inimical. In short, your imagination can scarce extend to a situation more distressing than mine. Our only dependence now is upon the speedy enlistment of a new army. If this fails, I think the game will be pretty well up, as, from disaffection and want of spirit and fortitude, the inhabitants, instead of resistance, are offering submission and taking protection from Gen. Howe in Jersey. . . .

I am, your affectionate friend,

GEO. WASHINGTON.

TO LUND WASHINGTON, Esq.

HEADQUARTERS MIDDLEBROOK, May 29, 1779.

DEAR LUND, — Your letter of the 19th, which came to hand by the last post, gives a melancholy account of your prospects for a crop, and a still more melancholy one of the decay of public virtue. The first I submit to with the most perfect resignation and cheerfulness. I look upon every dispensation of Providence as designed to answer some valuable purpose, and hope I shall always possess a sufficient degree of fortitude to bear without murmuring any stroke which may happen, either to my person or estate, from that quarter. But I cannot, with any degree of patience, behold the infamous practices of speculators, monopolizers, and all that class of gentry which are preying upon our very vitals, and, for the sake of a little dirty pelf, are putting the rights and liberties of the country into the most imminent danger, and continuing a war destructive to the lives and property of the valuable part of this community, which would have ceased last fall as certain as we now exist but for the encouragements the enemy derived from this source, — the depreciation of the money (which in a great measure is the consequence of it) and our own internal divisions.

I am, sincerely and affectionately, your friend and servant,

GEO. WASHINGTON.

LUND WASHINGTON, Esq.

Mr. DEANE read a letter from Messrs. Cyrus and Darius Cobb, presenting to the Society a cabinet picture of the late Dr. John Appleton, so long Assistant Librarian of the Society.

He also read a letter from Mr. Charles E. Wiggin, of Boston, presenting to the Society, in the name of Mrs. M. H. School-

craft, widow of the late Henry R. Schoolcraft, of Washington, a number of books in the Indian languages of America.

Mr. Deane communicated at the same time an interesting letter from Mrs. Schoolcraft, addressed to Mr. Wiggin, which, by the kindness of the latter, had been placed in his hands; and in which, in a touching manner, she speaks of the literary labors of her husband, of his prostration for many years by disease, during which he was dependent on his wife as nurse and amanuensis. It is understood that the six folio volumes of Mr. Schoolcraft on the History, &c., of the Indian Tribes of the United States, were written wholly by Mrs. Schoolcraft at his dictation.

The thanks of the Society were returned for these several gifts.

SPECIAL MEETING.

A social meeting was held on Thursday evening, March 23d, at the house of Mr. Robert M. Mason, No. 1 Walnut Street, corner of Beacon Street, at 7½ o'clock; the President in the chair.

The President communicated a copy of a photographic likeness of the late Winthrop Sargent, a Corresponding Member of the Society, presented by his sister, Mrs. Henry Duncan; together with the following Paper:—

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
PHILADELPHIA, December 12, 1870.

[*Extract from the Minutes.*]

Mr. JORDAN remarked that the Society had lately lost by death one of its valued members, Winthrop Sargent, who died in Paris on the 18th of May last.

Mr. Sargent's loss has been the subject of more than usual notice by press of the United States and the different bodies with which he was connected. The Bar of Philadelphia, his native city, from which he had long been separated, had publicly expressed the sense of affectionate regret for a member who had illustrated by his literary productions the culture and refinement of the profession in which he had been educated. The Massachusetts Historical Society had placed upon their record their sense of his great services to American History. He thought it fitting that this Society, under whose auspices Mr. Sargent had edited some of his most valuable works, should make an extended acknowledgment of the great merit of their late member.

These two works — "The History of An Expedition against Fort Du Quesne, in 1775," &c., from original manuscripts in the British Museum, with an original "Introductory Memoir"; and a "Journal of the General Meeting of the Cincinnati in 1784," from the original manuscript of his grandfather, Major Winthrop Sargent — were produced at an age when most men only give promise of future excellence; and they have become standard works of American History. They are among the most creditable of the productions which our Society has given rise to. His "Life and Career of Major John André," a more elaborate work, is one of the most graceful products of his pen, and displays Mr. Sargent's capacity for thorough research and discriminating use of materials, which alone can give historical value to works of biography.

He edited also for a sister society in Massachusetts, from which State his ancestry was derived, and in whose annals the family name constantly appears, "The Letters of John Andrews, Esq., of Boston, from 1772 to 1776." He published in a limited edition, exquisitely printed, a collection of the Loyalist Ballads of the Revolution; a work the appreciation of which by book-fanciers is shown in the extraordinary price a copy, when rarely sold, produces. He published also the "Loyal Verses of Joseph Stansberry and Dr. Jonathan Odell, relating to the American Revolution."

Mr. Sargent was a frequent contributor to the "North American Review." His articles were warmly commended for their vivacity and brilliancy. In the field of literary criticism his erudition and varied scholarship made him a valuable contributor. He was no mean poet; but verse was a relaxation, rather than a pursuit. A few fugitive pieces, published anonymously and known only to his friends, attest the gracefulness of his diction in this branch of literature. But it was in historical research that he found the work most fitting for the bent of his mind. He revered the past and loved it, — he was fond of the actors; he loved to reproduce them in their ordinary garbs, to present them in letters to show their modes of thought and daily actions. He stripped characters of their tinsel, and made them walk like common men; but he did not belittle them. Himself of Revolutionary descent, he could do justice to the motives and feelings which made a man a Tory. He was eminently a citizen of the world in his knowledge of men and manners, and his various and discursive reading made him the familiar of men of different periods as well as of different countries. A mind so versatile and varied in its many sides, united to studious habits and a genuine fondness of literature, would almost of necessity have resulted in some work which would have taken its place among the classics of American Literature. But he was called away, leaving much accomplished, but with the promise of greater usefulness unfulfilled.

It is only just that this Society should have upon its records some tribute to his memory.

After some further remarks by other members, it was, on motion of Mr. Edward Penington, ordered that, instead of adopting resolutions, the remarks of the speaker should be entered on the minutes as ex-

pressing the sense of the Society in relation to the death of Mr. Sargent, and that copies should be sent to his bereaved sister.

Certified from the minutes.

Attest, — JAMES ROSS SNOWDEN,
Corresponding Secretary
Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

MADAM, — At a meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, held at their hall, on the 12th of December, 1870, the above proceedings occurred, which by order I have the honor to transmit to you.

Very respectfully,

EDWARD PENINGTON, Jr.

MRS. HENRY P. DUNCAN.

Mr. FROTHINGHAM read a very interesting and important paper, a copy from Governor Hutchinson's own manuscript, being a conversation, on the crisis in America, between himself, King George III., and Lord Dartmouth, which took place immediately on Hutchinson's arrival in England in 1774, after he had been superseded by General Gage. He sailed from Boston on the first of June of that year. The original manuscript of this conversation is referred to in the editorial preface (placed in some of the copies) of the third volume of Hutchinson's "History of Massachusetts," published in London in 1828, — forty-eight years after the death of the author. Mr. Frothingham said that the copy of the conversation from which he read was made by him from another transcript, in the possession of Mr. Bancroft; and that he had been enjoined against allowing it to be printed.

Dr. ELLIS read a paper on an alleged incident in New England history, taking for his text the well-known lines in Hudibras: —

"Our brethren of New England use
Choice malefactors to excuse,
And hang the guiltless in their stead,
Of whom the churches had less need," &c.

He gave the different versions of the story, as related by Morton of Merry Mount, by Winslow, and by Hubbard, quoting also a tradition picked up by a later traveller; and showed that, while there was no foundation for the story as told by the poet, some real incidents may have given rise to it. An occurrence in Weston's colony of vagabonds, at Wessagussett (Weymouth), is supposed to have furnished the occasion for the satire.

Mr. W. G. BROOKS read extracts from a Diary of Mr. Nathaniel Cutting, in which incidents, persons, and places, familiar to old residents of Boston eighty years ago, are mentioned; and which, with the notice of Mr. Cutting furnished by Mr. Brooks, are here given:—

Mr. NATHANIEL CUTTING, the writer of this Journal, was a native of Brookline, Mass., and for many years was a ship-master in the employ of Mr. Nathaniel Tracy, of Newburyport. In 1789 he was a resident of Havre, in France, and kept a journal of occurrences in that city and Paris during the revolution. In 1790 and again in 1791 he visited St. Domingo on business, and was there in the latter year when the island was in a state of revolt. His journal at that time is very interesting. In 1792 he returned to this country, and made the visits to Boston. In 1793 he was appointed by Washington, on recommendation of Mr. Jefferson with whom he was very intimate, Secretary to Colonel Humphreys, on his mission to the Dey of Algiers to demand indemnity for depredations on our commerce and the release of American citizens. This mission, as is well known, was a total failure; and all that was obtained was a decided refusal of the Dey of Algiers to allow them a passport. Their journey toward Algiers through Spain is very graphically described by Mr. Cutting.

Mr. Cutting finally returned to his native country, and was many years an assistant in the War Department, and died at Washington about 1822.

Extracts from a Journal of a Gentleman visiting Boston in 1792.

Sept. 3. Left Providence in the public stage. Between two and three o'clock we dined at Gay's tavern in Dedham. Reached Boston before six. As we approached Boston, some Maryland gentlemen of our party expressed great pleasure at the beautifully variegated appearance of the country, the fertility of the soil in those places where it appeared well cultivated, the neatness of the buildings, and the industry of the inhabitants. The stage, after driving into State Street to deliver the mail, set us down at the house of Mrs. Eaton. Walked up to the "Bunch of Grapes" in the evening.

Sept. 4. Took a stroll on Beacon Hill, from the summit whereof one may behold the most variegated and luxuriant scenery that nature and art combined present through her extensive works. Our friends did not fail to express their admiration of the delightful prospect, and to declare that neither in Europe nor in any other part of America did they ever enjoy so charming a view. We found fault with the ridiculous Obelisk, if such the *thing* may be called, which is placed on the highest point of the hill by way of ornament: it puts one in mind of

a farthing candle placed in a large candlestick upon the altar of some Roman Catholic chapel. After descending the hill, we took a view of the dwelling-house of Mr. John Joy lately erected a little to the westward of Mr. Hancock's house: the front is among the neatest and most elegant I have ever seen; it is two stories high, overcast, and painted a kind of peach-bloom colour, and adorned with semi-columns, fluted, of the Corinthian order, the whole height of the edifice. We strolled down the Mall, and then repaired to the house of Mr. S. Breck. We afterward walked round new Boston, and viewed a number of handsome dwelling-houses lately erected, particularly one not finished, belonging to Mr. Joseph Cooledge of this town. We examined the disposition and style of the apartments. Our party then went upon 'Change, and were introduced to the Hon. Thomas Russell and many gentlemen of my former circle of acquaintance. After tea, under the auspices of Mr. Harry Hill, visited the "Gentlemen's Club," a social society that meet once a week at the house of some one of its members, who entertain the company in rotation; also called at the house of H. G. Otis, Esq.

Sept. 5. A large carriage and four horses took our travelling party out in the country. We set out immediately, and passed over the new Charles River Bridge through the Town of Medford, over the wiers and down through Menotomy to the house of Mr. Cragie in Cambridge, where we were cordially received and hospitably entertained by the modest and opulent proprietor. We walked up to his summer house, a pretty piece of ornamental architecture situated on an eminence, once a reservoir of ice, built by Nathaniel Tracy, Esq., when he was proprietor of and resided at this superb and delightful seat. Our Maryland gentlemen were perfectly enchanted with it. I think one may safely assert that, after Beacon Hill in Boston, this spot presents the most beautiful, extensive, and variegated landscape in the world. From Mr. Cragie's we went to the colleges, to take a view of the library, which is said to be the best in America, both with respect to the number of books and the selection. The books are arranged with great propriety and elegance. There are several paintings and engravings at the end of the room that attract one's attention, particularly a portrait of the Cardinal Bentivolio, executed by Smybert, from the original of Raphael. It is certainly an excellent painting, and does much honor to the copyist. We took a cursory view of the cabinet of curiosities; the collection is small and boasts but few rarities. We next visited the Corporation Room, which is adorned with several handsome paintings and engravings. In this room stands the elegant Orrery made by Mr. Joseph Pope, a watch-maker of Boston, which for mechanism and excellence of workmanship is said to equal any thing of the kind in the world. After looking into the Commons or Eating Room, and into the chapel, which occupy the whole first floor of the building, we embarked in our carriages, and returned to Boston, *via* Roxbury. The gentlemen from Maryland expressed themselves much pleased with the excursion.

Thursday, Sept. 6. We accompanied the Maryland gentlemen to view the celebrated card manufactory in this town. All the machinery

necessary to form the wooden part or back of the card is moved by water, the wire is cut and the leather perforated by machinery. The instrument is very complicated, but may be turned and used by a child seven years old. It was originally invented by Mr. Pope, the watch-maker. Near one thousand persons are employed in this manufactory, of which three-quarters are children. We next went to view the duck, *alias* sail cloth, manufactory. We did not see the blooming girls who are generally employed in spinning, they being now under the operation of inoculation for the small-pox. The duck appears to be of a much better texture than the corresponding numbers of English duck. While there Mr. Joseph Barrell came in, and conducted us to his house. We were much gratified with a view of his garden. He regaled us also with fruits gathered immediately from the trees. Same day dined with Mr. William Payne, where I met numbers of my acquaintance.

Friday, Sept. 7. My Maryland friends took their departure. They leave well satisfied with their hospitable and polite reception here, and with an elevated idea of the beauty and value of this delightful country. I wish sincerely that the intercourse between the inhabitants of the southern and northern parts of the United States was more familiar and cordial. It might be the means of cementing that Union which is the grand basis of our national grandeur and happiness. Strolled in the Mall with Mr. N. Barrett, and dined with Mr. Daniel Sargent. Afterwards called on Mr. Thomas H. Perkins, who subsequently accompanied me on a visit to his worthy mother. There met Mrs. Lincoln, widow of a son of General Lincoln.

Sept. 8. Walked to the pier with Mr. T. Dennie, and called at the store of Mr. Mungo Mackey, who despatches the vessel in which Mr. S. A. Otis takes passage for Cape Francois. Sent a letter by him to Mr. S. G. Perkins. Dined with Mr. John Codman by appointment; met Mr. N. Barrett and wife there, and a number of other gentlemen.

Sept. 10. Met Col. Trumbull, the painter, in State Street, and Christopher Gore, Esq., and also encountered Doct. Jarvis. Dined with Dr. Cragie; met there Mr. Gerry, one of the members of Congress of this State, and several other gentlemen. The entertainment was elegant and variegated, and genuine unceremonious hospitality gave it an additional zest.

Sept. 11. Rev. Mr. Murray, of Gloucester, called upon me, and also Mr. Andrew Hall of Medford. Mr. Murray dined with me, and we had a social repast. Waited upon Mr. T. H. Perkins; he read me a letter from his brother Samuel at the Cape, which paints in very lively colours the very distress state of the French Colony of St. Domingo; their situation is very deplorable. In the evening went to Powell's "Evening Brush," where we were amused for an hour or two with burlesque imitations, droll anecdotes, and both characteristic and sentimental songs. The whole interlarded and accompanied by tolerably good musick.

Sept. 10, Sunday. Visited Medford, and called at Mr. Andrew Hall's, and attended meeting to hear Rev. Dr. Osgood.

Sept. 17. In a company of gentlemen to-day a high disputation took place respecting the Order of the Cincinnati, both as to the propriety of the establishment as it actually is, and to the pretension that the descendants of the present members may form, should the order become hereditary. One gentleman, a decided republican in principle, thought the order ought to be totally abolished, or rather ought never to have existed, observing that any hereditary distinction can never be of service, and may become prejudicial to a Commonwealth which is founded on the basis of original equality. Major Samuel Shaw, on the other side, stood forth as the champion of the order, stating "that as no power of any species was attached to the order it never could become dangerous in society, but might be productive of great benefits, because when a young man looked at the diploma which conferred the distinction, or at the Golden Eagle which was worn by his ancestor who fought thro all difficulties to obtain the freedom and independence of his country, he would naturally be stimulated to the most laudable and patriotic exertions. If he could for a moment prove deaf to the calls of his country when her liberties were in danger, a single glance at these insignia would arouse all that is noble and virtuous in the character of man: he would rush to the post of danger, and there acquire fresh laurels, or die in defence of those which the present race have attained. Was it possible for a member of the Cincinnati to lose sight of the duty he owes his country, and attempt to infringe her liberties, the medal which he wears would swing reproaches at him, and his mind would become a — worse than ever poets feigned."

Sept. 18. Called at the printing office of Mr. B. Russell. At evening went to the theatre, as a rough boarded hovel in Board Alley is called, in order to kill an hour or two in gazing at rope-dancing and pantomimics; was particularly invited thereto by an article in the play-bill of the day, which announced a piece to be delivered by a "Lady of Cape Ann;" the composition may be clever, but the lady who spoke it assassinated both the language and sense.

Sept. 19. We took a walk out to Cambridge, and breakfasted with Mr. Cragie, who received and entertained us as he does all the world with genuine good humour and hospitality. On our return struck off from the road, and took a view of the beautiful and commodious edifice which Mr. Joseph Barrell of this town is erecting for his country residence upon an eminence near Charles River. As it will be the largest, so I think it will be infinitely the most elegant dwelling-house ever yet built in New England. It commands the most delightful views imaginable. Mr. B. has here 200 acres of land nearly; fifty of which, I understand, he intends to appropriate for gardens.

22. Dined with Mr. Sam'l Shaw, T. H. Perkins, & others. We rose from table time enough to visit a ship which Mr. Shaw is dispatching for India on his own account. Mr. Shaw & myself afterwards took a walk in the Mall, and then returned home.

25th. Went with Mr. J. Coolidge, Jr., to visit the new mansion-house which is erected by his father. In it elegance & convenience strive for preference, but its site is not pleasant or advantageous. Called to visit

Col. Trumbull, also Mr. Breck. He acquaints me that he shall depart with his family for Philadelphia on Thursday next. The removal of such useful citizens of such handsome property from this town must be detrimental to the interests of the community. It is impolitic in the assessor, or rather the inhabitants of the town, to tax such men 1200 dolls. per annum, or nearly that, when in other States, nay, in other towns in the same State, the same man with the identical property he now possesses would not be taxed a twentieth part of the sum.

26th. Repaired to the Exhibition Room, where a set of strollers gave what they called, "A Moral Lecture upon Douglass," which was no other than a humble attempt at representing the whole of the tragedy of "Douglass." This was succeeded by what the advertisement styled a Comic Lecture, in two parts, which in fact was the opera called the "Poor Soldier."

27. Attended a concert at Concert Hall. Great number of gentlemen and ladies present. The Frenchman who was manager of the concert sang two French songs, & afterwards gave several pieces on the harmonica, *alias* glassicord: the novelty of this mode of modulating sound attracted general attention.

28th. Went upon 'Change, & found a vessel had arrived from Liverpool bringing accounts of violent commotions having recently taken place in Paris, in which the king & royal family's lives were in great danger, and it was not certainly known that they were not massacred.

Met this day Mr. Joseph May & Mr. Joseph Cordis of Charlestown Sunday, Sept. 30, 1792. Attended church at Brattle Street; heard Parson Thatcher hold forth. Afterwards strolled in the Mall, & called at the house of H. G. Otis.

Oct. 1. Dined with Mr. John Codman. The topic of conversation in all circles here now is the deplorable condition to which France is reduced by her intestine divisions.

Oct. 2. Called at Brooks' Insurance Office, & then dined with T. H. Perkins. Evening, went to Exhibition Room, Board Alley, where I found many gentlemen of my acquaintance assembled at a concert.

3d. Dined with Mr. Cragie at his country seat. Enjoyed an elegant repast in company with several acquaintances & two or three French gentlemen.

I learn that a ship arrived here this afternoon, 35 days from Bristol. Intelligence by her confirms the accounts we have had of the commotions at Paris, but adds that the National Assembly have proscribed M. de la Fayette & offered a reward for his head! This is doubtless at the instigations of the Jacobins.

Gen. Cobb informs me a vessel has arrived at Rhode Island from Bordeaux, which brings accounts that M. de la Fayette is brought prisoner to Paris by 600 of his own soldiers.

Came up to Brooks', where much is said every day about the affairs of France. Capt. Joseph Tilden showed me a letter from his correspondent at Bordeaux.

Oct. 13. A most elegant Aurora Borealis made its appearance this evening, shooting up in streams from the horizon quite to the zenith. It was really an object of admiration.

Sunday, 14. Went to hear Rev. Mr. John Murray to-day. He exhibited great ingenuity in handling his subject, & developed more of the tenets held by his sect, who are called Universal Redemptionists, than I ever before heard him do in public or private.

Oct. 17. Dined with Joseph Barrell, Esq., by appointment. A large company of gentlemen present, among whom were Judge Lowell, Judge Iredell, Judge Sullivan. An elegant dinner & delicious high flavored wines.

Oct. 23, 1792. At 11 o'clock, A.M., repaired to the Meeting House in Brattle Street, where I found a respectable audience assembled to hear a discourse in commemoration of the first Discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. The Rev. Mr. Belknap, one of the members of the Historical Society, was the orator. He gave a very concise & comprehensive narrative of the most material circumstances which led to, attended, or were consequent on the Discovery of America. The subject was so interesting and so extremely well handled that the audience paid the most profound attention, and gave evident signs of being exceedingly well entertained. For my own part, I never heard any thing of the kind that gave me so much pleasure. This is designed as a beginning to celebrate the centenary of the Discovery of America. It is just 300 years since that important event took place. The ceremony was conducted much in the style of a common lecture. The celebration commenced with an anthem. Mr. Thatcher made an excellent prayer, part of a psalm was then sung, and then Mr. Belknap delivered his discourse, which was succeeded by a prayer from Mr. Eliot. Mr. Thatcher then read an Ode composed for the occasion by Mr. Belknap, which was sung by the choir; this finished the ceremony. The celebration was under the auspices of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

I went on 'Change, and was invited to join several parties of my acquaintance who dine together in celebration of this anniversary.

Oct. 25. Dined at home with a large party assembled at the invitation of Major Shaw.

Went to the assembly at Concert Hall at 7 o'clock. Found near fifty ladies assembled, most of them beautiful and elegantly dressed. I do not think there is another city in the world where one would meet the same number of charming women assembled on any occasion as those who attend the dancing assemblies at Concert Hall.

M. Fouraignan, a planter of Martinique, who has recently come to board with us, informs me that new commotions are likely to break out in Martinique. Some of the patriotic troops, as they are called, lately from France, have landed at St. Pierres, and at the instigation of many of the inhabitants of that city, and prompted by their own intemperate enthusiasm in favor of liberty and equality, are determined to remodel the government in that island, and to reduce the planters to the democratic system in its wildest extent, pretending that at present that class are opposed to the revolution in France, and refuse to obey the decrees of the National Assembly.

Oct. 31. A rumor to-day that accounts have arrived on the conti-

ment, *via* Gaudaloupe, that the Austrian army are in possession of Paris, and that they have reinstated the king, &c.

Nov. 2. Sunday. Strolled in the Mall to enjoy the delightful elasticity of the air. Met several gentlemen of my acquaintance there. Dined with T. H. Perkins, and attended church with him in the afternoon, and heard Mr. Belknap deliver an old-fashioned sermon that I doubt not was Orthodox to a tittle.

Nov. 3. This is the day of election here for Federal Representatives. The principal contest seemed to be between Fisher Ames, Esq., an accomplished lawyer, who is a member of the present Congress, who has given sufficient proofs of his being a staunch Federalist, and Benjamin Austin, Jr., Esq., a Democratic *enragée*, who has long been known as an instigator and patron of faction in this town. Every staunch friend to the Federal Government will rejoice to find that Mr. Ames carried it by a majority of over forty votes.

Went to dine with an old acquaintance and worthy man, Mr. Joseph May, agreeably to appointment. Met T. H. Perkins there.

Nov. 6. Rumor from France, *via* Portland, that another tumult has taken place in Paris, where 11,000 persons have been massacred at the instigation of the Jacobin faction.

We went to Aspinwall's Hospital to visit the intended bride of Mr. Cragie, Miss Shaw, who is now under the operation of the small-pox by inoculation.

Called at Mr. William Foster's, and took tea with the family.

Nov. 14. Dined with the Marine Society by invitation of Mr. Thomas Dennie, at the Bunch of Grapes tavern; we had good cheer and were merry. Thanksgiving Day, as this is called in consequence of the Governor's proclamation, causes a deal of fuss among the good people of this Commonwealth. What between the ostensible compliments they pay to God in the different edifices dedicated to him, the preparation of the good things of this life, and the amusement of eating themselves into an indigestion, or hampering themselves out of breath, they are more occupied on this day than on any other in the year.

Nov. 30. Dined by appointment with my cousin, Mr. P. C. Brooks, who is recently married to a daughter of the Hon. Nath'l Gorham, Esq., of Charlestown, in this vicinity.

Dec. 21. This forenoon attended a town meeting at Faneuil Hall, the principal occasion of which was to discuss the question of a remonstrance to the General Court respecting the statute which prohibits theatrical entertainments in this Commonwealth. Joseph Blake, Jun., Esq., made the only systematic speech which was pronounced on the occasion. For the question had been so thoroughly discussed last year in the same place that no debate took place. With the utmost good order and regularity a committee was chosen to bring in a form of a remonstrance to the General Court. On the show of hands, there did not appear but one dissentient, who was a leather dresser, in this town, I think by the name of Adams. A French gentleman who was present professed his astonishment at the perfect order that existed in this popular assembly.

Dec. 24. Mr. Ben. Russell informed me he had recently a letter from Benj. Hitchborne, Esq., of this town, dated in Dublin, which informs him that the King of Prussia has expressed his intention of seceding from the Austrian party and forming some new arrangement with the new Republic of France, and that his forces had actually raised the siege of Lisle.

Jan. 1, 1793. Took my departure for New York. On my way met my friends, L. V. Boland and James Lloyd, bound to Boston.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1871.

The Annual Meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th of April, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The records of the preceding Monthly Meeting and of the Special Meeting were read.

The Librarian read his monthly list of donors to the Library.

The Cabinet-keeper reported the gift of the portrait of the late James F. Baldwin, painted by George P. A. Healey, — from Mrs. Baldwin.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter from our Corresponding Member, Thomas B. Akins, Esq., of Halifax, N. S., advising that he had sent to the Society's Library five volumes of the "Journal and Proceedings of the House of Assembly of the Province of Nova Scotia," and of "Her Majesty's Legislative Council" of that Province.

The President noticed gifts to the Library from our associates; viz., "The Life of Count Rumford," from the author, the Rev. George E. Ellis; "The Proceedings of the Celebration at Plymouth, 21st December, 1870," from the compiler, the Hon. William T. Davis, who also presented a volume of old tracts; and "A Topographical and Historical Description of Boston," from the author, Dr. Shurtleff.

Suitable acknowledgments were ordered for these several gifts.

The President called attention to a new volume of Proceedings, placed upon the table this morning, embracing extracts from the doings of the Society, from April, 1869, to December, 1870, inclusive. Whereupon it was —

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the Recording Secretary, and his assistants of the Publishing Com

mittee, Messrs. Green and Smith, for the acceptable services rendered in the preparation of this volume.

An application from the Rev. Jeremiah Chaplin, of Boston, for leave to copy that portion of the Dunster manuscript (presented to the Society by the President, at the January meeting in 1867) which gives an account of a Conference of Ministers in 1653-4 on the subject of Infant Baptism, was granted under the rules.

William Amory, Esq., of Boston, was elected a Resident Member.

Judge WARREN read the following portion of a letter from his grandfather, James Warren, written the day after the battle of Bunker Hill, addressed to his wife, the sister of James Otis :—

Extract of a Letter from James Warren to his Wife.

WATERTOWN, June 18, 1775.

MY DEAR MERCY, — The extraordinary nature of the events which have taken place in the last forty-eight hours has interrupted that steady and only intercourse which the situation of public affairs allows me.

The night before last our troops possessed themselves of a hill in Charlestown, and had time only to throw up an imperfect breastwork. The regular troops from the batteries in Boston, and two men-of-war in the ferry-way, began early next morning a heavy fire on them, which was continued till about noon, when they landed a large number of troops, and, after a stout resistance and great loss on their side, dispossessed our men, who, with the accumulated disadvantages of being exposed to the fire of their cannon and the want of ammunition, and not being supported by any fresh troops, were obliged to abandon the town and retire to our lines towards Cambridge, to which they made a very handsome addition last night. With a savage barbarity never practised among civilized nations they fired and have utterly destroyed the town of Charlestown.

We have had this day at dinner another alarm, that they were advancing on our lines, after having reinforced their horse, &c.; and that they were out at Roxbury. We expected this would have been an important day. They are reinforced, but have not advanced. So things remain at present. We have killed for them many men, and have [of our own] killed or wounded about an hundred, by the best accounts I can get. Among the first of which, to our inexpressible grief, is my friend Dr. Warren, who was killed, it is supposed, in the lines on the Hill at Charlestown, in a manner more glorious to himself than the fate of Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham. Many other officers are wounded, and some killed. It is impossible to describe the confusion in this place, — women and children flying into the country, armed men going to the field, and wounded men returning from there fill the streets. I shan't attempt a description.

Your brother borrowed a gun, &c., and went among the flying bullets at Charlestown, and returned last evening at 10 o'clock. The Librarian got a slight wound with a musket ball in his head.

The Continental Congress have done and are doing all we could wish. Dr. Church returned last evening, and brought resolutions for assuming government and for supplying provisions and powder, and he tells us, though under the rose, that they are contemplating and have perhaps finished the establishment of the army and an emission of money to pay and support them, and he thinks the operations of yesterday will be more than sufficient to induce them to recommend the assumption of new forms of government to all the Colonies. The mode of government prescribed is according to the last Charter. Some are quite satisfied with it. You know I wished a more perfect one.

It is now Monday morning. I hear nothing yet but the roaring of cannon below, but nobody regards them.

Your aff. husband,
JAS. WARREN.*

The President stated that the Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Robbins, contemplated a visit to Europe, and intended, he believed, to sail the following week, to be absent some months. Whereupon it was unanimously —

Voted, That the Corresponding Secretary, the Rev. Chandler Robbins, D.D., be requested to represent this Society on any proper occasion, during his residence abroad; and that he be empowered to negotiate any exchanges of publications with foreign Societies, and to act for the interests of the Society in any way that he may find expedient during his absence.

The President presented the letter of our venerable Honorary Member, M. Guizot, to Mr. Gladstone, as contained in the "London Times," on the subject of the war between France and Prussia. In connection with it, he mentioned the fact that another of our foreign Honorary Members was at the head of the Provisional Government of France, — the eminent historian Thiers, under whose lead it was to be devoutly hoped that the Red Flag of Communism would be put down, as it once was under Lamartine. The President referred also to letters which he had recently received from our Corresponding Associates, M. de Pressensé and Count A. de Circourt. Pressensé wrote from Paris the very day on which the German

* General James Warren, of Plymouth, was a member of the Provincial Congress, at Watertown, and its President in immediate succession to General Joseph Warren, who fell at Bunker Hill. He married Mercy Otis, a sister of James Otis, who was the brother spoken of in the above letter. The Librarian (undoubtedly of the College) was James Winthrop.

armies were filing through the streets of the French Capital, and was full of the hope of being enabled by the liberality of Christian men in America, as well as in England, to found a School of Protestant Christianity in the Latin Quarter of Paris. "Prussia, after Jena, founded the University of Berlin. Let Evangelical Christianity (says he), after our French Jena, consecrate itself without reserve to our moral regeneration." M. de Circourt, after speaking with great feeling of the death of his friend, Mr. Ticknor, says:—

"I need not tell how much I admire and am grateful for the touching and magnificent charity of your countrymen for our unhappy population. Really, the spirit of Christian charity has done wonders in these lamentable days, and redeemed the human soul, not only from misery, but from unbelief in Providence. Our friend, Col. H—, who has devoted himself to the service of the ambulances at Brussels, and elsewhere, has received, in the same week, a large remittance from Yokohama, and a small sum from Krasnoïask, gathered in copper pieces from the poor Siberians. The help from above has literally come a *finibus terræ*, and the contrast between so much cruelty and such inexhaustible goodness is the greatest testimony that has been borne in our day to the redeeming power of the Gospel. I knew you would lament the untimely death of Dean Alford. His hand was still upon the plough when he has been called away: his church cannot too well bear such losses. You have heard of what Father Hyacinthe has done at Versailles. That visit recalls that which Savonarola paid to Charles VIII at Sarzana. It could not produce much more fruit, but it is honorable and characteristic."

Dr. ROBBINS, from a Committee to consider the expediency of changing the By-Laws of the Society, reported a recommendation that the commutation clause, in the latter part of Art. 5, Chap. I., which reads, "but any member shall be exempted from the annual payment [of his assessment], if, at any time after six months from his admission, he shall pay into the treasury sixty dollars in addition to what he may before have paid," be stricken out.

The report of the Committee was accepted, and the recommendation adopted.

The President said that the business of the Annual Meeting would now be taken up.

The Reports of the Standing Committee, the Treasurer, the Librarian, and the Cabinet-keeper, were severally laid before the meeting and accepted, — Mr. Mason, from the Committee on the Treasurer's account, having certified to its correctness, — and they are here printed.

Report of the Standing Committee, for the year 1869-70.

The Standing Committee ask leave to present, in conformity with the rules of the Society, their Annual Report.

Although it appears, from the accounts of our accurate Treasurer, that the amount of money received from the Society's publications, this year, is much less than during the foregoing twelve months, yet even this decrease in the amount illustrates, in some degree, the resources of the Society in making its generous contributions to the historical literature of the Commonwealth and the country; and warrants the reasonable hope that such contributions, cast like bread upon the waters, shall be found after many days, in the forms of pecuniary as well as of historical advantage. The decrease of the sum, for this year, shows the advantages received in the foregoing one, from the sale of the volume of lectures, delivered in the course of that year, by members of the Society, under the liberal arrangements of our associate, the manager of the Lowell Institute.

Besides these able lectures, it is appropriate for your Committee to name here other valuable contributions to history made, during the last year, by some of our distinguished and active members; which, though not done under the immediate direction of the Society, happily illustrate its progress and usefulness, and are earnest of its growing influence.

The truly eloquent and catholic oration, delivered by our President at the invitation of the Pilgrim Society, at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, has added another to the many acts done by himself and his ancestry, prompted by their affection and devotedness to the truth of history, and to the highest welfare of our State and country. An able and instructive course of lectures on the "Colonial History of Massachusetts," recently delivered before the Lowell Institute, by another of our members, shows the ability and zeal awakened and cherished in her children by the maternal watchfulness and encouragement of our Society. A remarkable and most interesting biography of the late "Count Rumford," an Honorary Member of the Society, coming from the same active mind, almost simultaneously with the course of historical lectures, gives evidence of the untiring industry of its author.

Our Recording Secretary, too, has added to the interest and value of Governor Bradford's History, published by his intelligent and faithful care some years ago, by his recent publica-

tion of another of Bradford's dialogues, — it being on Church Government, "between some Young men born in New England, and some Ancient men which came out of Holland and Old England." And another volume of Proceedings on the table this morning bears renewed testimony to his invaluable labors in our behalf.

Nor can we leave unmentioned here the new edition of the life of his distinguished grandfather, by a fellow-member, the Hon. Charles Francis Adams.

"A Topographical and Historical Description of Boston," by our associate, Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, M. D., is a work of much research, and abounding in interesting items of local history.

Among the most valuable works which have come from Corresponding Members, we cannot fail to mention the third volume of Dr. Allibone's Dictionary, completing his elaborate account of "Authors in the English Language"; and the second volume of Professor Greene's life of his grandfather, General Greene.

Your Committee think it not inappropriate to call the attention of the Society to these facts in the history of the past year; and to express the hope that the liberality of the hand, in its members, where the means of liberality exist, may be equal, as occasion shall require, to the activity and efficiency of its mind.

In the course of the past year, three Resident Members — the Hon. David Sears, George Ticknor, Esq., and Joseph Palmer, M. D. — have been removed by death. Fitting and impressive tributes have been paid to their eminence and worth by the President, and our associate members, Messrs. Hillard, Lothrop, and Emerson. Their memories must long live in our hearts.

On the list of Corresponding Members, the names of Buckingham Smith, Esq., Winthrop Sargent, Esq., and of the Hon. John Pendleton Kennedy, must be marked with the sign of death. The beautiful tribute of the President of the Society to the character and usefulness of Mr. Kennedy breathes forth all the tenderness of friendship, mingled with the intelligent appreciation of the scholar and of the statesman.

There have been added to the list of Resident Members, during the year, the names of William T. Davis, Esq., of Plymouth, Vice-President of the Pilgrim Society, and to whom, as President of the day, we are indebted for the full and admirable account of the proceedings of the late two hundred and fiftieth anniversary, at Plymouth; also, the Rev. George Punchard, of Boston; and Abner C. Goodell, Esq., of Salem.

Allusion has been already made to the Report of the Treasurer, and we could not add to its satisfying clearness.

The same may be said of the Report of the Librarian. There are now in the Library of the Society more than 20,000 volumes; also 38 volumes of the Society's Collections; and 9 volumes of its Proceedings. Two volumes of its Collections are in the press, and one volume of its Proceedings in the process of publication.

One of the most important topics, which, under the guidance of our watchful President, has engaged the attention of your Committee, repeatedly, during the year, has been the arrangement it may be for the best interests of the Society to make, in regard to the building we now own and occupy, at the expiration of the lease of its lower story to the Savings Bank. This lease expired in March, though the Bank will not remove from its present location, until the rooms now preparing for it, in its new building, shall have been finished. The whole subject has been referred, by vote of the Society, to a large, select Committee, who will undoubtedly make arrangements for the best interests of the Society.

The vexed and vexatious question of the "Hutchinson Papers" has been also referred to a similar Committee, with full powers.

In behalf of the Committee.

G. W. BLAGDEN, *Chairman.*

Annual Report of the Treasurer.

The Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society presents the following statement of its financial condition:—

GENERAL ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL, 1871.

DEBITS.	
Balance from account of 1870	\$353.02
Frederick H. Hedge, Jr., salary	1,200.00
George Arnold, salary	999.96
" " loan	500.00
Incidental expenses	320.21
City of Boston, tax of 1869	765.00
Printing	115.84
Repairs	13.74
Coal	60.00
Appleton Fund	732.18
Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	285.74
Insurance	577.50
	<u>\$5,922.69</u>

CREDITS.

Suffolk Savings Institution, rent	\$2,200.00
Suffolk Savings Institution, taxes	765.00
Coupons, Quincy & Palmyra Railroad	80.00
Coupons, Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad	80.00
Assessments	641.00
Admissions	30.00
Sales of Society's Publications	257.26
Sundries	10
George Arnold, on note	16.67
George Arnold, interest	8.75
Balance to new account	1,848.91
	<u>\$5,922.69</u>

The undersigned, who were appointed a committee to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the year ending April, 1871, have compared the vouchers with the entries, and find them correct, and the balances on the ledger as follows:—

DEBITS.

General account	\$1,848.91
Cash	1,133.94
	<u>\$2,982.85</u>

CREDITS.

Massachusetts Historical Fund	\$2,048.17
Peabody Fund	335.70
Appleton Fund	598.98
	<u>\$2,982.85</u>

ROBERT M. MASON, *Committee.*

Boston, April 12, 1871.

THE APPLETON FUND.

This fund consisted of ten thousand dollars, presented to the Society, Nov. 18, 1854, by the executors of the will of the late Samuel Appleton, on the condition that its income be applied to the purchase, preservation, and publication of historical material. It was received from the executors in ten shares of manufacturing stocks. These stocks were sold in February and March, 1863; and the net proceeds, amounting to twelve thousand two hundred and three dollars, were invested in the real estate of the Society, according to the Declaration of Trust on file, and recorded in the Register of Deed's office, book 827, p. 63. Volumes three, four, five, six, seven, and eight, of the Fourth Series of the Society's Collections, were printed from the income of this fund, and the strictly historical portions of the volumes of the Proceedings of the Society for 1862-63,

and for 1864-65. Also the expense of the portion of Volume Nine of the Collections which is printed.

Account ending April, 1870.

DEBITS.

Balance due the Treasurer	\$138.20
Balance to new account	598.98
	<u>\$732.18</u>

CREDIT.

One year's interest of the Fund	\$732.18
	<u>\$732.18</u>

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL TRUST-FUND.

This fund was originally two thousand dollars, presented to the Society by Hon. David Sears, by an instrument dated Oct. 15, 1855, and accepted Nov. 8, 1855. This provides that the income is to be added to the principal annually between July and January, to form a new investment; but in any year before such investment, the Society may, by vote, expend the income for such purposes as may be required; or it may, by vote, expend the accumulations of the income, in whole or in part, towards the purchase or improvement of the premises belonging to the Society; "or in the purchase of works of art or desirable objects": provided, that in no case whatever "the original trust-sum be encroached upon or diminished." By vote of the Society, the sum of five hundred dollars was paid July 5, 1869, from the accumulation, in aid of paying the debt incurred by the purchase of the estate which the Society owns. No other expenditure has been made from the accumulations of this fund. On the 26th of December, 1866, the principal was increased by a subscription by Hon. David Sears and Nathaniel Thayer, Esq., each of five hundred dollars, which makes the principal of the fund three thousand dollars. This is invested in the real estate of the Society. The accumulation of income to Sept. 1, 1870, was \$1,762.43, making the amount on which to cast the interest from Sept. 1, 1869, \$4,762.43.

Account ending Sept. 1, 1870.

DEBITS.

Balance to new account	\$2,048.17
	<u>\$2,048.17</u>

CREDITS.

Balance of old account	\$1,762.43
Interest one year on \$4,762.43, to Sept. 1, 1870	285.74
	<u>\$2,048.17</u>

THE PEABODY FUND.

This fund was presented to the Society by George Peabody, Esq., in a letter dated Jan. 1, 1867, enclosing an order for \$20,000 in 10-40 Coupon Bonds, and providing that they or their proceeds shall be held by the Society as a "permanent trust-fund, of which the income shall be appropriated to the publication and illustration of their Proceedings and Memoirs, and the preservation of their Historical Portraits." This trust was accepted by a vote of the Society, Jan. 10, 1867. The Coupon Bonds have been exchanged for two United States 10-40 Bonds of \$10,000 each, registered in the name of the Society, dated Jan. 12, 1867, and numbered 9,904 and 9,905, with the interest payable in Boston.

The Proceedings for 1866-67 and 1867-69 were printed from the income of this Fund, and another volume is passing through the press.

Account to April, 1871.

DEBITS.

Paid John Wilson & Son, printing Proceedings	\$1,573.60
S. S. Kilburn, engraving	45.00
Balance to new account	335.70
	<u>\$1,954.30</u>

CREDITS.

Balance of old account	\$844.30
Proceeds of coupons of September	555.00
Proceeds of coupons of March	555.00
	<u>\$1,954.30</u>

THE DOWSE FUND.

This fund, of ten thousand dollars, was presented to the Society, April, 1857, by the executors of the will of the late Thomas Dowse; and it was invested in a note signed by Edward Hyde and O. W. Watris, secured by mortgage on real estate. This note was paid on the 7th of April, 1863; and the whole fund was then invested in the real estate of the Society. The income of this fund is included in the rent received from the Suffolk Savings Bank; and the expenditure is included in salaries paid to the Assistant Librarian and to Mr. Arnold, who are employed in the care of the Dowse Library.

PROPERTY OF THE SOCIETY.

The Estate on Tremont Street.—The Society purchased, March 6, 1833, of the Provident Institution for Savings, the second story, and one half of the attic story, of this building, for \$6,500; and, on the 13th of March, 1856, the remainder of the interest of this institution, for \$35,000. A portion of this was paid by subscription; and, for the remainder, the Society mortgaged the whole estate to the Suffolk Savings Bank for Seamen and Others, for \$27,500. This mortgage was discharged on the 7th of April, 1863. The payments of the note have been as follows: two thousand dollars from the legacy of Miss Mary P. Townsend; sixteen hundred dollars from the legacy of the late Nathaniel I. Bowditch; five hundred dollars from the Historical Trust-Fund; twelve thousand two hundred and three dollars from the net proceeds of the sale of stocks of the Appleton Fund; ten thousand dollars from the note of Hyde and Watris, constituting the Dowse Fund; and the balance, eleven hundred and ninety-seven dollars, from a donation by the late Hon. William Sturgis, to enable the Society to discharge the mortgage. The lower floor is occupied by the Suffolk Savings Bank, which is a tenant at will.

The Library, Paintings, and Cabinet.—The Library consists of over twenty thousand volumes and thirty-four thousand pamphlets.

The Society's Publications.—These consist of the thirty-eight volumes of the Collections, eight volumes of Proceedings, two volumes of the Catalogue, and a volume of Lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute,—about seven thousand volumes, which are for sale.

The Appleton Fund, of ten thousand dollars; *The Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund*, of three thousand dollars; *The Dowse Fund*, of ten thousand dollars,—all invested in the real estate and obligations of the Society, as explained in the report.

The Peabody Fund.—Invested in two registered United States 10-40 Bonds of \$10,000 each, bearing five per cent interest.

The Dowse Library.—This Library was presented to the Society by the late Thomas Dowse, and consists of four thousand six hundred and fifty volumes.

The Copyright and Stereotype Plates of the "Life of John Quincy Adams."—This was presented to the Society by Hon. Josiah Quincy. It is on sale by Nichols & Hall, Bromfield Street.

Bond of \$1,000 of the Quincy and Palmyra Railroad, and a note of \$1,000 of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad Company, dated Feb. 1, 1869.

THE INCOME.

The income of the Society consists of an annual assessment, on each Resident Member, of seven dollars; the admission-fee of ten dollars, of new members; the rent of the lower floor of the Society's building; the sales of the publications of the Society; the sales of the "Life of John Quincy Adams"; the interest on the Peabody Fund; a bond of \$1,000; and a note of \$1,000.

The books are sold at the Society's rooms. The total sales during the past year were only \$257.26. The Standing Committee have taken action in relation to the sale of the volumes on hand.

The lease of the Banking Room expired on the 1st of March, 1871. The Society have referred the important subject of the disposition of the building to a special committee.

One volume of Proceedings and two volumes of Collections are going through the press.

Respectfully submitted,

RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, *Treasurer.*

Boston, April 12, 1871.

Annual Report of the Librarian.

In accordance with the By-Laws of the Society, the Librarian has the honor to submit his Annual Report.

During the past year the addition of books to the Library has been larger than ever before for the same period since the Dowse collection was given to the Society, and the additions have been for the most part of works of a valuable character. They may be classified as follows:—

Books	634
Pamphlets	3,365
Bound volumes of newspapers	39
Separate numbers of newspapers	222
Maps	3
Plans	6
Broadsides	60
Volumes of manuscripts	1
Manuscripts	47
	<hr/>
	4,377

Of the books added, 445 have been given, 186 have been procured by exchange, and 3 bought. Of the pamphlets added, 2,512 have been gifts and 853 exchanges. Of the Society's publications, 13 volumes of Collections, 10 volumes of Lectures, 4 of Catalogues, and 3 of Proceedings have been exchanged for other works. We have received back into the Library 18 volumes and 18 numbers of Collections, also a few numbers of the American Apollo, a magazine in which the Collections were first published.

From an actual count made in 1867, there were then 18,011 volumes in the Library. Starting with this number as a basis, and adding the accessions since that time, it appears that there are now 20,292 volumes, including the files of bound newspapers and manuscripts. The number of pamphlets in the Library is nearly 34,000.

During the year there have been taken out 213 volumes and pamphlets, and all have been returned. It should be borne in mind, however, that the Library is used more for reference than for circulation; otherwise the statement of this fact might give a wrong impression of its use.

Mr. Lawrence has continued his gifts, having added, since the last Annual Meeting, 28 volumes and 6 pamphlets, relating principally to the Great Rebellion. Mr. Whitmore has also given some valuable books, and among them some of his own publications.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL A. GREEN, *Librarian.*

APRIL 13, 1871.

The Cabinet-keeper's Report.

Report of the Cabinet-keeper for the year ending April 13, 1871.

The Cabinet of the Society has received during the past year gifts from eighteen different persons; among which are a silver canteen and a pewter plate formerly belonging to Governor Edward Winslow, from James W. Sever, of Boston; an oil portrait, of cabinet size, of Dr. John Appleton, painted by Cyrus and Darius Cobb, of Cambridge, from the artists; a framed portrait in oil, of the late James F. Baldwin, of Boston, given to the Society in accordance with a dying request of his widow; a proof of an engraved portrait of Washington, from a miniature, being No. 30 of an impression of one hundred and twenty-five, from Mr. Winthrop; framed portraits in oil of

Bishop Alexander V. Griswold, and of Lieutenant-Governor Jean Paul Mascarene, of Nova Scotia, from Mr. Whitmore; and a silver medal, commemorative of the Pilgrim Jubilee Memorial of 1870, from Mr. Dexter.

In view of the probability that important changes in the rooms of the Society will be made before long, either by alteration of the present building or by removal to another, the Cabinet-keeper wishes to keep plainly before the Society the insufficiency of the present accommodations for the Cabinet, and the importance of furnishing such others as will stimulate and provide for its constant increase.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY G. DENNY, *Cabinet-keeper*.

Boston, April 13, 1871.

Mr. LINCOLN, from the Committee on the Nomination of Officers, reported the following list, which was adopted by the Society: *

President.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, LL.D. BOSTON.

Vice-Presidents.

HON. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D. BOSTON.

HON. EMORY WASHBURN, LL.D. CAMBRIDGE.

Recording Secretary.

CHARLES DEANE, A.M. CAMBRIDGE.

Corresponding Secretary.

REV. CHANDLER ROBBINS, D.D. BOSTON.

Treasurer.

HON. RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, A.M. CHARLESTOWN.

Librarian.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D. BOSTON.

Cabinet-keeper.

HENRY G. DENNY, A.M. BOSTON.

Standing Committee.

THEODORE LYMAN, S.B. BROOKLINE.

EDMUND QUINCY, A.M. DEDHAM.

GEORGE S. HILLARD, LL.D. BOSTON.

REV. GEORGE PUNCHARD, A.M. BOSTON.

REV. ROBERT C. WATERSTON, A.M. BOSTON.

For the Committee.

SOLOMON LINCOLN.

Boston, April 13, 1871.

* Mr. Lincoln said that, besides the two members who retired by rotation, Mr. Torrey declined to serve longer, and Dr. Dexter is absent in Europe. — Eds.

On motion of Mr. W. G. BROOKS, it was —

Voted, That the thanks of the Society are due to the Rev. Dr. Blagden, and to his associates now retiring from the Standing Committee,—Messrs. J. M. Robbins, Torrey, and Dexter,—for the valuable services they have rendered the Society the past year.

Col. ASPINWALL, chairman of a Committee of Publication, reported that a volume of Collections, from his own private papers, now in press, would probably be completed by the next meeting of the Society.

MAY MEETING, 1871.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, May 11th, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President, the Hon. R. C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the last meeting.

The Librarian read his monthly list of donors to the Library.

Mr. Edward Doubleday Harris was elected a Resident Member.

The President read a letter from Mr. Charles Abert, of "Homewood, near Norbeck P. O.," Montgomery County, Md., in which the writer speaks of a bust of Franklin in his possession, by Ceracchi, an Italian artist, who, while in this country, also made a bust of Washington. Mr. Abert expressed a willingness to part with this bust of Franklin, if a purchaser could be found.

Mr. ADAMS spoke in praise of the busts of Ceracchi, remarking that he made one of Hamilton, and one of John Adams. He gave a brief sketch of the career of this artist, and concluded by saying that he returned to France, and there, becoming involved in politics, lost his life.

A new volume of "Collections," being Volume IX. of the Fourth Series, and Part I. of the "Aspinwall Papers," was placed upon the table, and a vote of thanks ordered to the Committee of Publication.

Mr. EDMUND QUINCY communicated to the Library as a gift from his sister, Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, with the permission

of the writer, Miss Jane Stuart Woolsey, of New York, a volume entitled "Hospital Days," printed for private distribution; New York, 1870. The thanks of the Society were ordered for this gift.

Mr. Quincy also presented a copy of a Fast Sermon, by the Rev. Ebenezer Bradford, pastor of the First Church of Rowley, preached 19th February, 1795.

He also exhibited a number of valuable early letters belonging to some descendants of General Artemas Ward, from whom he thought he could obtain copies for publication, if it should be thought desirable.

Mr. WHITMORE presented a copy of a pamphlet by Cotton Mather, entitled "The Right Way to Shake off a Viper," London, 1711. He said the Society was already in possession of a copy of a later date, published in Boston (in 1720), with a preface by Increase Mather, dated Sept. 1, 1720, in which he says, he "never saw the English edition until within these few days; nor list I to enquire after the author."

Mr. Whitmore also called attention to a picture of "Dock Square," which he had caused to be brought to the Rooms and now presented to the Cabinet of the Society. It was painted, he thought, between 1817 and 1819, and gave a very good representation of the old building, now taken down, which had the date "1680" inscribed upon its wall.

Mr. WATERSTON spoke of meeting in Stockton, California, a gentleman, Mr. Holden, at one time mayor of that city, who told him that he served his apprenticeship in that old building in Dock Square, and that a lithograph picture of it, which he possessed, he valued beyond all price.

Reference being made to the absence abroad of the Corresponding Secretary, it was voted, that the Recording Secretary be requested to perform the duties of Corresponding Secretary during the absence of that officer.

Mr. PAIGE presented, in the name of the Rev. Thomas J. Greenwood, some manuscripts of the Rev. Michael Wigglesworth, pastor of the Church at Malden, and read portions of them to the meeting. These comprise a poem, entitled "God's Controversy with New England," "A Letter to the Church of Christ at Malden," and a brief paper, possibly some notes of sermons. The poem and letter are here given.*

* See Bi-"Centennial Book of Malden," Boston, 1850, pp. 149-152; "Memoir of Rev. Michael Wigglesworth, . . . by John Ward Dean," second edition, 1871, p. 69.

GOD'S CONTROVERSY WITH NEW-ENGLAND.

Written in the time of the great drought Anno 1692.

BY A LOVER OF NEW ENGLAND'S PROSPERITY.

ISAIAH, 5. 4.—What could have been done more to my vineyard that I have not done in it? wherefore when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wilde grapes?

THE AUTHORS REQUEST UNTO THE READER.

Good christian Read^r judge me not
As too censorious,
For pointing at those faults of thine
Which are notorious.
For if those faults be none of thine
I do not thee accuse:
But if they be, to hear thy faults
Why shouldest thou refuse.

I blame not thee to spare my self:
But first at home begin,
And judge my self, before that I
Reproove anothers sin.
Nor is it I that thee reproove
Let God himself be heard
Whose awfull providence's voice
No man may disregard.

Quod Deus omnipotens regali voce minatur,
Quod tibi proclamant uno simul ore prophetae,
Quodq' ego cum lachrymis testor de numinis irâ,
Tu leve cōmentū ne ducas, Lector Amice.

NEW-ENGLAND PLANTED, PROSPERED, DECLINING, THREATNED,
PUNISHED.

Beyond the great Atlantick flood
There is a region vast,
A country where no English foot
In former ages past:
A waste and howling wilderness,
Where none inhabited
But hellish fiends, and brutish men
That Devils worshiped.

This region was in darkness plac'd
Far off from heavens light,
Amidst the shaddows of grim death
And of eternal night.

For there the Sun of righteousness
Had never made to shine
The light of his sweet countenance,
And grace which is divine:

Until the time drew nigh wherein
The glorious Lord of hostes
Was pleas'd to lead his armies forth
Into those forrein coastes.
At whose approach the darkness sad
Soon vanished away,
And all the shaddows of the night
Were turn'd to lightsome day.

The dark and dismal western woods
(The Devils den whilere)
Beheld such glorious gospel-shine,
As none beheld more cleare.
Where sathan had his scepter away'd
For many generations,
The King of Kings set up his throne
To rule amongst the nations.

The stubborn he in pieces brake,
Like vessels made of clay:
And those that sought his peoples hurt
He turn'd to decay.
Those curst Amalekites, that first
Lift up their hand on high
To fight against Gods Israel,
Were ruin'd fearfully.

Thy terrours on the Heathen folk,
O Great Jehovah, fell:
The fame of thy great acts, o Lord,
Did all the nations quell.
Some hid themselves for fear of thee
In forrests wide & great:
Some to thy people crouching came,
For favour to entreat.

Some were desirous to be taught
The knowledge of thy wayes,
And being taught, did soon accord
Therein to spend their dayes.
Thus were the fierce & barbarous
Brought to civility,
And those that liv'd like beasts (or worse)
To live religiously.

O happiest of dayes wherein
The blind received sight,
And those that had no eyes before
Were made to see the light!
The wilderness hereat rejoyc't,
The woods for joy did sing,
The vallys & the little hills
Thy praises ecchoing.

Here was the hiding place, which thou,
Jehovah, didst provide
For thy redeemed ones, and where
Thou didst thy jewels hide
In per'lous times, and saddest dayes
Of sack-cloth and of blood,
When th' overflowing scourge did pass
Through Europe, like a flood.

While almost all the world beside
Lay weltring in their gore:
We, only we, enjoyd such peace
As none enjoyd before.
No forrein foeman did us fray,
Nor threat'ned us with warrs:
We had no enemies at home,
Nor no domestick jarrs.

The Lord had made (such was his grace)
For us a Covenant
Both with the men, and with the beasts,
That in this desart haunt:
So that through places wilde and waste
A single man, disarm'd,
Might journey many hundred miles,
And not at all be harm'd.

Amidst the solitary woods
Poor travellers might sleep
As free from danger as at home,
Though no man watch did keep.
Thus were we priviledg'd with peace,
Beyond what others were.
Truth, Mercy, Peace, with Righteousness,
Took up their dwelling here.

Our Governo' was of our selves,
And all his Bretheren,
For wisdom & true piety,
Select, & chosen men.

Who, Ruling in y^e fear of God,
 The righteous cause maintained,
 And all injurious violence,
 And wickedness, restrained.

Our temp'rall blessings did abound :
 But spirituall good things
 Much more abounded, to the praise
 Of that great King of Kings.
 Gods throne was here set up ; here was
 His tabernacle pight :
 This was the place, and these the folk .
 In whom he took delight.

Our morning starrs shone all day long :
 Their beams gave forth such light,
 As did the noon-day sun abash,
 And 's glory dazle quite.
 Our day continued many yeers,
 And had no night at all :
 Yea many thought the light would last,
 And be perpetuall.

Such, o New-England, was thy first,
 Such was thy best estate :
 But, Loe ! a strange and suddain change
 My courage did amate.
 The brightest of our morning starrs
 Did wholly disappears :
 And those that tarried behind
 With sack-cloth covered were.

Moreover, I beheld & saw
 Our welkin overkest,
 And dismal clouds for sun-shine late
 O'respread from east to west.
 The air became tempestuous ;
 The wilderness gan quake :
 And from above with awfull voice
 Th' Almighty thundring spake.

Are these the men that erst at my command
 Forsook their ancient seats and native soile,
 To follow me into a desert land,
 Contemning all the travell and the toile,
 Whose love was such to purest ordinances
 As made them set at nought their fair inheritances ?

Are these the men that prized libertee
 To walk with God according to their light,
 To be as good as he would have them bee,
 To serve and worship him with all their might,
 Before the pleasures which a fruitfull field,
 And country flowing-full of all good things, could yield,

Are these the folk whom from the brittish Iles,
 Through the stern billows of the watry main,
 I safely led so many thousand miles,
 As if their journey had been through a plain?
 Whom having from all enemies protected,
 And through so many deaths and dangers well directed,

I brought and planted on the western shore,
 Where nought but bruits and salvage wights did swarm
 (Untaught, untrain'd, untam'd by vertue's lore)
 That sought their blood, yet could not do them harm?
 My fury's flaile them thresht, my fatall broom
 Did sweep them hence, to make my people elbow-room.

Are these the men whose gates with peace I crown'd,
 To whom for bulwarks I salvation gave,
 Whilst all things else with rattling tumults sound,
 And mortall frayes send thousands to the grave?
 Whilst their own brethren bloody hands embrewed
 In brothers blood, and fields with carcases bestrewed?

Is this the people blest with bounteous store,
 By land and sea full richly clad and fed,
 Whom plenty's self stands waiting still before,
 And powreth out their cups well tempered?
 For whose dear sake an howling wildernes
 I lately turned into a fruitfull paradeis?

Are these the people in whose hemisphere
 Such bright-beam'd, glist'ring, sun-like starrs I placed,
 As by their influence did all things cheere,
 As by their light blind ignorance defaced,
 As errors into lurking holes did fray,
 As turn'd the late dark night into a lightsome day?

Are these the folk to whom I milked out
 And sweetnes stream'd from consolations brest;
 Whose soules I fed and strengthened throughout
 With finest spirituall food most finely drest?
 On whom I rained living bread from Heaven,
 Withouten Errour's bane, or Superstition's leaven?

With whom I made a Covenant of peace,
And unto whom I did most firmly plight
My faithfulness, If whilst I live I cease
To be their Guide, their God, their full delight;
Since them with cords of love to me I drew,
Enwrapping in my grace such as should them ensew.

Are these the men, that now mine eyes behold,
Concerning whom I thought, and whilome spake,
First Heaven shall pass away together scold,
Ere they my lawes and righteous wayes forsake,
Or that they slack to runn their heavenly race?
Are these the same? or are some others come in place?

If these be they, how is it that I find
In stead of holiness Carnality,
In stead of heavenly frames an Earthly mind,
For burning zeal luke-warm Indifferency,
For flaming love, key-cold Dead-heartedness,
For temperance (in meat, and drinke, and cloaths) excess?

Whence cometh it, that Pride, and Luxurie
Debate, Deceit, Contention, and Strife,
False-dealing, Covetousness, Hypocrisie
(With such like Crimes) amongst them are so rife,
That one of them doth over-reach another?
And that an honest man can hardly trust his Brother?

How is it, that Security, and Sloth,
Amongst the best are Common to be found?
That grosser sins, in stead of Graces growth,
Amongst the many more and more abound?
I hate dissembling shews of Holiness.
Or practise as you talk, or never more profess.

Judge not, vain world, that all are hypocrites
That do profess more holiness then thou:
All foster not dissembling, guilefull sprites,
Nor love their lusts, though very many do.
Some sin through want of care and constant watch,
Some with the sick converse, till they the sickness catch.

Some, that maintain a reall root of grace,
Are overgrown with many noysome weeds,
Whose heart, that those no longer may take place,
The benefit of due correction needs.
And such as these however gone astray
I shall by stripes reduce into a better way.

Moreover some there be that still retain
 Their ancient vigour and sincerity ;
 Whom both their own, and others sins, constrain
 To sigh, and mourn, and weep, and wail, & cry :
 And for their sakes I have forborn to powre
 My wrath upon Revolters to this present houre.

To praying Saints I always have respect,
 And tender love, and pittifull regard :
 Nor will I now in any wise neglect
 Their love and faithfull service to reward ;
 Although I deal with others for their folly,
 And turn their mirth to tears that have been too jolly.

For thinke not, O Backsliders, in your heart,
 That I shall still your evill manners beare :
 Your sinns me press as sheaves do load a cart,
 And therefore I will plague you for this geare
 Except you seriously, and soon, repent,
 Ile not delay your pain and heavy punishment.

And who be those themselves that yonder shew ?
 The seed of such as name my dreadfull Name !
 On whom whilere compassions skirt I threw
 Whilst in their blood they were, to hide their shame !
 Whom my preventing love did neer me take !
 Whom for mine own I mark't, lest they should me forsake !

I look't that such as these to vertue's Lore
 (Though none but they) would have Enclin'd their ear :
 That they at least mine image should have bore,
 And sanctify'd my name with awfull fear.
 Let pagan's Bratts pursue their lusts, whose meed
 Is Death : For christians children are an holy seed.

But hear O Heavens ! Let Earth amazed stand ;
 Ye Mountaines melt, and Hills come flowing down :
 Let horro' seize upon both Sea and Land ;
 Let Natures self be cast into a stown.
 I children nourisht, nurtur'd and upheld :
 But they against a tender father have rebell'd.

What could have been by me performed more ?
 Or wherein fell I short of your desire ?
 Had you but askt, I would have op't my store,
 And given what lawfull wishes could require.
 For all this bounteous cost I lookt to see
 Heaven-reaching-hearts, & thoughts, Meekness, Humility.

But lo, a sensuall Heart all void of grace,
 An Iron neck, a proud presumptuous Hand;
 A self-conceited, stiff, stout, stubborn Race,
 That fears no threats, submitts to no command:
 Self-will'd, perverse, such as can beare no yoke;
 A Generation even ripe for vengeance stroke.

Such were that Carnall Brood of Israelites
 That Josua and the Elders did ensue,
 Who growing like the cursed Cananites
 Upon themselves my heavy judgements drew.
 Such also was that fleshly Generation,
 Whom I o'rewhelm'd by waters deadly inundation.

They darker light, and lesser meanes misused;
 They had not such Examples them to warn:
 You clearer Rules, and Precepts, have abused,
 And dreadfull monuments of others harm.
 My gospels glorious light you do not prize:
 My Gospels endless, boundless grace you clean despize.

My painfull messengers you disrespect,
 Who toile and sweat and sweale themselves away,
 Yet nought at all with you can take effect,
 Who hurrie headlong to yo^r own decay.
 In vain the Founder melts, and taketh pains:
 Bellows and Lead's consum'd, but still your dross remains.

What should I do with such a stiff-neckt race?
 How shall I ease me of such Foes as they?
 What shall befall despizers of my Grace?
 I'll surely beare their candle-stick away,
 And Lamps put out. Their glorious noon-day light
 I'll quickly turn into a dark Egyptian night.

Oft have I charg'd you by my ministers
 To gird your selves with sack cloth, and repent.
 Oft have I warnd you by my messengers;
 That so you might my wrathfull ire prevent:
 But who among you hath this warning taken?
 Who hath his crooked ways, & wicked works forsaken?

Yea many grow to more and more excess;
 More light and loose, more Carnall and prophane.
 The sins of Sodom, Pride, and Wantonness,
 Among the multitude spring up amain.
 Are these the fruits of Pious Education,
 To run with greater speed and Courage to Damnation?

If here and there some two, or three, shall steere
A wiser course, then their Companions do,
You make a mock of such; and scoff, and jeere
Because they will not be so bad as you.
Such is the Generation that succeeds
The men, whose eyes have seen my great & awfull deeds.

Now therefore hearken and encline yo^r ear,
In judgement I will henceforth with you plead;
And if by that you will not learn to fear,
But still go on a sensuall life to lead:
I'll strike at once an All-Consuming stroke;
Nor cries nor tears shall then my fierce intent revoke.

Thus ceast his Dreadful-threatning voice
The High & lofty-One.
The Heavens stood still Appal'd thereat;
The Earth beneath did groane:
Soon after I beheld and saw
A mortall dart come flying:
I lookt again, & quickly saw
Some fainting, others dying.

The Heavens more began to lowre,
The welkin Blacker grew:
And all things seemed to forebode
Sad changes to ensew.
From that day forward hath the Lord
Apparently contended
With us in Anger, and in Wrath:
But we have not amended.

Our healthfull dayes are at an end,
And sicknesses come on
From yeer to yeer, becaus o^r hearts
Away from God are gone.
New-England, where for many yeers
You scarcely heard a cough,
And where Physicians had no work,
Now finds them work enough.

Now colds and coughs, Rhewms, and sore-throats,
Do more & more abound:
Now Agues sore & Feavers strong
In every place are found.
How many houses have we seen
Last Autumn, and this spring,
Wherein the healthful were too few
To help the languishing.

One wave another followeth,
And one disease begins
Before another cease, becaus
We turn not from our sins.
We stopp our ear against reproof,
And hearken not to God :
God stops his ear against o' prayer,
And takes not off his rod.

Our fruitful seasons have been turnd
Of late to barrenness,
Sometimes through great & parching drought,
Sometimes through rain's excess.
Yea now the pastures & corn fields
For want of rain do languish :
The cattell mourn, & hearts of men
Are fill'd with fear & anguish.

The clouds are often gathered,
As if we should have rain :
But for o' great unworthiness
Are scattered again.
We pray & fast, & make fair shewes,
As if we meant to turn :
But whilst we turn not, God goes on
Our field, & fruits to burn.

And burnt are all things in such sort,
That nothing now appears,
But what may wound our hearts with grief,
And draw foorth floods of teares.
All things a famine do presage
In that extremity,
As if both men, and also beasts,
Should soon be done to dy.

This O New-England hast thou got
By riot, & excess :
This hast thou brought upon thy self
By pride & wantonness.
Thus must thy worldlynness be whipt.
They, that too much do crave,
Provoke the Lord to take away
Such blessings as they have.

We have been also threatened
With worser things then these :
And God can bring them on us still,
To morrow if he please.

For if his mercy be abus'd,
Which holpe us at our need
And mov'd his heart to pity us,
We shall be plagu'd indeed.

Beware, O sinful Land, beware;
And do not think it strange
That sorer judgements are at hand,
Unless thou quickly change.
Or God, or thou, must quickly change;
Or else thou art undone:
Wrath cannot cease, if sin remain,
Where judgement is begun.

Ah dear New England! dearest land to me;
Which unto God hast hitherto been dear,
And mayst be still more dear than formerlie,
If to his voice thou wilt incline thine ear.

Consider wel & wisely what the rod,
Wherewith thou art from year to year chastized,
Instructeth thee. Repent, & turn to God,
Who wil not have his nurture be despized.

Thou still hast in thee many praying saints,
Of great account, and precious with the Lord,
Who dayly powre out unto him their plaints,
And strive to please him both in deed & word.

Cheer on, sweet souls, my heart is with you all,
And shall be with you, maugre Sathan's might:
And whereso'ere this body be a Thrall,
Still in New-England shall be my delight.

Mr. Wigglesworth's Letter to the Church at Malden.

To the church of Christ at Malden, The flock over wth y^e holy ghost hath
made me (tho; unworthy) an overseer; Grace, mercy & peace be multi-
plyd.

DEARLY BELOVED,

My heart doth greatly long after you all in y^e bowels of Christ
Jesus, that I might yet again enjoy yo^r fellowship, & stil be an helper
unto yo^r faith & love & holynes, if it be y^e wil of God.

During this lingring weaknes & long restraint, yo^r want is my want,
yo^r affliction is my affliction, yo^r grief my grief, yo^r disappointmēts &
frustrations are additions & accumulations unto my pressures, besides
what I bear in my o^{wn} body & psonal respects. But when I compare

former things wth y^e p^resent disp^sations of divine p^rovid^ece, & consider how lon[g] y^e hand of y^e Almighty hath been stretched out in this very way of visitation agst this poor [e]hurch, frustrating yo^r endeavo^rs after one, crossing & disappointing yo^r hopes in anothr. & it may be in a third, keeping you with in a forlorn condition, & altogeth without a minister, or at an uncertain pass without an officer; so y^t it was long before you enjoyed Christ in all his [ordin]āces. Moreover after you had call'd M^r Mathews to office, how short a time was it y^t you enjoy'd all y^e ordināces in peace, & whilest you did enjoy them! was not yo^r wine mingled with water, y^e [trut]h sophisticated, or at least weakened, by mens inv^etion & consequ^{tly} yo^r p^rfiting hind[er]ed] & did not yo^r peace end in trouble & yo^r sun in bitternes, so y^t you were glad to be rid of him? whom before you promised yo^r selves such cōtentm^t in. And since y^e Lord inclined yo^r he[ar]ts to invite me hither, it pleased him to hold me und^r weaknes & you under suspēce at uncertaintys half a yeer almost ere I durst adv^eture to come to you; and after I did come, above a year & a half it was before I could see God clearing my way to accept of yo^r call to office. All this while you were without y^e scales of y^e coven^t &c. No sooner had y^e Lord pswaded my heart in y^e midst of manifold infirmitys to close wth y^e call of God & his church; no sooner had we begun to see y^e glory of y^e Lord filling his Temple; no sooner had we begun to taste y^e sweetnes of y^e flesh & blood of Christ in those sealing ordināces, but behold! our beloved is withdrawn, he is gone, & we seek him in ordinary, in extraordinary meanes these many months, & yet we caⁿnot find him; we call & cry to him but he giveth us no answer. If we think we feel any beginings of a reviving, it vanisheth so soon y^t it is but a dream when a man awakth; methinks then he y^t ruⁿs may r[e]ad in these P^rovidēces y^t god is angry with us; & y^t he call's us to mourning. Brethn & sisters, how yo^r hearts are affected wth all this serios & continued cours of y^e Rebuking frowns of an angry God I know not. But sure I am it maketh my heart to melt even as wax before y^e fire to consid^r of all these things; and maketh me to cry out, How long Lord wilt thou be angry wth us? What? for ever! oh what will y^e do with this poor sinful afflicted people? what meaneth y^e heat of this great indignation? where is thy zeal & thy strength; y^e sounding of thy bowels (Lord!) are they restrained? oh Return for thy servāts sake, the people of thy holynes have possessed these ordināces, these priviledges but a little while.

do take us away, we do fade as a leaf & there is none y^t stirs up himself to take hold of thee.

Righteous Lord, thou art greater than man & giuest no account of any of thy matters, yet shew us (we beseech thee) shew us why thou contendest wth us. And now (Beloved) if y^e Lord have so far heard y^e sighs & groans of his poor prisoner as to giue him any intimation what may be y^e causes why y^e Lord contendeth with us; it wou^d neither be love nor faithfulness in me to conceal them. The Lord Jesus hath set me as yo^r watchmā, & giuē me a solemn charge to

watch for yo^r souls. Be contented then to be Alarmed at y^e approach of danger, tho, it may break yo^r sleep. It is not greivous to me (tho : it be painful) to think of these things or to write them for yo^r good. Let it not be grievous unto you to hear them.

I beseech you first to consid^r seriously & sadly of y^e maⁿer & circumstances of yo^r calling M^r Mathews unto office in this place, A man known & often prov'd to be of an unsound judgem^t, unsavory and unsafe in expression, stiff & unmoveable as a rock in what ever he asserted, who for these ths had been excom^municated at one place, disliked & discarded at anoth place, once (if not oftener) censured in y^e court ; This man (such was then yo^r p^recipitacy & wilfulness) you would haue against y^e counsel of magistrates, elders, & other godly neighbors although it were to y^e grief of y^e spirit of God in the hearts of his people, to y^e endangerig and endamaging of yo^r o^uer soules, to y^e justifying of his erro^r, at least in appearance (for yo^r action hold forth no less then a justifying of him from erro^r w^oof he had been coⁿvicted) if not also to a real closing with them for a time ; finally, tho it were to y^e hazzarding of yo^r peace love & co^mmunion with other churches. Brethn I fear this sin hath not yet been sufficiently seen, felt, bewailed, rep^et^ed off, confessed to God, & men upon occasion, that y^e anger of God for it might be turn'd away. And I fear it y^e rath. 1. Becaus I could never discern any signs of sorrow for it in any, except one or two. 2^d Bec. o^r punishmt seems to point at y^e sin. being in y^e same kind. The Lord open yo^r eyes to see if this be not one cause & a leading cause of y^e Lords contending with you to this day ; & I believ it wil be so until y^e Lord make you feel it to be an evil & a bitter thing.

2^d, consid^r whith there be no leaven of unsound doctrine, or unsafe & absurd notions yet retained in any of yo^r hearts. (I charge it not, but desire y^e in y^e fear of God to search yo^r hearts) As for instance, that The sacred scriptures are a fals foundation, that there is no good in y^e human nature of Christ, That David might bely y^e spt of God where he saith, Thy word in w^h y^e hast caused me to trust ; notions y^t sound little softer than blasphemys, yet sometimes cry'd up amongst you for divine light & heavely doctrine (those & many more) I wish they be now as much disliked & [witn]essed agst as evr they were defended, els when y^e Lord cometh to inquire for sin he wil s[ur]y visit for these things.

3^d, Consid^r whither there have been no undervaluing of such help as y^e Lord hath lent you in this time of my long [re]straint ; whith there have been no unthankfulness to God, to any instrum^t : whom [he] hath

[sto]macks be in a time of
famin, the Lord knoweth what they would grow to in a long continued p[en]ty. If y^e case be so it argueth surely y^t some disease is growing upon you (if I have any skill to judge) & that such a people need emptying & purging physick. If a child say I'll have no bread becaus such a Broth cuts it, or Ile have no drink out of such a pot as I do not phancy ; Is not this pride & wantones ? wil not a wise fath

giue him a knock rath then a bit, a ro[d] rath then bread? Truly so (Brethn) if yo^r spirits be so waton (& y^a at so unsutable a time wⁿ bread groweth scarce) I doubt yo^r faith wil make you fast until yo^r stomachs come down, & you be thankful for a crust whoever cut it for you.

4th consid^r whith there be no havock made of Brotherly love amongst you. For Brethn to be like two flints that they can never meet but they must strike fire togeth, becaus neith part wil yield a little or condescend y^t they might gain upon each oth^s infirmity by a spt of meeknes! for Brethn to be so estranged y^t they know not how to fast & pray togeth for comon mercys; for Brethn to interpre[te] every word & action of one anoth to y^e worst sence, to make mountains of mole hils & think evry smal greevāce intollerable! for Brethn to intrmeddle with strife y^t belongs not to them, as if there were not jars enough already! for Brethn to censure one another for their private communications & actings w^{ch} they y^a censure canot be privy too, & out of a spirit of jelousy to conclude y^t such was their carriage in such a private or secret pceeding, becaus it use to be such at oth times! for Brethn to giue one anoth y^e ly & provoke one anoth in their speeches as becometh not mē, much less christians! for Brethn to be so incēd agst each oth that they canot liue togeth in a Town! For Brethn whilst y^e Lord hath some und^r y^e rod and all [under] his frown! to be quarrelling at such a time of Good what will thou do w^t us? Br[ethru]

y^e fruits of yo^r love, meeknes, patience, long-suffering! Is this all you haue lear[n]d by so many lessons of christian forbearnce out of Math. 5. & Coll. 3. surely you are but bad pñciēts. Brethn you add affliction to y^e afflicted by such things; you need not ask thē what keeps me weak so long. Yo^r wāt of Brothly love is more grief to me then all my affliction besid & not to me onely, but unto y^e spt of God also, & unto y^e heart of Christ Jesus who loved you & dyed for you. I have labour'd with some of you in private, & that not taking effect, behold I beseech & warn you togeth (not y^t I accout all guilty, but) let every one take his portion. Gods childrē had wont to be knowⁿ by loving one anoth, & wil you be knowⁿ to be Gods childrē by hating one anoth, by quarreling w^{ch} one anoth! Are Christs Lambs become lyons, whereas formerly lyons use to become lambs in Christs holy moūtains! no marvail then if yo^r prayers be not heard. When God delights to hear his peoples prayers, what shal be their frame of spts se Is. 65. 24. the wolf & y^e lamb shall feed togeth, & then before they call I wil hear, & whilst they are yet speaking I wil ans^wr. But if yⁿ forgive not one anoth frō y^e heart, neith will yo^r Heavely fath forgieue yo^r trespasses. Math. 6. 15. Brethn see every one y^e beam in his own eye know & mourn for yo^r o^w corruptions, judge yo^r selues, & then you will not be apt to judge one another & spy y^e moats in others ey, be wel acquainted at home, you will find less lesure to trouble one another.

5th Consider whether your first Love be not lost, whither your first assertions bee not decayed, whither the world hath not stolen away your appetite and sperituall sauor of sperituall things? is the world

of God as sweete as euer though it search your wounds? or the duties of prayer, priuate meditation, selfe examination, dayly renewing of repentance, christian conferance &c as nedefull and delitefull, as dewly and dayly practiced as euer? Doe yee delite to sanctifie Gods sabbaths by restlese sekeing after inward communion with God in every ordinance, by forbaring loose and common discourse, not speakeing your owne words, not thinkeing your owne thoughts? The lose of our first Loue (though a common euill) is euill enough to forfeit our candlesticks if not quickly repented of Reu. 2. 5.

6⁷ Consider whether there hath bene due preparation and reuerence in aproching to the Lords table, the little time you inoyed it, wee may suspect it the rather are soe soone deprived of our late libertie if this sin bee found amongst us, for this cause are many sicke ad weake and some are fallen aslepe [in] the holy gost.

7^u Consider whether

with afflicted

under bettered by The afflicting hand of God

Soon yo

may not be sayed of your Lord thou hath Smitten them but they haue not groaned. They haue made there faces harder than a rocke, They have Refused to returne, wherefore a lyon out of the Forrest shall slay them. A woofe of the euening shall spoyle them Jerema 5. 35. or the bellowes are burnt, the lead is consumed of the fire, the founde melteth in vaine for the wicked are not plucked away: Reprobate siluer shall men call them because the lord hath resorted them Jer. 6. 29. or this iniquitie shall not bee purged from you till you die saith the Lord of hoasts. Esa: 22. v. 14:

These things or whatsoever els hath been or is offensiuue to y^e eys of Gods glory, I do beseech, warn & charge yⁿ in y^e name of Christ to bewayle & repēt in time, y^t y^e anger of y^e Lord may be turned away frō you, & his hand not be stretched out stil. Who can tell but he may yet return & leav a blessing besid him? nay I dare p^mis you in y^e name of Christ y^t if y^a turn to him he wil return to you eith in y^e restitution of him whom now you pray for (w^{ch} is easy with y^e Lord if it be good for you) or in giving you a better. But if you stil walk contrary unto God shal be plagued seven times more. Let [us] Brethrū I beseech yⁿ suffer y^e word of exhortation tho: it seem Sharp. Wounds y^t have proud flesh need corroding powders before healing plaisters. If any of you wil take but half y^e pains with me to shew me why y^e Lord contend's with me, I hope I shall love y^t man better as long as I live. If I have done

own soul y^e blood be not required at my hands. Now look you to y^e rest; & y^e Lord of Heavē giue yⁿ yo^r strengt to make a right use of these things. But if you humble not yo^rselves under y^e mighty hand of Christ yo^r iniquitys be not purged away, if yo^r hearts mourn not for y^e withdrawing of his visible presence; if New England be not awakened at y^e sad symptoms of y^e Lords departure. Mine ey shall mourn in Secret; until it pleas y^e Lord to remove me to y^e place where all Tears shall be wip't away frō y^e eys of Gods saints (O sweet place!)

which y* Lord graunt me may all come at last, if it be his will. Brethū pray for me that I may haue grace to glorify God which in doing or suffering, in strēgth or weaknes, in life or death The grace of o^r Lord Jesus be with you all. Amen.

dd vnto me from Mr Wigglsworth
the 19 day of the 4th M 1658:
Signifying his desire to haue it
read tomorrow vnto the Church.

[Address]

FOR MR. HILLS AT HIS HOUSE.

Mr. ADAMS presented some manuscripts which had been among the papers of John Adams and John Quincy Adams, and were mainly *duplicates* of official documents addressed to them while in the service of the government abroad. He said, that only within a few years had it become customary for our foreign legations to keep *archives*, in which official papers were now preserved, but that formerly all such papers were considered the property of the person to whom they were addressed. He regarded these papers as of comparatively little value, as all, or the most of them, had already been published.

Mr. DEANE read the following copy of a letter written by Sir John Stanhope, Postmaster-General of England, to Sir William Davison, dated 22 Aug., 1590, relating to William, afterward "Elder," Brewster's appointment as Postmaster of Scrooby.

P. R. O. }
Dom: }
Eliz: }
Vol. 233. }
No. 48. }

Sir John Stanhope to Sec. Davison.

22 Aug. [1590.]

SIR, how wyllingly I would yelde to anye your request, and how redely do you the best serveyce I coulde, I hope yf ever yow plesse to imploye me, you shall not then nede to dowl; and I protest I am hartlye sorrye that the partye yow wryte for hath wrounged both hymself and the respecte I would have had to hym for your sake, in estrangynge hymselfe from me and indyrectly sekyng eether his continuance or prefermente to the place. It is most true that when old Bruster dyed, a kynsman nere, cosyn german full to me, Samuell Bevercotes* by name, a lawer of Grays Inne, one I love and owe a

* Mr. Edward D. Neill, in his interesting volume entitled "The English Colonization of America," London, 1871, on p. 95, is misled by the Calendar of State Papers, in saying that this Samuel Bevercotes himself was made postmaster of Scrooby at this time. He merely solicited the office for another.

Mr. Neill also expresses the opinion, on p. 96, that the "William Brewster, gentleman," who was one of the first colonists of Virginia, dying there Aug. 10, 1607 (not 1608, as he has it), may have been a son of the subsequent Elder. As Elder Brewster himself at the time Newport's expedition sailed the year before, was only thirty-nine or forty years of age (see Geneal. Reg. xviii. 20, where it appears that Brewster testified in June, 1609, that he was then forty-two years old), it seems intrinsically improbable, not to say impossible, in view of his early history, that he should have had a son at this time old enough to be styled "William Brewster, gentleman." For the same reason we do

better turne to, wrott earnestly unto me, prayinge me, for that he dwelt nere in those partes and that the post of Scroby was nuly deade, that I would gyve hym the credytt to recomende one to the place, fytt and suffyceent, of good behavior, and such a one as would gyve for yt as anye other shuld. Sir, I assure you I was gladd I had anye meanes to plesure hym, and presently retorned hym aunswer, that yf the place were voyde, I was wyllynge to accepte one from hym fytt for that servyce. Within a daye or two, M^r Mylls, whom I use styll as M^r Randall did in this Offyce, cummyng to me, I tolde hym of olde Brusters death and of my graunt. He aunswered me he harde nothing thereof, and yett his sonne was then presently in towne and had ben with hym the daye before, butt said he would enquire; and, retornynge to me the next daye, said the younge man was gone downe, butt he remembred M^r Randall had accepted of hym in his lyfe tyme to exerceyse the place for default of his fathers weakenes. Presently I sent one to my cosyn Bevercotes to acquaynt hym herewith, who goyng into the countrye wrott unto me agayne, that most certainly I was abused in these parte, younge Bruster had never used yt in his fathers lyfe, nor had anye hope now to have yt, butt by M^r Mylls his meanes. He wrott farther, that M^r Mylls had wrytten, as he was credyibly advertysed, to the post of Doncaster and Tawxforde, to wynne them to saye that he had admyttaunce and use of the place in his father's tyme, which they refused to doe, as a thyng untrue. Further, that he had latly gyven money to him for the place. All this whyle, nor to this owre, I never harde one wourde from younge Bruster, he neyther cam to me beyng in towne, nor sent to me beyng absent; butt, as thoughe I were to be overruled by others, maid his waye accordynge to his lykyng. When my cosyn, whom I trusted, did advertyse me of this manner of delynge,

not regard with favor the statement that the "William Brewster," and the "Edward Brewster, son of William," whose names appear in the Virginia patent of 1609 are those of our future Elder and his son. Besides, the former had fled from England the year before, for an asylum, and was residing in Holland. No child by the name of Edward appears elsewhere among the Elder's children. Jonathan, regarded as the eldest, born in 1593,* Love, Wrestling, Patience, and Fear, the two last daughters, are names which have a strong Puritan flavor, while Edward has not. In Bradford's list of passengers in the Mayflower, he gives the names of the Elder's children who came with their parents, and concludes: "The rest of his children were left behind, and came over afterwards." We never heard of an Edward Brewster who came over; and Mr. Neill thinks that Edward, of Virginia memory, who had returned home in 1619, became a publisher and bookseller in London, and is found there in 1637. This same William Brewster, as we may suppose, and his son Edward, as "Captain Edward," appear in a list of "Adventurers" to Virginia in the Company's "Declaration" published in 1620; the former for £20, and the latter for £30. "Captain Edward Bruster" or "Brewster," an active, trusted man, was commander of Lord Delaware's company in Virginia, as early as 1610 (Purchas, IV. 1752, 1754; *Historie of Travaille into Virginia*, p. xxviii.). The Brewsters were a numerous family in England. The inference which Mr. Neill draws from the passage in Secretary Naunton's letter which he quotes on p. 101, as having been written in August, 1619: "Brewster frightened back into the Low Countries, his son has conformed, and comes to church," may be a natural one; but we think some other explanation must be given than that this Edward Brewster was a son of the Elder.

* Dr. Dexter had in his possession an affidavit from the Leyden Records, which states that Jonathan Brewster was "about 16 years old" 25 June (5 July) 1609; "which," he says, "would throw back his birth to 1583,"—no, 1593. "This," he continues, "would make him 37 at landing,"—no, 27. (Dexter's ed. of Mourt's Relation, p. 140.)

and instauntly requyred the admyttaunce of hym whom he nomynated, I graunted therto, and have wrytten my letters accordyngly, which went awaye unto [him] thre dayes synce. Now Sir, in whom the faulte is, or how to redresse my error commyttyd herin, I praye you helpe me. Fyrst, I kno my interest such, as whether he had the place or no, I can displace hym, and thynke hym wourthely displaced for his contempt of me in not sekynge me at all. Butt yf yt be true, as I protest two or thre besydes my cosyn have advertysed me, that he never used the rome in his fathers lyfe, besydes, such gentlemen as went doune with my Lor of Wourceter into Scotlande tolde me the old man furnyshed them of horses * as they went, and in theyr retorne, fyndinge hym deade, the wydowe tolde them her sonne was gone up to sue for the place, then have I done butt lyke a kynsman to plesure my cosyn with owt just offence to anye. Of M^r Randalls promise to you for your man I nothyng dowe because your selfe wrytes yt, butt that he was not placed presently uppon that promys, that semes by theyr reporte. Sir, in regarde of you, I wyll seke to be better satisfyed in the matter, and yf I fynde cawse, and maye without dysgracyng my cosyn and touche to my self, I wyll revoke my graunte, yf you shall not rest satisfyed that he have anye other that shall faule voyde with the fyrst. And so Sir, sorrye I have trobled you with such circumstaunce, and with so yll a hande, beyng in bedd for sloth, and yett wyllynge to dispatche your man, I praye yow beleve of me as I have wrytten, and you shall heare and se er longe whatt I wyll do to satisfye you; and so humbly recommendynge you to thAllmightye I take my leve. This xxijth of August. Oulands.

Yours most assured

JHON STANHOPE.

SIR, I wyll sende you the letters wer sent me by a man of myne.

[Addressed.] — To his honorable frende M^r Secretary DAVESON.

* Mr. Sainsbury, who copied this letter for me, writes that the Earl of Worcester went to Scotland in June, 1590. The office of postmaster on the great roads, in those days, required him to keep relays of horses for forwarding the letters, and to find rest and refreshment for travellers, and perhaps aid in facilitating their journey. It was an office "requiring," says Mr. Hunter, "more attention and bringing with it higher responsibilities than the same office does at present. . . . In those days there were no cross-posts, so that the few postmasters who were dotted about the country had to provide for distant deliveries, which must have been done by speedy dispatches, as well as to discharge the functions of inn-keeper for the travellers *by post*." (*Founders of New Plymouth*, 1854, pp. 68, 69.) Private letters were not conveyed by the public Posts till some years afterward. In a volume published by the Surtees Society is a record of the expenses of Sir Timothy Hutton, on a journey to and from London, in 1605. He paid the Post at Scrooby, probably Brewster, for post-chaise and guide to Tuxford 10s., and for caudle, supper, and breakfast, 7s. 10d., so that he slept un^der Brewster's roof. On his return he paid 8s. to the Post at Scrooby for conveying him to Doncaster, then reckoned 7 miles, and 2s. for burnt sack, bread, beer, and sugar to wine, and 3d. to the ostler. (Hutton Volume, p. 197-204, quoted by Mr. Hunter, pp. 70, 71.)

[INDORSEMENT ON THE LETTER BY DAVISON.]

That Brewster ought not [to] be displaced more then the rest of the Postes.

If he were possessed of the place by M^r Randolpes guifte longe before his fathers deathe, and no good cause now to except against him, then ought he not more to be displaced then the rest of the Postes.

<p>But he was possessed of the place by M^r Randolpes guifte longe before his fathers death, as may appeare by the</p>	}	<p>record of his name in the rolle amongst the other postes ; by receipt of the fee the yeare and a halfe ;</p>
<p>the testimonies of</p>	}	<p>his Mr. that recom- mended him thereunto ; M^r Mills that was privie to the guifte, and did both register his name, and pay him the wages ;</p>
	{	<p>his exercise of the place now above a yere and a halfe, which may be testified by the Postes his next neighbours.</p>

<p>Neither is there any just cause now to excepte against him either in respect of his</p>	}	<p>honestie, sufficiency for the service, discharge therof hitherto, or other reasons whatsoever.</p>
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Therefore he ought to be no more displaced then
the rest of the postes.

Other reasons — The charge he hath ben at for
provision this hard yeer for the service ;
the losse he shuld susteyne or rather utter undoing
by being suddenly dispossessed.
The harmes of the example, &c.

In order to a better understanding of the letter, and of the nature of the information it gave, Mr. Deane made the following explanation : —

Sir John Stanhope was appointed Postmaster-General by letters-patent bearing date June 20, 1590, about two months before the date of the letter to Secretary Davison. His predecessor, Thomas Randolph (spelled "Randall" in the letter), had died in May or early in June preceding, having held the office from 1566, if not from an earlier period. As neither the accounts of Randolph, nor those of Stanhope until the year 1594, give the names of the postmasters on the roads, Mr. Hunter, in his researches respecting Elder Brewster, was unable to give the date of his appointment to the post of Scrooby. "It is

much to be regretted," he says, "that the name of each Postmaster was not given for a few years earlier, as we should then have been able to arrive at the precise period when Brewster received this appointment, and this would have shown us how soon after the fall of Davison he was provided for by this government appointment. All we know on this head is, that he was in full possession on the 1st of April, 1594, and that he continued to hold the office till the 30th of September, 1607, on which day he resigned it, and a successor was appointed." From this letter, and particularly the indorsement upon it, which the late Mr. Lemon believed to be in Secretary Davison's hand, we learn that Brewster's father,* whose name was also William Brewster, had been Postmaster at Scrooby before his son held that office, and that he died in the summer of 1590; that his son then claimed to have already held the office a year and a half; which takes us back to the beginning of 1589. Davison's disgrace was two years before that. Queen Mary's execution was on the 8th of February, 1586-7. Davison was committed to the Tower six days afterward. Bradford says that Brewster remained with Davison until "he was put from his place about the death of the Queen of Scots, *and some good time after*, doing him many offices of service in the time of his troubles." It appears now that Brewster could not have remained with his friend Davison more than two years after the Secretary's disgrace; and he may have retired to Scrooby even before the time he was appointed to the "Post" there as successor of his father, which, according to Davison's memorandum, as we have already said, was about the beginning of 1589. Precisely how long Davison remained in the Tower is not known, probably two or three years. In a letter of his to Queen Elizabeth, dated 7th December, 1590, he writes "from my poor desolate house in London." He subsequently retired to Stepney, where he died in December, 1608. His friend the Earl of Essex interceded for his restoration, and on the death of Walsingham, in April, 1590, he was earnest that the Queen should give the place held by that distinguished man to Davison. The application was unsuccessful. Motives of policy doubtless prevailed over a sense of justice. Sir John Stanhope, it will be seen, addresses his letter "To his honorable friend Mr. Secretary Daveson." We may suppose the title to have been then one of courtesy merely. Essex addressed him, a few months before, with the same title; and perhaps even then it was hoped and believed that his retirement from office might prove to be merely temporary. The courteous tone of Stanhope's letter shows the estimation in which Davison was held by him at this time. If the statements in Davison's memorandum, which was probably the substance of his reply to the Postmaster-General, were true, Stanhope must have been misinformed on many matters concerning Brewster's connection with the Scrooby office at this time; and the fact, that we find Brewster in full possession a few years

* See further information respecting William Brewster, Sen., in a letter of the Rev. Dr. Dexter, in the "Proceedings" for July, 1871.

later, renders it probable that the Postmaster-General soon found that he had been led astray by false information, and that the intention he had formed, of giving the place to another, had been promptly revised by him. Stanhope, himself, was but new in the duties of his office. It is pleasant to see that Davison, while nobly suffering himself "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune," was true to the last to his old "servant," who had shared with him the lot of his better days. An interesting "Life of William Davison, Secretary of State and Privy Counsellor to Queen Elizabeth," was written "By Nicholas Harris Nicolas, Esq. of the Inner Temple, London, . . . 1823"; but the New England reader must not expect to find in it any mention of William Brewster.

The President read an extract from a private letter to himself, from our Corresponding Member, Dr. Joseph Jackson Howard, of Blackheath, Kent, England, in which he was requested to call attention to Mr. Howard's monthly series of "Miscellanea Genealogica," as he desires to increase its circulation in the United States.

JUNE MEETING, 1871.

A stated meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, June 15th, at 11 o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read.

The Librarian read his usual list of donors.

The Corresponding Secretary read letters of acceptance from Edward D. Harris, of Cambridge; and Benjamin Scott, of Heath House, Weybridge, England.

The President then said:—

Recent tidings from Europe, by the Ocean Cable, inform us of the death of one of our foreign Honorary Members.*

Count Agénor de Gasparin, a distinguished French writer and philanthropist, died in Switzerland, the country of his accomplished wife, on the 4th inst., being within a month of the completion of his sixty-first year. His name was added to our Honorary Roll in 1863, after the publication of his "United States in 1861," and his "Uprising of a Great People." These were among the earliest and most ardent expressions of sympathy for the Union cause which came to us from foreign lands.

* The telegram of about the same date, announcing the death of Dr. J. G. Kohl, most happily proved erroneous.

They were translated into English, and had a large circulation in this country. They were soon followed by his "America before Europe," which signally evinced his continued enthusiasm for the overthrow of the Rebellion. Whatever judgment may be formed of these productions on a deliberate perusal in cool blood, they were important and valuable contributions to our national cause at the time the struggle was in progress, and will justly associate the name of their author with those of the few foreign friends of America who ventured to espouse and advocate that cause.

Count Gasparin had been previously known at home as a zealous Protestant; an ardent abolitionist of slavery wherever it existed; an uncompromising advocate of social reform; and an elaborate investigator of the modern mysteries of Spiritualism. On all these subjects he had written extensively. He had been a member of the Chamber of Deputies for four years before the overthrow of the Orleans dynasty, and had served as secretary to Guizot, while that eminent and excellent man was Minister of Instruction. Since that service, he has resided mostly in Switzerland, and devoted himself to philanthropy and literature.

Ralph Waldo Emerson, LL.D., was elected a Resident Member.

The President announced as upon the table a new volume of Collections, being Volume I. of the Fifth Series, and the third volume of the Winthrop Papers. He said that the principal labor in editing this volume had devolved on Mr. Smith, one of the Publishing Committee.

The President also announced the first part of a new volume of Proceedings for January, February, March, and April, as upon the table. Whereupon, a vote of thanks was passed to the Publishing Committees of these volumes.

Dr. ELLIS, from the Committee on the Publication of the Sewall Papers, reported progress. He said that the copying and editing of the volumes had been intrusted to his colleague of the committee, Mr. Whitmore, who thought the papers would make three volumes of five hundred pages each, and that the cost of printing would be \$1500 per volume. He proposed the following resolution, which was adopted: —

Resolved, That the Committee on the Sewall Papers be authorized to contract for the publication of the same, whenever in its opinion sufficient subscriptions have been received to make such a course judicious.

Dr. ELLIS made a report on the Hutchinson Papers, stating that the controversy had been brought nearly to a close by the

Committee agreeing to give up to the State all the papers presented by Alden Bradford at the times named in the Records, as far as those papers can now be identified by an umpire to be appointed by the Society and by the authorities of the State. Whereupon it was

Voted, That the appointment of an umpire on the part of the Society, contemplated by the report just read, be intrusted to the Committee on the Hutchinson Papers.

Dr. ELLIS communicated copies of some of the Hutchinson Papers for publication in the Proceedings; and they were referred to the Publishing Committee.

*Certificate of John Wilson and Hezekiah Usher.**

These do testifie vnto the honoured Gen. Court y^e m^r John Tuttle, William Hasie, and Benjamin Muzzie of Boston — Rumnie marsh, are vpon Good testimony of others, and my owne knowledge or experience both orthodox in the Christian Religion, and of unblameable conversation, as I do believe, and doe humbly commend them therfore vnto the Acceptance of the hon. Court, into the Society and Companie of our freemen, according as they expresse their desires therevnto, and Aymes at the Common Good therein.

JOHN WILSON Senior.

2^d d. of the 3 m. 65.

M^r John Tuttle, William Hasie and Benjamin Muszie, are raiteable according to the Law made for admittance of Free-meh:

HEZEKIAH VSHER.

2.: May 1665.

Declaration of Samuel Cheever and Others.†

TO THE HONNORD GENERALL COURT NOW SITTING IN BOSTON THAT &^c

Wee whose names are vnderwritten doe p^rsent ou^r humble Apologie
1 That we doe not know that the Reū^d m^r William Hubbard was

* At a General Court held at Boston August 3, 1664, it was ordered, "that from henceforth all Englishmen presenting a certifficat, vnder the hands of the ministers or minister of the place where they dwell, that they are orthodox in religion, & not vitious in their liues, & also a certifficat, vnder the hands of the selectmen of the place, or of the major part of them, that they are freeholders, & are for their oune proper estate (wthout heads of psons) rateable to the country in a single country rate, after the vsuall manner of valluation, in the place where they liue, to the full value of tenne shillings, or that they are in full communion wth some church amongst vs, it shalbe in the liberty of all & euery such person or persons, being twenty fower yeares of age, householders and settled inhabitants in this iurisdiction, from time to time, to present themselves & their desires to this Court for their admittance to the freedom of this commonwealth, and shalbe allowed the priuiledge to haue such their desire propounded & put to vote in the General Court for acceptance to the freedom of the body politticke by the suffrage of the major fte, according to the rules of our pattent." (Mass. Col. Records, Vol. IV., Part II. p. 118). William Hazzey and Benjamin Muzzey were admitted freemen May 3, 1665. (*Ibid.*, pp. 581, 582). — Eds.

† At a General Court held on the 10th of July, 1685, "The Court, judging it a mat-

either desired or appointed to returne any Answer to the honnored Court vpon the Question proposed on the behalfe of the Generality of the Elders present, wee are sure not on ours.

2 Wee doe not vnderstand that he made a right report of the opinion of the Generality of the Elders vpon that Question and wee declare our owne to be otherwise.

JULY 22, 1685.

JOHN HIGGINSON

SAM^{LL} CHEEUEERS
JOSEPH EASTERBROOK
NICHOLAS NOYES
THOMAS CLARKE
THOMAS BARNARD.

Counter Declaration of John Eliot and Others.

TO THE HONOURED GENERAL COURT, now sitting in Boston; by way of Answer to a late Apology presented by some of the Reverend Elders convened by Order of this Hon'd Court, Wee whose Names are underwritten do humbly offer, as followeth.

I. That wee do certainly know that the Reverend M^r William Hubbard was orderly desired & appointed to Return unto the Hon'd General Court, the Mind of the generality of the Elders present about the Question before them; Hee was nominated by the Reverend M^r Eliot the Moderator, and by o'selves, and several others, and the motion contradicted by None.

II. That wee understand, hee made a right Report of the mind of the Elders, which was summarily This, viz^t That if any should come to take the government of this place, wee humbly conceive it Meet and Necessary that the Governour and Company (or General Court) in whose Hands the government was by patent placed, should convene and see and consider of his Commission, before the Government be delivered up. This wee know to bee the Declared Judgment of the generality of the Elders then present, who were all called to express their minds, man by man; and of Twenty seven there, all consented thereto, Three only excepted; One of which said. That hee would not oppose the Delivery of what was agreed upon, but that hee would express his own Dissent before the Court; yea, the Subscribing Elders themselves also (and M^r Bernard thō hee not

ter of greatest concernment in this present juncture of Providence towards this people, that wee so mannage ourselves as that wee may not be led into temptation, to the doing of any thing dishonourable to our profession, disloyall to his maj^{ty} or the peace of those that haue betrued us, doe order, that the reind elders of the severall townes, in a schedule on file, be desired to meet & conferr wth this Court in council, the 21st instant, at eight of the clock in the morning."—(Mass. Col. Records, Vol. V. p. 492.) At the appointed time the Court met; and "Y^e whole Court being together wth seall of the reuerend elders, the honno'ble Gou^{no}r declared y^e cause of this session was to consult the weighty concernes of this colony of the Massachusetts Bay at such a juncture, and desired Mr. John Higginson, Sen. to seeke the face of God for his speciall guidance & direction, & wth was donn, and then there was a conference together, &c."—(*Ibid.*, p. 494.) The Colony Records throw no further light on the subject of the two papers now printed; but it is sufficiently obvious that there was a wide difference of opinion among the elders. — Eds.

being an elder, wee wonder how his Name came into the paper) did then concur with us. Only wee have this further to add, That what the Rev^d M^r Hubbard delivered after his First speech was not expressed as the mind of the Elders, but as his own opinion, occasioned by the Discourse which then passed in the Hon^d General Court.

JOHN ELIOT
JAMES ALLEN
SAMUEL PHILLIPS
JOSHUA MOODEY
INCREASE MATHER.

JULY 23, 1685.

Extract from the Town Records of Boston.

BOSTONE the 8th of March 1685

At a Publique Meetinge of the Inhabitants of Boston upon Lawfull warninge for the Election of Officers in the Towne, for the yeare ensueinge, were chosen as folt.

Moderat^r — Cap^t William Gerrish.

9 Selectmen — Elisha Hutchinson Esq^r Elisha Cooke, Esq^r Cap^t Tym^o Prout, Cap^t Theop^o Frary, M^r John Fairewether, M^r Edward Willis, Deacon Henery Allen, John Joyliffe, Cap^t Daniell Turill.

8 Constables for Bostone — William Sumner, Jabesh Negus, W^m Rawson, Isayah Foy, Thomas Atkins, Henery Emes, Joshua Winsor, & Samuelli Marshall.

1 Constable for Muddy river — Benjamine White.

1 Constable for Rumny Marsh — John Center.

4 Clarkes of y^e Market — John Cony, sen^r Elisha Audley, John Barnard, John Davis.

4 Survey^{rs} of highwayes for Bostone — Obediah Gill, W^m Roby, John Miriam, Sen^r, Nathaniell Olliuier.

2 Survey^{rs} of Muddy riuer — Andrew Gardn^r Roger Addams.

1 Survey^r for Rumny Marsh — Jeremiah Belchard.

4 Seal^{rs} of Leath^r — John Miriam Sen^r, James Maxwell, W^m Gibson, John Goffe.

2 Water Bayliffs — John Skarlet, Witt. Hollaway.

2 packers of Fish & Flesh — John Dinsdall & Addam Dinsdall.

1 Measurer of salt — Francis Hudson.

4 Scaveng^{rs} — Joseph Gridlie, Robt Noakes, Gabriell Wardn^r, David Cummins.

6 hogg Reeues — Sam^l Pearce, John Squire, John Baker, Tobacconist, Sam^l Wakefeild, James Howard, William Clough.

4 Cry^{rs} — John Tucker, Robt Withall, John Crosse, Richard Drewe.

4 Inspect^{rs} of Brickmakers — John Peirce, sen^r, Sam^l Bridge, Jos: Gridlie, Ja: Townsend.

Treasurer — M^r Edward Willis; Record^r John Joyliffe.

Voted, y^t y^e Selectmens Instructions, be referd to a Comittee — & chosen for s^t Comittee, Major John Richards Sam^l Nowell Esq^r M^r Isack Addington.

Selectmens powre & ord^r to make rates for y^e Townes occasions voted in y^e Affirmative.

At a Meetinge of y Selectmen y^e same day, other Officers chosen by them.

Seal^r of waights & measures — Will: Needham.

Cull^r of staues — Samuell Mattocks & George Burrell.

Measurers of Corne — John Marshall, John Tucker.

Measurers of Bords — John Temple, James Packer, Daniell Travis, John Barnard.

Ouerseers of wood Cord^r — Jeremiah Fitch, John Goffe, John More, John Lowell, John Hull, Thomas Shepcott, and sixteene Corders.

March 9th 1688 $\frac{1}{2}$ Voted at a publike Meetinge of the Inhabitants of Bostone

That whereas the worke house is yet vnfinished, for want of effects in the Comittees hands, in regard y^t many that haue subscribed theire free contribu^{on} towards it, haue not paid, others haue refused to contribute at all towards it.

It is ord^d y^t y^e Selectmen, with the Committee, be impowred to make a rate upon the Estates of them that refuse to contribute at all, & put into s^d rates, y^e subscription of those which haue not paid, that soe the worke may be finished.

Coppie of Records taken out of the booke of Records belonginge to y^e Towne of Bostone as Attests

JOHN JOYLIFFE *Record^r*

MAY 5th 1686.

Tythinge men chosen for the yeare ensueinge by y^e Selectmen.

In Major Richards Comp^t Witt Parkeman, Sam^l Addams, Jon^s Bill, Geo: Robinson.

Cap^t Turills — L^t Rich^d W^ay, Obediah Wakefeild, Robt Cumbe, Edmond Mountford.

Capt^t John Wings — John Carthew, John Rix, Benja: Dyre, William Lane.

Cap^t Ephr: Sauages — Edward Allen, Tho: Hunt, Turn^r, W^m Paine, Ambrose Dawes.

Cap^t Huchinsons Comp^t — Joseph Dauis, Sam^lt Beyton, Henery Bartholmewe.

Cap^t Pen Townsends — Edward Smith, William Gilbert, Sam^lt Johnson.

Cap^t James Hills — Sam^lt Bridge, John Temple, John Goodwine, Jacob Maline.

Cap^t Sam^lt Seawalls Comp^t — Nath^t Barnes, John Squire, John Bennet.

At Muddy riuer — Roger Addams, Thomas Gardner, Jun^r

At Rumny Marsh — William Hasey, James Bill Jun^r

Attested p JOHN JOYLIFFE, *Record^r*

Judgment in the Case of Leverett's Vessel.

BY THE

PRESIDENT AND COUNCILL

of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England.

In Answer to Cap^t Palmers motion referring to Leveretts Shipp, M^r Randolph Informing that the Seizure of her, was at the request of the said Cap^t Palmer, who Informed that she had Imported Malaga Wines &c: into his Ma^{ty}s Governm^t of New Yorke (where the Said Wines have Since been Condemned, and the Record thereof before us) Wee do Judge, that according to the Act of the Fifteenth of his Late Ma^{ty} the Said Shipp ought to Suffer her Tryall in the Territory or place where the Said breach was Committed, or in Some Court of Record in England as the Said Act directs.

Councill house Boston
September y^e 27th 1686.

By the President
and Councill
ED RANDOLPH, Secry.

*Certificate given to Elisha Hutchinson.**To Any of the Churches of Christ walking in y^e faith & order of the Gosple

Rev^d & beloved in the Lord grace mercy & peace from God the Father of o^r Lord Jesus Christ. This is to certifie y^e o^r beloved Brother M^r Elisha Hutchinson, hath bin an ap^ued member of the first gathered Church in Boston these many yeeres & one in reputation wth us for his gifts & graces wth the Lord hath adorned him, as also for his Gosple becom^g Conversation, I doubt not of yo^r readinesse to receive such as becom^geth saintes; the reason why hee Hath not this wth Church Consent hee will himselfe Impart. The grace of Christ bee wth yo^r spirit.

Yo's in the faith
& fellowship of the Gosple
FRANCIS ALLEN, Past^r.

BOSTON N. ENGL. Nov.
18. 87

*Copy of the Discharge given to Rev. John Wise.*BY HIS EXCELL^y

Whereas John Wise Minister of Chebacco was in a sentence late Giuen in his Ma^{ty}s Court of Oyer & Terminer Holden at Boston y^e 24th day of October, Suspended from preaching publicly [or] Privately dureing my pleasure, as by [y^e] Record of y^e sd Court may appeare these are to Certifie that upon y^e humble peticōn of y^e sd Jn^s Wise & Applycōn of Severall Worthy persons in his behalfe I doe hereby forgieve & Enlarge him y^e sd Jn^s Wise from that parte of y^e sd Sentence Inhibiting y^e Exercice of his Ministry. Giuen und^r my hand Att Boston y^e 24th day of November 1687.

By his Excell^y Com^o
J. W.

E. A.

* This Certificate of Church-membership was probably designed for use in England at the time of Hutchinson's voluntary mission to the mother country. — Eds.

Permission to Joshua Natstock to be Master of a School in Boston.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY.

Vpon the Petition of Joshua Natstock and Recommendation of many of the Inhabitants of the North part of the Towne of Boston I doe hereby approve of the said Joshua Natstock to be Master of the Publick Schoole there and to haue and Injoy Such proffitts Benefitts and aduantages as haue been heretofore payed and allowed to his p'decessors. Given under my hand in Boston the four and twentieth day of May, one thousand Six hundred Eighty and Seauen

By his Excellency's
Command

JOHN WEST, *D: Secr'y.**Petition of Ezekiel Cheever, to be continued as a Schoolmaster.*

TO HIS EXCELLENCY S^r EDMUND ANDROS KNIGHT, GOVERNOUR & CAPT. GENERALL OF HIS MAJESTIES TERRITORIES & DOMINIONS IN NEW ENGLAND.

The humble peticoñ of Ezekiel Cheever of Boston Schoolm^r Sheweth, that your poor peticoñer hath neer fifty yeares been employed in y^e work & office of a publick Graſmar-Schoolm^r in severall places in this Countrey. With w^t acceptance & success I submit to the judgment of those, that are able to testify. Now seing God is pleased mercifully yet to continue my wonted abilities of mind, health of body, vivacity of spirit, delight in my work, which alone I am any way fit for, & capable of, & whereby I have my outward subsistance. I most humbly entreat your Excellency, y^t according to your former kindnes often manifested, I may by your Excellencies favour, allowance & encouragem^t still be continued in my present place. And whereas there is due to me about fifty-five pounds for my labours past, & y^r former way of that part of my maintenance usually raised by a rate, is thought good to be altered. I with all submission beseech your Excellency, that you would be pleased to give order for my due satisfaction, y^e want of which would fall heavy upon me in my old age, & my children also, who are otherwise poor enough. And your poor peticoñ^r shall ever pray, &c.

Your Excellencies most humble serv^t.

EZEKIEL CHEEVER.

A Proclamation for Thanksgiving.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY.

A Proclamation appointing a time of publicke thanksgiving & prayers throughout this Dominion.

Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God (who in signal manner hath blessed his Maj^{ty} & his Kingdomes & Dominions under his Maj^{ty} Govern^t with great prosperity, peace & plenty) to give his Maj^{ty}

also apparent hopes & good assurance of having Issue by his Royal consort y^e Queen who (through Gods great goodness) at y^e time of o^r latest intelligence from his Kingdome of England, was wth child; & for as much as increase of Issue of y^e Royal family is a publick blessing & under God y^e great security of peace & happiness to his Maj^{ties} kingdomes & Dominions. I do Therefore by y^e advice of y^e Council appoint, comand & require y^e upon y^e twenty ninth Instant throwt y^e Dominion publicke thanks & solemn prayers be offered up to Almighty God upō y^e occasion afores^d, & y^e all Ministers & others do take notice hereof & demeane themselves in all things accordingly.

Dated in Boston y^e eighteenth day
of April in y^e fourth yeare of his
Maj^{ties} Reigne, Año Dom. 1688.

E. ANDROS.

this is a true copy p order. Sam^l Gookin, Sh^rff

[Indorsed] Proclamatioⁿ for publique thanksgiving on April 29. 1688 being
y^e Lords Day.

Answer of William Stoughton in the matter of False Judgments.

In obedience to your Excellencies direction that I should make answer to what was objected, as to a delay in certain cases, that were before the Superior court of Pleas, the two last Termes at Cambridge & Boston, I doe with all plainesse & submission offer to yo^r Excellency as followeth.

In the first case of Fowles, I doe own & truely say that when judgment was moved for against the defend^t, I was at that tyme altogether doubtfull, whether it ought in law to bee for the Ryot as confessed or whether it ought not to be that he should answer over to the information exhibited against him; this my doubtfulness I did expresse but added with all, that I desired not to give any obstruction but should submit to that judgment wth should be thought most proper & so without any pressing by me further the advise of the court was entred. This is the whole of that matter as farre as I was concerned or in any respect conscious to any thing relating thereunto. But upon consideration had since, I am most ready to thinke that I was under a misapprehension, & did doubt without sufficient cause.

As to the other cases at Boston, where writs of false judgment were returned; It is also true that I made objection against a present proceeding upon them, untill the Gov^r & Council might give their direction, & this I did upon these generall grounds only.

1. When the Act passed impowring justices of peace to end small causes, by all that then was discoursed, & by the Act itself I tooke it to be the direct intent thereof, that the judgments given upon such tryals were to be as much finall, as the judgments of the Superior Court of pleas wherein the value exceeds not one hundred pounds sterling, or as the judgments given upon appeal to the Gov^r & Council where the value exceeds not three hundred pounds, for whereas

under the late Govern^t appeales were given from the judgm^t of a single magistrate to a superio^r Court yet upon expresse debate in this Act of yo^r Excellency & councill they were layd aside & no other remedy provided instead thereof, but the liberty of a jury.

2. I thought it above the power of any persons not having the Authority of the Gov^r & Councill to introduce a processe not by law before provided, & that it might not be so good a president.

3. By all that I had ever read or understood writts of false judgment could not ly but against judgments given in such courts where the Suitors are judges.

And whereas experience hath already shewn that not only erroneous but very exorbitant proceedings & judgments have been in the tryall of small causes by some justices (or for aught I know may be found in the cases related to) I never doubted but that redresse might & ought to be given, w^{ch} I openly declared, only my opinion was that untill a remedy of ordinary course were established, the power of redresse in such cases remayned immediately in yo^r Excellency & Council, the highest Court of Record in this Dominioⁿ whose direction therefore humbly to aske & in the mean tyme to continue the processe as it was, to the next Term, I did not thinke to be a culpable delay, all w^{ch} notwithstanding, in this whole matter, I am most willingly in submissioⁿ to your Excellency.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

Boston. June 28th 1688.

Copy of a Petition to King William III.

TO THE KINGS MOST EXCELLENT MA^{ty}

The humble Peticioⁿ of Increase Mather Samuel Nowell & Elisha Hutchinson on behalfe of themselves & many of yo^r Ma^{ty}s Loyall Subjects in New-England.

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

That whereas yo^r dissenting Subjects there have been hardly treated as by the Memoriall herewth presented may appeare.

They supplicate yo^r Ma^{ty} That yo^r Subjects in that yo^r Territory continuing under yo^r imediate Governm^t yo^r Ma^{ty} will Please to indulge them with such a Grant as shall secure to them and theirs after them Liberty of Conscience and Property according to yo^r late most gracious Declaration. And that yo^r Ma^{ty} will be pleased to give unto them a Charter for their Colledge confirming the Governm^t of that Society in such hands as layed the Foundation thereof, they taking Care that Persons of all Parswasions relating to Religion, that may desire to be admitted among them, shall be instructed in Academicall Learning.

And yo^r pet^r (as in duty bound) shall ever pray, &c.

*Copy of Randolph's Account of the Irregular Trade of New England.**

TO THE R^T HONO^{BLE} THE LORDS OF THEIR MAJ^{TIES} MOST HONO^{BLE} PRIVY COUNCILL.

A short Account of the Irregular Trade carried on since the late Revolution by the Inhabitants of New England but especially by those of the Colony of the Massachusetts humbly presented

by EDWARD RANDOLPH

May it please yo^r Lordpp

Upon the Petition of Severall Merchants in London complaining of the losse they sustained in their Trade by the Bostoners trading contrary to Law; His late Maj^{ty} King Charles the Second in the year 1676, sent me thither with Orders to Inspect their Trade, and Report the same at my Returne. In the year 1679 the Com^{missioners} of the Custom's, pursuant to the Acts of Trade, being Informed thereof appointed me to be Collector of the Customes in New England, with Instructions to Seize and Prosecute all Goods and Vessells trading contrary to Law; Upon my Arrivall (and at other times) I performed my duty with Great Diligence and Zeale, tho often with difficulty, and hazard of my life; but was alwayes opposed in open Court by the Magistrates, and my Seizures and Prosecutions (tho made upon Very plain Evidence) were Rendered ineffectual, for the Jurys found for Defendant against his Maj^{ty}. All agreeing that the Power of the Com^{missioners} of the Customes in matters of Trade did not Extend to their Colony: At last in the yeare 1681 his Maj^{ty} confirmed me in that Office by a Comission under the Great Seale, which they did also Invalidate by a Law made for that purpose, directing the Officers of the Customes not to act, but by a Warrant from the Gov^r and with the assistance of a Civil Officer; and by that Shift they kept up their Illegal Trade, untill the time that M^r Dudley was President, and S^r Edmund Andros afterwards made Gov^r of that Colony; then severall Vessells from Scotland Cales and Malaga, and others from Newfoundland &c^a were seized and Condemned in the Courts of Boston for trading Irregularly, of which some were of considerable Value, being thereby obliged to observe the acts of Trade. This highly exasperated the Traders and Masters of Ships against me, for they takeing Advantage of the late Tumult in Boston I was seized upon, and hurried to the Common Goale by a Company of Ship Carpenters, Ship Chandlers, and others whose Livelyhood depended upon the Sea, being thereto impowered by those in the present Government, whence I hardly Escaped with my life; tho soon after they sett at Liberty eight persons Committed for Murder and Piracy. The cheif Ends of their imprisoning me were to Restore to themselves a free Trade for their Vessells to all Ports in Europe, and also to deter any Person from accepting the Office of Collector of the Customes in their Colony,

* The answer of the Agents of the Massachusetts Colony to this paper is printed by Mr. Whitmore in his valuable collection of Andros Tracts (Vol. II. p. 125, *et seq.*).—Eds.

without their Consent and Approbation first had, And lastly to make Boston a Store and Magazeen to Supply their Maj^{ties} Plantacōns with all sorts of European Commodities, and thereby lopp of a Considerable branch of the Revenue of the Customes, and also Extinguish all Trade from England to those Plantacōns, which formerly was knowne to be a great Loss to the Crowne; For Prevention whereof the Act of the 25th of King Charles the Second for the better securing the Plantacōn Trade was cheifly made and Intended. Since the 18th of Aprill 1689 they have sent their Vessells loaden with enumerated Plantacōn Commodities directly to Holland Scotland and to the Streights (as by the Annexed Account of some of them together with a Copy of their Masters Cleerings from Glascow doth appear). By the Act for increasing of Shipping and Navigation, it is Enacted, That the Gov^r of every English Plantacōn shall before any English Vessel be permitted to load on board any of the Enumerated Plantacōn Commodities, take bond that such Ship shall carry the aforesaid Goods to England, And the said Gov^r shall twice in every year Return true Copys of all such Bonds by him taken to the Chief Officer of his Maj^{ties} Customes in London.

Now may it please y^r Lord^{ships} if the Boston Agents can make appear, that their Governour since their reassuming the Government (which is now above 13 Months agoe) has made any such Returns to the Comissioners of their Maj^{ties} Customes, then your L^{ords} may hope they will have some Regard to the Acts of Trade, however they support themselves in an open Violation of the Acts of Trade, and will so continue to do, untill their Maj^{ties} shall please to send over an Officer duly qualified for that service to Prosecute the same, without any other dependance than upon the Lords of the Treasury and the Comissioners of the Customes according to the acts of Parliament in that behalfe. My Lords I have had the Honour to serve the Crowne above 12 years in that hazardous Station, and in that time made 10 Voyages to and from New England before I could bring the Traders to any sort of Conformity to those Acts, wth difficulties I have Encountered, and with what Fidelity and Care I have managed in that Office, I humbly Crave leave to appeale to the Comissioners of the Customes, my Superiours: I have not otherwise medled in Governm^{ts} than as my particular Station directed me to, nor at any time been accused of Neglect in my Office: Neverthelesse because I have acted by a Comission from the Crowne, and strict in prosecuting of Offenders upon the breach of the acts of Trade, that alone has been my Crime, and therefore it was Resolved that I was not baylable having broken a Capital Law of the Colony, and to be punished with death as by the Resolve of the House of Representatives (whereof M^r Oakes One of their Agents was Speaker) doth literally appear. Viz^t Voted the 28th of June 1689, that M^r Edward Randolph is not baylable, he having broke a Capital Law of this Colony, in Endeavouring and accomplishing the Subversion of our Government, and haveing been an evill Councillor; attests Ebenezer Prout Clerke.

May it please y^r Lord^{ships} I humbly crave leave to add that since I

have undergone such hardships and difficultys in settling the Affair of the Customes in New England besides 10 months Imprisonment; and in that whole 12 years time managed to the good liking of the Lords of the Treasury and the Commissioners of the Customes my Superiours, That no person may Reap the benefit of my Labour, but that your Lord^{ps} will please to Order that I may be forthwith Restored to the Office of Collector of the Customes in New England, in which I am Ready to Serve their Maj^{ties} with all fidelity and Vigour, so soon as it shall please their Maj^{ties} to impower me to Execute the same: To the end those People may be Reduced to that Conformity in Trade as their Maj^{ties} Subjects in England and the Plantacōns: which highly tend to the Increase of the Trade of this Nation and Preservation of their Maj^{ties} Revenue.

All which is humbly Submitted.

Irregular trading to New England.

An Account of Severall Ships and Vessels Trading Irregularly in the Ports of Boston, Salem, New London, &^{rs} in New England, since the 18th day of Aprill, 1689.

The Katch Salisbury of Boston Joseph Thackster Master 1689
loaden with Tobacco arrived at Boston from MaryLand June 5th
without a Certificate. Coll Paige
Owner

The same Katch Salisbury with her Loading of Tobacco 30th
Sayl'd from Boston to Glascow directly wthout entring into
Bond, Andrew Dolberry Master.

The Pink Mary of Boston William Blake, Master, loaden July 1st
with 148 ho^{ds} of Tobacco, for which bond was given in Mary- Mr Russell
land to Carry the same for England, but against the Masters Magistrate,
Will was put a Shore in Boston by the Owners of the Vessell, and Mr
whereby their Maj^{ties} lost above 1000^l Sterling in their Cust- Brimsdell
omes. The Master Complained thereof to the Gov^r but had Owner
no Redresse.

The Pink Returne of Boston, Michael Shute Master, Loaden Sept. 10th
with Fish but with a Greater Quantity of Tobacco went
directly for Bilboa.

The Ship Pellican, Abraham Fisher a Pirate Comander 10th
brought in a Prize to Salem, and sold her for 250^l to M^r
Hathern Magistrate.

The Bark Freedom of Boston, Jeremy Tay Master arrived 21st
from Newfoundland loaden with Sweet Oyle French Wine &
Brandy unlivered at Boston.

The Barke Rose of Boston Thomas Eyre Master from 24th
Newfoundland loaden with Oyle, Wine, French Linnen, and
unlivered at Boston.

The Bark Elizabeth of Boston Caleb Lamb Master directly 26th
from Holland to New Haven in Connecticott Colony, he un-
livered part there and the Remainder at Boston.

- 28th The above mentioned Katch Salisbury Andrew Dolberry Master arrived from Glasgow at the River Piscataqua with Scotch Merchants and Scotch Manufacture.
- 29th The Katch Unity of Boston, from New Castle in Pensilvania came to Boston wth 60 ho^{ds} of Tobacco but produced no Certificate.
- October 31st The Briganteen Adventure of Boston, Thomas Burrington Master from Newfoundland, unlivered at Boston, Wine Oyle and Brandy.
- 10th Two Shippes from Jarsey Loaden with French Manufacture arrived at Piscataqua, not cleer'd in England.
A Ship of 150 Tunns directly from Holland unlivered her Loading at New London in Connecticott Colony, loaded lumber 30 Horses, and tooke in some of her Holland Goods and Sayled to Barbados.
- 20th The Briganteen Dove of Salem Nicholas Chadwell M^r from Newfoundland unlivered at Salem Wine Brandy and English Manufacture.
To m^r Hath-
ern Magis-
& others
- Nov^r 4th The Katch George, Andrew Elliot Master arrived at Boston from Newfoundland, and unlivered Wine Oyle and Brandy.
- 8th The Briganteen of New London, Adam Pigott Master from Newfoundland, unlivered at New London, Wine Oyle and Brandy.
The Bark Endeavour of Salem, William Gidney Master arrived at Salem from Newfoundland, and unlivered Wine Oyle and Brandy. John Gratton, M^r of a Small Sloop of Salem carried part of that Loading to Boston, where William Hill my Deputy Searcher endeavoured to Seize her and her loading but the Master and Seamen would not let him search the Vessell, of which he complained to the Constable who only denyed him.
- 11th The Sloop Mayflower of Boston, Thomas Watkins Master from Newfoundland, unlivered his Cargo of Fish Wine Oyle &^c at Boston.
Robert Glanvill Master of the Ketch of Salem gone to Virginia to load Tobacco there, and from thence to Scotland.
- 19th The Ship now called the good Hope (formerly the Fourtune
M^r Shrimp-
ton, Magis-
trate Owner of Courland) burthen 500 Tuns Jeremiah Tay Master unfree bottom bound for Campeach for Logwood, from thence to Hamburrow, was seized by Cap^{tn} George who put a Saylor aboard to keep possession, the Saylor was hoysed overboard by a tackle, and then she took in a Sloop Load of Goods (was supposed to be Tobacco).
- 22nd The Katch Mayflower of Boston, Percivall Miller Master arrived at Boston directly from Glasgow in Scotland with Scotch Merchandize; M^r Hambleton a Scotchman Merchant, 12 Bayles of Goods aboard on his account.

The Pink Endeavour of Boston John Brackenberry, Master Loaden with Scotch Cloath, Hose, Hatts &th from Glasgow unlivered in Boston. Also Brackenberry Reports that John Smith, Mast^r of a Vessell of Boston was loaden at Glasgow, and ready to Saile for Boston, since taken by the French.

The Briganteen Mary of Boston Thomas Carter Master from Holland directly loaden with Holland Commodity's, John Bourland a Scotchman Merchant.

The Katch Jonathan of Salem Stephen Robins Master arrived at Boston with Goods directly from Holland.

William Clutterbuck Master of the Pink of Boston from the Canary's at Martins Vineyard Loaden with Wine.

Two Katches of Boston more upon the Coast loaden with Wine from the Canarys, of which I gave Cap^m George notice.

William Dolberry Master of the Katch Salisbury now at Glasgow. John Lawson Master of the Ship Two Brothers of Boston, Loaden with 900 Spanish Hides, Piratts Goods and a Great Quantity of Tobacco bound from thence with King James Pass to Bilboa, and stayes out three yeares on a trading Voyage.

The Katch Jonathan of Salem Stephen Robins Master now at Amsterdam with a Loading of Tobacco.

John Nelson of Boston his Briganteen, William Bossenger Master is bound to Virginia to take in her Loading of Tobacco, and bound from thence to Hamburrow.

Nathan Stanbury of Boston sayl'd Six weeks ago from St Malloes in France to Boston loaden with French Goods.

Christopher Clarke Mate to Cap^m Bant lately gone to Holland to sayle from Amsterdam in a Holland Vessell to Boston.

Memorand^m a Pink of Boston sayled by the Castle from the Streights to Boston loaden with Oyle, fruit Wine, &th the Cap^m of the Castle standing by the Shoare, but took no Notice of it.

The 4th July 1689, M^r Robert Howard of Boston bought 20⁷ hog^{ds} of Tobacco of Stephen Serjeant which he then shipt aboard a Briganteen bound for Newfoundland.

Christopher Clarke Master of the Katch William and Mary of Boston, imported from Hispaniola Dry Hides and a Great Quantity of Spanish Tobacco of which no Notice was taken.

E. RANDOLPH.

PORT OF GLASGOW.

Know ye that Gustavus Hamilton Merchant of London, here Loaden on board the Mayflower of London Percivall Miller Master for Fyall Twelve Packs, One Hog^{sd} a Barrell containing One hundred and Nine Score of Linnen Damask & Tickin; 27 Score of Woolen Cloath, Sixty Seaven Score

of Pack Cloath Three dozen pair of Shoos. Three dozen of Hatts, Ten dozen pair of Woolen Stockins: Duty paid here the Eleventh Instant. Witness my hand and Seal of Office this 12th day of September, 1689.

true Copy

ED: RANDOLPH

ALEXANDER JOSSEY

CORKWELL CLARKE

*From a Gentleman of Boston To a Friend in the Country.**

SIR,

The Motions of Divine Providence in our Days, have been stupendious, especially in present Appearances for Deliverance to Gods Israel; not only in *Europe*, and our own Nation; but among our selves, who were reckoned as Out-casts, whom none did seek after. We cannot but Recognize our Late Danger, when we were in the Mouth of the Lion and Paw of the Bear: And Marvellous Protection from being made a Prey to their Teeth. Our present Deliverance is no less Remarkable, being in so strange and wonderful a way, in which were such evident Foot-steps of Gods Presence, as scarce any Age can Parallel; such a Spirit was Raised, United and Governed, to take the fittest Season and the best way for the breaking the Nets of the Wicked, and making way for the Escape of the Birds that were Entangled in them. Surely great and thankful Acknowledgments are due to God upon this account: and we cannot better express them, than, by seeing and owning God in them, and depending on him for the perfecting thereof. It is far more easy to pull down an House, than to build it, and to get, then well to use a Victory: It's Storied of *Hannibal*, he excelled in the first, but fatally mist it in the other. My Hearty Prayer is, so good a work as hath been so successfully begun, may not be endangered by ill management.

1. Either by provoking God to withdraw his helping Hand, by proud insulting over Falm Enemies: Read that Scripture *Proverbs* 24, 17, 18. And beware, it becomes Children to be afraid when their Father is Angry, though with a naughty Servant.

2. Or by differing and dividing Apprehensions among our selves, either by groundless Jealousies of each other in the present Care for our Safety, or various Opinions about the way and time of settling the Government: Two things I find there are in which most Sober Men vary: The one is, for making an ELECTION this Year: The other, rather for the Re-assuming our present Standing and Adjourned Court: This latter seems most Eligible, for the following Reasons.

1. The time is Lapsed for Nomination according to our Law.
2. We are not in a fit frame nor posture for a present Choice.
3. The Magistrates and Deputies Chosen in 86 Were Chosen for

* From a broadsheet evidently designed for general circulation through the Colony.
— Eds.

the Year, but were by force hindred; and that quickly from Discharging their Duty, and therefore it is yet to do.

4. They are a standing Court, and Adjourned, and need only their Appearing and Sitting to fix us where we were.

5. They most of them exposed themselves by their Last Act for its Continuance, as will appear by the Writing hereunto Annexed.

6. If the Election Day pass, they may then appear at Liberty to perform what the people expected by their Choice, and they engaged by Accepting; And the next day to the Day of ELECTION, is thought fit that our Magistrates and Deputies should reassume the Government.

7. They have power to judge any of their Members, whether they be fit for their Station.

8. They have also power, and we doubt not of their willingness to take in Free men under qualifications of Sobriety, and some Interest in the Country by Estate.

9. There is more Reason to take up with the Government as so Adjourned, then to make a new Choice, for that cannot be done without them.

You may Communicate this to whom you please, That God may guide us into, and unite us in the way of Peace is the Prayer of Yours,

N. N.

Instructions for the Agents for the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New-England.

1. You are to waite upon their Maj^{ties} and humbly present our Address^s sent with you.

2. You are to lay before his Maj^{ty} the Intollerable inconvenience that this Colony was exposed to, by means of y^e Arbitrariness & illegality of the late Comissions & by reason of ill Instrum^{ts} in whose hand principally y^e execution of them lay.

3. The utter inconsistency y^t there is between y^e very being of this plantation, & y^e mischievous aimes & practises of y^e French king.

4. The just & amazeing feares this people were surpriz'd wth, upon y^e notice they had of y^e late king James being in France, least S^r Edmund Andross (whose Gov^r & Confident he was) should betray them into the power of y^e French king, other circumstances concurring to strengthen those feares.

5. The despaire this people were brought to, when instead of defending them in y^e just rights & properties, those in y^e late Governm^t sought to turne them out of y^e lands & possessions upon which under God they had their dependence for a necessary livelihood.

6. The probability there is y^t the present Warr wth y^e Natives was caused by y^e Injury done to Monsieur Castiene, who is in affinity wth them, and has a great Influence upon them.

7. That you sollicite in Parliam^t or elsewhere, as may befit y^e confirmation of our Ancient Charter, & all its rights & priviledges civil & sacred.

8. You are to take care that w^t money has been advanced in London by M^r Stephen Mason, or others, for y^e use of y^e Massachusetts, be speedily paid them, wth due thanks for y^e real service done to this Colony by their meanes.

9. You are to sollicite that the Liberty of Coynage may be allow'd us.

Item to lay before his Maj^{ty} the Case of Pemaquid.

10. That you lay before his Maj^{ty} the great inconvenience wee are under by y^e ill neighbourhood of y^e French in Canada & Acadie, & places adjacent, and pray his favour & direction in that matter.

11. If there be opportunity you are to Endeavour the obtaining of such priviledges, as may be of further benefit to this Colony.

SIM: BRADSTREET, Goun^r

In the name of the Genall Court.

Boston, 24th January, 1689.

By order J^s: Addington Sec^y

Rough Draft of a Petition to Queen Mary.

TO Y^e QUEENS MOST EXCELLENT MAJ^{ty} IN COUNCIL.

The Petition of those y^t are employed as Agents for yo^r Maj^{ty}s Colony of Massachusetts in New England.

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

That in y^e yeare 1684 y^e Charter & Priviledges belonging to y^t Colony were by a Judgm^t upon scire facias in Chancery taken from them before they were heard or had time sufficient allowed to answer for themselves, that his p^rsent Maj^{ty} has graciously declared, y^t his subjects in y^t Colony shall be restored to their ancient Priviledges & was graciously pleased to refer y^e consideration of y^t affair to y^e two Chief Justices with y^e Attorney & Solicito^r Gen^rl in whose Report yo^r Petitioners did humbly acquiesce.

That his Maj^{ty} upon y^e 30th of Aprill last did at y^e Council Board signify, that his Subjects in y^t Colony should haue their former Charter Rights & Priviledges confirmed to y^m only reserving to himselfe y^e power to appoint a Govern^r y^t might unite all those Colonies.

That this notwithstanding y^e Clerk of y^e Council drew up an Order y^t y^e Massachusetts Colony should as to y^e Administration of Governm^t be settled as Barbados & y^e other Plantations, w^{ch} Plantations are not Incorporated nor haue any Charter Priviledges belonging to them.

That y^e Draught of a Charter has by M^r Attorney Gen^rl been p^rsented to y^e R^o Hono^{ble} y^e L^{ds} of y^e Co^mittee for Foreign Plantations, but y^t divers alterations haue been proposed to be made therein w^{ch} make it to be no Charter of Incorporation & deprive yo^r Subjects there of all their ancient Rights & Priviledges, especially in y^t they haue not liberty to choose so much as one Gen^rl Officer without y^e Govern^rs Approbation.

That this will be exceeding grievous to yo^r good Subjects of y^e Colony, who haue upon all occasions manifested great affection & zeale for yo^r Maj^{ty} Governm^t & will moreover at this time be very p^rjudicial to y^e Interest both of yo^r Maj^{ty} & y^e Nation.

Doe therefore humbly pray y^e y^e Draught of a Charter for y^e Massachusetts Colony w^{ch} has by M^r Attorney Gen^l been drawn up may pass without those alterations w^{ch} haue been proposed to y^e R^y Hono^{ble} y^e L^{ds} of y^e Co^mmittee

Mr. EDMUND QUINCY read a letter from Mrs. Barrell, of Boston, presenting, in the name of her brother, sister, and herself (grandchildren of General Artemas Ward, of the Revolution), a number of valuable original papers, which were referred to the Publishing Committee, and the thanks of the Society ordered for the same. They are here printed.

The Congress of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay.

TO THE HONORABLE ARTEMAS WARD ESQ., Greeting, —

We, reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Courage and good Conduct, Do, by these Presents, constitute and appoint you the said Artemas Ward to be General and Commander in Chief of all the Forces raised by the Congress aforesaid, for the Defence of this and the other American Colonies.

You are therefore, carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of a General, in leading, ordering, and exercising the Forces in Arms, both Inferior Officers and Soldiers, and to keep them in good Order and Discipline; and they are hereby commanded to obey you as their General; and you are yourself to observe and follow such Orders and Instructions as you shall from Time to Time receive from this or any future Congress or House of Representatives of this Colony, or the Committee of Safety, so far as said Committee is impowered by their Commission to order & instruct you for the Defence of this and the other Colonies; and to demean yourself according to the Military Rules and Discipline established by said Congress, in pursuance of the Trust reposed in you.

By Order of the Congress.

JOS. WARREN, *President, P. T.*

Dated the 19th Day of May, AD. 1775.

SAM^l FREEMAN, *Sec^y P. T.*

Indorsed,

MIDDLESEX S. May 20th 1775.

The Hon^{ble} Artemas Ward Esq took the Oath appointed by the Congress of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay to be taken by the General officers, and subscribed the same,

Before

SAMUEL DEXTER, *Just. Pac.*

CONGRESS ROOM, PHILAD^a June 22^d 1775.

HON^{ble} SIR, — In my last I inform'd you that this Congress had appointed George Washington Esq^r General & Commander in Chief of all the Forces Rais'd or to be Rais'd by the United Colonies; that Gentleman takes his Departure to morrow morning from this City in order to Enter upon his Command, I the rather mention the Circumstance of his Departure, that you may Direct your Movements for his Reception.

I have the Honor to Transmitt you a Commission from this Congress appointing you *First Major General & Second in Command* of the Forces of the United Colonies, you will please to acknowledge the Receipt of it.

I wish you the Divine protection, & success in all your undertakings — & am with Respect,

Sir Your most Obed^t Serv^t

JOHN HANCOCK, *Presid^t*

HON^r MAJOR GENERAL WARD.

ON PUBLIC SERVICE.

Address, — To ARTEMAS WARD Esq^r

Major General of the Forces of the United Provinces
Congress Philad^a at Cambridge
JOHN HANCOCK. or Elsewhere.

22^d June, 1775, 6 o'clock, P.M.

SIR, — The Congress just up, below is their Determination with Respect to Superior Officers & Rank —

1 st Gen ^l Washington	} Major Gener ^l
2 ^d Gen ^l Ward	
3 ^d Gen ^l Lee	
4 — Gen ^l Schuyler	
5 — Gen ^l Putnam	

Brigadier Generals Viz^t

1 st Pomroy	} For New York.
2 ^d Montgomery.	
3 ^d Wooster	
4 th Heath	
5 — Spencer	
6 — Thomas	} Member of Congress Rhode Island.
7 — Sullivan.	
8 — Green.	

We have just a Report of a Battle, & that Co^l Gardiner is mortally wounded. We are anxious. No Express. God send us a good acco^t I am now signing the Commiss^s for your whole army. The Gen^l sett out early in y^e morn^g. I am yrs

J. HANCOCK.

ON PUBLIC SERVICE.

Address, — To The HON^{BLE} ARTEMAS WARD Esq^r
Major General, & Commander of the
Forces of the United Colonies &c
at Boston.

Congress, Philad^a }
JOHN HANCOCK. }

PHILADELPHIA, April 26th 1776.

SIR, — I am commanded by Congress to acquaint you, that your Letter of Resignation of the 12th Inst. was this Day laid before them, and that they have been pleased to accept of the same.

The Motives which first induced the Congress to appoint you a Major General in the Continental Service, would naturally make them regret your retiring from the army. But when it is considered, that in the Course of your Duty in that high Rank, you have acquitted yourself with Honour and Reputation, I am persuaded, the Reluctance they feel at your retiring, is much increased.

The Congress in a Letter to Gen^l Washington of the 2^d Inst. have declared the Thanks of these United Colonies to be due to the brave Officers under his Command, and have requested him to communicate to them this distinguishing Mark of the Approbation of their Country. I mention this, as the Letter did not reach the General, until he arrived at New York. With the sincerest wishes for a Restoration of your Health, and for your future Happiness, I have the Honour to be Sir,

Your most obed^t & very hble Serv^t

JOHN HANCOCK, *Presid^t*

Hon^l MAJOR GEN^l WARD.

IN CONGRESS, August 21st 1776.

Resolved, That Major General Ward be authorized & requested if his Health will permit to Continue in the Command of the Forces in the Service of the United States, in the Eastern Department, untill further orders.

JOHN HANCOCK, *Presid^t*

(True Copy.)

SAM^l B. WEBB. *A. D. C.*

PHILAD^a August 26th 1776.

SIR, — The Service in the Eastern Department requiring an Officer of Rank and Experience, and Colonel Whitcombe having declined accepting his Commission, the Congress have been induced, both from a Regard to your Merit while in the Army, and your Zeal and Attention since you left it, to request you will, if consistent with your Health, take the Command of the Forces in that Quarter.

As soon as Congress can fix on some Officer to relieve you, they will do it; and only desire you, in the mean Time, to continue in the Command until such appointment.

Your Readiness to comply with the wishes of your Country, gives

me the strongest Reason to believe, you will not resist their application at this Juncture.

I have the Honour to be
Sir,

Your most obed^t &
very hble Serv.

Inclos'd you have
Sundry Resolutions of Congress to which I beg
leave to Refer you.

JOHN HANCOCK, *Presid^t*

Hon^t GEN^t WARD.

ON PUBLIC SERVICE.

Address, — The Hon^{ble}
MAJ. GENERAL WARD,
Boston.

G^o WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS, N. YORK, 23th Aug^t 1776.

SIR, — I am now to acknowledge the Recp^t of yours of y^e 15th and 19th Instant, and am much obliged for your care and dispatch in forwarding the two Sea Morters which I wish may come safe to hand. The number and strength of the Enemy, and the many different posts we have to occupy, together with the late Manœuvres of General Howe, render it utterly impossible for me to relieve you by sending a General Officer from this to take Command in Boston. Congress, seeing the situation, pass'd the inclosed Resolve, — and I cannot but hope you will conclude to keep the Command 'till something decisive is done with our formidable Enemy in this Quarter, who have landed most of their Army on Long-Island, and advanced part of them as far as Flatt Bush within three Miles of our Works. Between them & the Works is a Ridge of Hills covered w^t Woods in which I have post'd a large Body of the Army, which have once repulsed an advanced party of them in an attempt to get thro; and I cannot but hope will prevent or at least weaken them much should they effect their purpose of passing.

I am Sir Your Most

Hum. Serv^t

G^o WASHINGTON.

MAJ^t GEN^t WARD.

IN CONGRESS, Novem^t 7th 1776.

Whereas the late Major General Ward since his Resignation of his Trust, has continued in Command in the Eastern Department at the Request of the Commander in Chief, & still continues therein at the Request of this Congress, It is therefore ordered,

That he Receive the Pay of a Major General Commanding in a Separate Department, from the Twenty Sixth Day of April last, being the time of his Resignation, and untill a suitable person shall be appointed to take the said Command in his stead, or it shall be otherwise order'd by Congress.

By order of Congress.

JOHN HANCOCK, *Presid^t*

PHILAD^A NOV^R 8th 1776.

SIR, — I do myself the Pleasure of forwarding the enclosed Resolve, by which you will be informed, that Congress, in consideration of your Keeping the Command in the Eastern Department, have come to a Determination to allow you the Pay of a Major General commanding in a separate Department, from the Time of your Resignation, until a suitable Person can be appointed in your Stead, or the Matter shall be otherwise ordered by Congress.

Wishing you all possible Health and Happiness, I am with Sentiments of Esteem,

Sir,

Your most obed.

and very hble Serv^t

JOHN HANCOCK, *Presid^t*

Honble MAJOR GEN^L WARD.

Address, — The honble
ARTEMAS WARD
Boston.

WALTHAM, January 22, 1819.

MY DEAR SIR, — In conversation with our late Friend Samuel Dexter, and not many months before his Death, He mentioned to me, that your Father, who was a Representative in Congress, at the same time with himself, invariably attended President Washington's Levees, in Philadelphia, and as invariably declined the President's Invitation to Dinner, which He occasionally received during the Sessions.

This conduct, on the part of General Ward, was owing, as He Mr Dexter conceived, to a Letter published in the early part of the revolutionary war, which contained Remarks, injurious to the Reputation of General Ward, and purported to have been written by General Washington. On the subject of this Letter perfect Silence was observed by General Washington, until He had retired from public Life, and he had declined any further Election to the Supreme Magistracy of the Union.

He then wrote to General Ward, declaring to Him, in the most explicit Language, that He did not write the Letter, nor ever knew of it until its Publication in the Newspapers. He apologized, at the same time, for not having done this act before, which He considered equally due to General Ward & to Himself, from a Resolution that He judged prudent to adopt at the Commencement of the War, in Respect to every Publication that sought to embroil Him with the Officers civil or military of the U. States.

This Letter at the same Time expressed, in unequivocal Terms, the highest Regard for the character & Conduct of General Ward, in all the Departments of public Duty, in which He had acted. Gen^L Washington further stated, that, although He had refrained from having written, or spoken on this Subject, He had always Kept among his Papers a Certificate of like Purport with the Communication then made, to be used in case of his Death, before the Circumstances of his Life prevented his doing what He had then done.

Having inferred from some Conversation with you, that this Fact was unknown, I have taken the Liberty to relate it precisely, according to my Recollection, as I had it from Mr Dexter.

With great Regard and Esteem,

I remain, my dear Sir,

Your faithful and affectionate

Servant,

C. GORE.

The Honble ARTEMAS WARD.

The President read a letter from Mr. S. L. M. Barlow, of New York, who had communicated to the Society some valuable historical tracts. Whereupon it was —

Voted, To return the thanks of the Society to Mr. Barlow, and to present to him a copy of the new volume of Aspinwall Papers, he being now the owner of the original manuscripts.

Mr. ADAMS, referring to the presentation by him of some official papers at the last meeting, made an addition to the gift of other papers from the same source. Some of those papers now presented he regarded as of more value than the others, inasmuch as he believed that all of them had not been printed.

The Society expressed its grateful acknowledgments for this interesting and valuable gift.

JULY MEETING, 1871.

A stated meeting was held this day, Thursday, July 13th, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the last meeting.

The Librarian read the usual list of donors to the Library for the month.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter of acceptance from Ralph Waldo Emerson.

The President noticed, in the following manner, the death of George Grote, LL.D., of England, an Honorary Member:—

Since our last meeting information has reached us of the death of George Grote, whose name will ever be associated with the History and Philosophy of Ancient Greece.

The son of an eminent English banker, in whose house for many years he served as a clerk, without the advantages of a university education, he has left works which, for patient research, profound learning, liberal thought, careful and bril-

liant composition, are hardly second to any which his country or his age has produced.

His History of Greece, in twelve volumes, of which the two first were published in 1846, and the last in 1855, won for him, as was well said by the "London Quarterly Review," "the title not merely of *a* historian, but of *the* historian of Greece," and was everywhere regarded as a noble monument of the best scholarship of England.

His "Plato and the other Companions of Socrates," in three volumes, published in 1865, intended, as he says in its preface, "as a sequel and supplement" to the History, has done more than any other work in the English language, if not in any language, to bring the Socratic philosophy within the reach and comprehension of modern minds.

Mr. Grote was one of the representatives of the City of London for nine years, from 1832 to 1841, and was an earnest advocate of parliamentary reform and of the rights of the people. He was the author of several powerful pamphlets on the political questions of the day, and a contributor of more than one learned article to the English reviews on questions connected with the Greek legends and literature. A zealous friend of education, he succeeded Lord Brougham as President of the Council of the University of London, and at his death was President of University College, and Vice-Chancellor of London University. Oxford and Cambridge conferred on him their highest Honorary degrees, and the Institute of France elected him to the vacancy created by the death of Lord Macaulay, as one of their Foreign Associates.

He was not insensible to the recognition which he could not fail to receive in our own land, whose great experiment of Free Government he had long watched with warm interest and sympathy. On the title-page of his "Plato" he adds to his other titles that of "Honorary Member of the Historical Societies of Massachusetts and of Philadelphia, U. S. of America." His name was placed on our Honorary Roll in 1863.

Born in 1794, he died at the age of 77. He was buried beneath the pavement of "Poets' Corner," at Westminster Abbey, near the grave of Macaulay, on the 25th of June last.

The President read a letter from Richard L. Pease, of Edgartown, presenting to the Society a copy of a report by him on the Gay Head Indians.

The following memoranda from Mr. Pease were also read by him:—

SIR, — In looking over the extremely interesting papers of your distinguished ancestor, Governor Winthrop, contained in the Mass. Hist. Collections, xxxvii., I find some statements that need correction, and I herewith submit these notes.

RICHARD L. PEASE.

EDGARTOWN, May, 1871.

Mass. Hist. Coll., xxxvii., p. 35. In his reference to his "sonnes," Mr. Mayhew must have intended both Thomas Mayhew, Jr., his only son, the distinguished missionary to the Indians of Martha's Vineyard, and first pastor of the church in Edgartown, who was lost in the ship —, Capt. Garrett, that sailed from Boston for England, in November, 1657; and Thomas Paine, son of Mr. Mayhew's wife, and brother-in-law and step-brother to Rev. Thomas Mayhew, Jr., who went in the same ship.

Same volume, page 30. The dates of the birth and death of Governor Thomas Mayhew are almost invariably wrongly given. He is stated to have been, by different authorities, 90, 91, 92, 93, and 94 years of age, when he died. He made his will "in this ninetieth year of my age, . . . written with my own hand this sixteenth day of June, and sealed with my seal, Anno Domini, 1681." He was living the following March, and signed several papers March 24, 1682, and *very probably* died that day. The exact date of his death is unknown, but *he lacked six days of being ninety* when he died. (See the letter of his grandson, Matthew Mayhew, in the Hinckley Papers, Vol. xxxv. 61, Mass. Hist. Coll.)

Same volume, page 40. In this letter Governor Mayhew speaks of himself as 71 years and 5 months old. *Query*. — Is the date of his letter given correctly? It will accord with other facts if it be 1663.*

RICHARD L. PEASE.

The President read the following letter from our associate, Dr. Dexter, now absent in Europe: —

BAWTRY, YORKSHIRE, ENG.,
19 June, 1871.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have ventured to assume your sense of my lively gratitude for the copy of your Plymouth Oration, which you were so kind as to send me, which has repeated in its perusal the great satisfaction which was experienced in hearing it; and have not pre-

* The date in the original MS. is clearly "15-7-64"; that is, 15th Sept., 1664. And the reference in the letter to the arrival of the King's Commissioners shows that it could not have been written in 1663. Mayhew himself errs, as aged persons are apt to, respecting his own age. The earlier statement is more likely to be the true one. The papers which he signed "March 24," the probable day of his death, being then the last day of the year, should have been dated "1681." If he died on that day, then the statement, on page 30 of the volume referred to, that he died that year, should be regarded with indulgence. The dates in the note were really taken from Savage who is there cited. — Eps.

sumed to trespass on your time and attention until I had something to say which I thought it would give you pleasure to know.

After spending five months in London in studying at the Record Office, the British Museum, the Williams' Library, and elsewhere, the origin of the Separatists and the Mayflower emigration, I came here to see what I could make of a deliberate survey of the Scrooby and Austerfield localities and records. I have been resident here, with my family, now more than a month, and have familiarized myself with intense pleasure, and I trust the event will prove not without profit, with this "*maximæ gentis incunabula*."

I am bound to say, in the outset, that I have received the most marked kindness from the vicars and curates of the neighborhood, and indeed from all with whom I have come into contact. You will be pleased to know that through the thoughtfulness of Lady Lowther — whose estimable daughter, Mrs. Lysley, with her husband, son of a late Liberal member of Parliament, whom you may have known, is now tenant of The Hall — a copy of your Oration had been much passed from hand to hand here, and had served greatly to heighten and to make intelligent the local feeling of interest in the Scrooby manor and its history.

With the assistance of my son, I have completed a careful survey and plan of the manor-house grounds; and, through favor of Lord Houghton, have made numerous excavations which have revealed extended masses of foundations, the *débris* of demolished buildings, &c., to a degree heretofore (of late years) unknown. From these, and from various other sources of evidence, — *e.g.*, it is on record that as many as 500 were in the suite of the Princess Margaret, when she spent a night there in June, 1503, — I had satisfied myself that, quite down to the date of its occupancy by our William Brewster, this was a much more considerable place, in point of size and accommodation, than Mr. Hunter imagined, or than Mr. Raine, in his painstaking "*History and Antiquities of Blythe*," is willing to acknowledge. But among the records of the Chapter House at York I find the lease (of 1582) under which Sir Samuel Sandys held Scrooby manor from his father, the archbishop, with a previous one (of date 1558), from whose enumerations and specifications it becomes easy to see that "the great Court" and "the little Court" which Leland saw and described, with the Manor-house proper, the Hall, the Chapel, two galleries, and a great number of buildings for various farming and domestic convenience, were then still remaining upon the premises.

Thanks to the unwearied kindness of Canon Raine, the accomplished secretary of the Surtees Society, I have further discovered the original document by which the father of our William Brewster, himself bearing the name, was in 1575-76 made *Receiver* of Scrooby manor, and of all its Liberties in Nottinghamshire, and also *Bailiff* of the Manor-house; to hold both offices for life. This was when our William (if we take the Leyden date for his birth-year) was only about *nine* years old, and accounts satisfactorily for the position which his father held, as being in residence there, not by under-lease from Sir

Samuel Sandys, as has been supposed without proof in the production of such a lease, but officially, as representing the archbishop as his legal and financial representative and attorney on the ground.

But I will not weary you, my dear sir, with what to an enthusiast like myself seem great things, but which need the enthusiasm of a specialty to be so magnified. I hope in time, God willing, to give a good account of them.

You will be further interested to know that as "out of the eater came forth meat," in the fact that the Mayflower church was brooded in this archbishop's nest, so also the same proverb is made true in the fact that Toby Mathew, who held the see from 1606, was a book collector, and gathered, preserved, and, as his pen margin-remarks prove, *read* nearly all of the Separatist tracts of his time, so that I have found among his treasures at Yorkminster Brownist tracts quite too scarce for the British Museum to own.

Begging a kind remembrance to Mr. Deane and other friends, I am, with grateful regard, faithfully yours,

HENRY M. DEXTER.

N.B. — My address will continue "Care Morton, Rose, & Co., Bartholomew House, London." I leave for Holland about the first of July, if all goes well.

The President spoke of having recently seen our senior member, Mr. Savage, at the "Cliff House" in Newport, the residence of his son-in-law, Professor Rogers. He found him feeble in body and mind, and quite forgetful as to persons and things.

The President said inquiry had recently been made as to a person bearing the name of John M. Pintard, inscribed on a medal struck in 1787, to commemorate the fitting out of two ships from Boston for the north-west coast; viz., the "Columbia" and the "Washington." An engraving of the medal may be seen in Robert Greenhow's *History of Oregon and California*, 1844, p. 180, second ed. 1845.

No member present could give any information concerning this person.

The President spoke of the state of the negotiations with the City for a portion of the Society's building, and said if the matter should be consummated it would probably be necessary to mortgage our estate; and he suggested that power be now given for that purpose. Whereupon it was—

Voted, That the President and Treasurer be authorized to execute a mortgage of the Society's land and building now owned and occupied by them, for a sum not exceeding sixty thousand dollars, if it shall become necessary to effect a loan of money to make the contemplated alterations in said building.

The President then made the following statement :—

I am anxious, gentlemen, that all our members should clearly understand the still pending question in regard to the Building we now occupy, in connection with the exact financial condition of the Society.

That condition has been greatly improved since I became actively associated with our affairs, sixteen or seventeen years ago. We then had no fund for the publication of our Collections. The Executors of the late Samuel Appleton gave us, from his residuary property, Ten Thousand Dollars for this purpose; which, on the change of investment, stands on our books at more than Twelve Thousand Dollars.

We then had no Dowse Library. The Executors of Mr. Dowse, in transferring to us this noble Library, gave us, also, from his residuary estate, Ten Thousand Dollars, as a fund for taking care of it.

We then had no fund for publishing our Proceedings and preserving our Historical Portraits. The late George Peabody gave us Twenty Thousand Dollars for these specific purposes.

We then owned but a quarter part of the Building we occupy, and were in danger of being obliged to abandon it, for want of the means of securing the remainder. By the subscriptions of some generous men,—members and others, most, if not all, of whom are now dead,—and by other arrangements which will presently be explained, we now own the whole Building, and its value has been largely increased since it became ours.

But while these great improvements in our condition are the fit subject of grateful acknowledgment to God and man, it cannot be denied that our financial condition is at this moment far from being what it ought to be, and far from what it is absolutely essential it should be, for the satisfactory performance of our work.

In the first place, the incidental expenses of our establishment (in which I include, as the chief item, the salaries of our Assistant Librarian and his Clerk) have been necessarily increased—doubled, perhaps trebled—during the period to which I refer, owing to the increase in the price of living and of labor of all sorts; and they are still considerably below the mark at which services of the highest character—such as we really need—can be commanded.

In the next place, the cost of publishing our volumes is now threefold what it was when the Appleton-Publication Fund was assigned us. At that time it was calculated that the interest of that Fund (about six or seven hundred dollars a year)

would enable us to publish a volume every year. A volume now costs us about eighteen hundred dollars. Even the income of the Peabody Fund (twice that of the Appleton Fund) is not sufficient for an Annual Volume of Proceedings.

We are thus seriously crippled in our publishing work, which is the great work of our Society. At this very moment, owing to the simultaneous preparation of four volumes, — three of Collections and one of Proceedings, — we have been at our wits' ends for the means of paying the printers' bills; and we shall be compelled to postpone any further publication of our Collections, — certainly for several years to come, — unless some new resources should be forthcoming from some quarter or other. Such a postponement is to be seriously deplored, in view of the uncertainty of the health and life of some of our most willing and most valuable workers. Two of these last volumes of Collections, for example, were prepared by our venerable associate, Colonel Aspinwall, from papers which could no longer be retained in his possession, even if his own continuance in a condition to labor for us — much as we hope he may be spared in health and strength for many years to come — could have been reasonably relied on.

But I turn to the last and largest item of our property, from which we have derived so considerable a part of our income, — I mean the Building, a part of which we have so long occupied, and the whole of which we now own.

It would be interesting to recall the precise circumstances and dates connected with our original selection and occupation of this site. I have always understood that we fixed our headquarters here at the earnest desire and through the pecuniary assistance of the late Lieutenant-Governor William Phillips, whose noble mansion, on the opposite side of the street, is still among the cherished memories of old Boston. And I remember well how kindly, in consonance with this act of his father's, the late Hon. Jonathan Phillips gave us Two Thousand Dollars, on my own application, though he was not a member of the Society, towards enabling us to keep in our old lot. I have the best reason for thinking that there was a strong feeling among the former members of our Society, that we should not abandon this old historical locality, in the very heart of the city, bordering upon the ancient graveyard, where so many of our earliest Ministers and Magistrates lie buried, and which has so many advantages of light and air, of central position, and convenient access. I remember well serving on a Committee, with the late Mr. Nathan Appleton and the late Mr. David Sears and others, many years ago, when the question had arisen whether

we should or could buy out the "Provident Institution for Savings," and remain here, or whether we should sell our part of the Building, and seek a habitation elsewhere. We then visited many localities, and considered many schemes; but these gentlemen at length decided that we ought not to abandon the old hive where so much precious honey had been made and stored, and where so many historical and personal associations were clustered; and they themselves contributed liberally to the means by which the whole Building was secured to us.

But I am sensible that the question is a practical one, not one of sentiment; and that we are bound to do what is wisest and best for a living Society, without too much regard to the dead. I desire, therefore, to look at this Building mainly as a piece of property, and as a place for our continued occupation.

For the first time since we owned it, we are now free to dispose of it. The lease of the lower story having expired, and the room having been vacated, the question necessarily arises, "What shall we do with it?"

Three or four courses are still open to us. First, We may remain just where we are, and just as we are,—leasing the lower room on a term of years for the best rent we can procure, which will undoubtedly be larger than we have received for the last fifteen years, and going along ourselves in the quiet occupation of our present apartments. Secondly, We may sell the whole Building to the highest bidder, and then look out for a place which we may occupy hereafter. Thirdly, We may lease the whole Building on a long term, for the purpose of improvement by others, reserving or not, as we please, the refusal of any apartments which may be arranged by the lessee to suit us. Fourthly, We may remodel the Building ourselves, arranging apartments to suit ourselves, and providing other apartments which may be the subject of advantageous lease.

This last is the mode of proceeding which has approved itself thus far to the large Committee, to which the subject has been committed, with full powers. They have accordingly had plans and specifications prepared by an architect, and they are still in negotiation with a Committee of the City Council, with a view to the occupation of the lower part of the Building for the enlargement of the accommodations of the Probate Office and Registry of Deeds. They believe that this would be a most advantageous and economical plan for the City as well as for ourselves, saving the City from the great expense of erecting a new Building, and securing to both of us convenient and fire-proof accommodations.

There has been no possibility of obtaining a formal meeting of our whole Committee since the last Monthly Meeting of the Society, so many of them are absent from the city for the summer. But I have had frequent consultations with individual members of the Committee, and with other members of the Society, and I have become more than ever convinced that, if an arrangement with the City can be effected on such terms as we shall be willing to accept, it will prove the safest and best which we can hope to make. No terms can, of course, be accepted by us, or will be entertained by the Committee, which will not secure us from any pecuniary hazard, and which will not supply us at once with ample apartments for ourselves, and with a rent sufficient to pay us a fair interest on the value of the part of the Building which the City may occupy, as well as upon the outlay involved by the improvements proposed.

As this arrangement is actually in progress at this moment, I forbear, for obvious reasons, to say more of its details. But as any negotiations with the City may fall through, and as, even should they succeed, some clear understanding as to other alternatives may be satisfactory to us all, I wish to call the attention of the Society briefly to one or two important considerations. I desire particularly to present a few of the reasons which, altogether apart from any associations with the spot, historical or otherwise, make me so reluctant to contemplate the sale and abandonment of this property.

It has been suggested that we may sell this estate, as it stands, for a hundred and twenty or thirty thousand dollars; and some persons have suggested a hundred and fifty, or even a larger sum. Now, I greatly fear, though I do not like to confess it, that all these estimates are extravagant, and that we could not get even a hundred thousand. But, supposing that even a hundred and twenty thousand could be realized, let us look and see precisely where we should be. Remember, first, that between twenty and thirty thousand dollars of our Trust Funds are invested in the Building, in the nature of a mortgage upon it, upon which we are bound to secure an interest to carry out the purposes prescribed by the Donors of those funds. Remember, secondly, that a principal source of our means for paying the salaries and incidental expenses of our Society has been the rent of our lower story. In employing the purchase-money which we might have received for our estate,—be it more or less,—we should thus be compelled to do one of two things: either to set aside a sum sufficient to cover the interest on our Trust Funds, and to supply the amount hitherto received in rent, and to use only

the remainder in securing a new habitation for ourselves; or else to buy or build with the whole sum an edifice in which we should only be joint tenants with others, and from a part of which we could obtain the necessary income.

Well, now, I confess to be one of those who do not believe that, even with the full sum of a hundred and twenty thousand dollars, if it were in hand to-day, we could either buy or build any thing which would answer these requisitions.

It must not be forgotten, that the first and most essential thing to be regarded in any new building is that it shall be *fire-proof*. We are by no means wholly fire-proof where we are. If we were, nobody, I think, would for a moment entertain the idea of changing our condition. But we here have many elements of security. We have the open graveyard on one side, the street in front, and the Probate Building behind; and we have thus far had the safest of all occupants—a Savings' Bank—below us. If we have a doubtful neighbor in the Museum, I am assured by its proprietor that, owing to its character, it is the most carefully watched building in the city; and that its very dangers are thus, in some sort, securities; so that—"Out of this nettle, danger, we pluck the flower, safety." We have a thick wall, wholly independent of it, and we never have had even an alarm in more than thirty years. We may be pardoned, too, for remaining where we have been so long,—certainly until we can be supplied with the means of going safely elsewhere. "*Quieta non movere*" is at least an excusable policy. But I think we could not be pardoned for removing our archives and treasures and these precious books to any new place which should not be absolutely fire-proof. If we should be tempted, in the hope of making a good speculation, to quit this old locality, and to buy a cheap site, exposed on all sides to conflagration, and with perhaps only a single fire-proof chamber; and if then any catastrophe should befall us, we should never forgive ourselves, and should almost deserve never to be forgiven by others. If we move at all, we are bound, in my judgment, to find a fire-proof refuge,—fire-proof in situation and fire-proof in construction. And that, I believe, it would be impossible for us to do with the sum which the sale of this Building would bring us, more especially with the necessary deductions for our Trust Funds and our rents.

I am told the Historic-Genealogical Society have done it, and I would not say a word to disparage their arrangements. They have done a good thing, an excellent thing, doubtless, in moving from where they were to where they are; and the liberality of the public has been well bestowed in aiding

them to do it. I congratulate them cordially on their success. But I do not understand that their building can in any just sense be called fire-proof, or that more than one apartment in it has any pretence to that character.

I must not detain you on this subject too long. There is much more I could say. But I shall be satisfied if I leave a distinct impression on the minds of those who have listened to me, that there are two cardinal points to be kept in mind: one, that we must have rents, or some substitute for rents, to meet our interest and expenses; and the other, that we must not contemplate any thing but a fire-proof building.

If we could obtain the means of making our present building fire-proof, and of occupying it all ourselves, or even of leasing only the lower story, it would be indeed a grand consummation. We might then remain here safely and contentedly, at least until that dream of some of us shall be realized,—the dream of a noble edifice, in some fit locality, erected by private or public munificence, inscribed by some worthy name, and dedicated to the Arts and Sciences, as well as to History; where the American Academy and our own Society might have separate libraries, with a common hall; and where our respective labors might be carried on side by side.

But the verification of that vision may still be in the far-distant future. The University and the Museums of Science and of Art seem to be absorbing all the liberality of our community at present.

Yet, perhaps, a little might be spared even now to carry out our humbler plans. If we could even be as successful as our younger Historic-Genealogical sister, and raise a round sum of fifty thousand dollars, as they did, it would afford us comparative relief and independence.

It sometimes seems to me a little hard that the oldest by many years of the Historical Societies of America, and the one which, all admit, has contributed as much, certainly, both in amount and in value, as any of the others, to the materials for the History of our State, of New England, and of our whole Country, should be without ample means for continuing its work from year to year. The Maine Society has, I hear, obtained an annual subsidy of two thousand dollars from the State, on condition of supplying all the Towns of the State with their successive volumes. We have received far other consideration at the hands of our own Commonwealth. Our New York sister maintains herself in ample halls, with luxurious accommodations and surroundings, by an unlimited admission of members, whose annual assessments abundantly replenish her treasury.

Our own Society was organized on the principle that a small number of members would be more likely to work efficiently than a large one. Beginning with a limit of thirty, and extending it afterwards to sixty, we have restricted ourselves, of late years, to a hundred members for the whole State. The restriction has answered well, so far as efficient work is concerned. But it has shut us out from that public and general sympathy which secures patronage and endowments, and which brings large annual receipts into the treasury.

I have often thought, of late, that an increase of our number to one hundred and fifty, or even two hundred, would help our resources, without impairing our efficiency. Two hundred members, with an annual assessment of *Ten* Dollars, instead of *Seven*, would give us Two Thousand Dollars a Year, instead of Seven Hundred, and would materially improve our financial condition. Such an increase of our number would, in my judgment, strengthen us every way. But while we adhere to our present number and our present assessment, we can only hope that some generous hearts, within or without our ranks, may be stirred to a consideration of our wants and to an appreciation of our work; and that we may come in for a share of that munificence which is the glory of our day and of our community.

I will only add, in conclusion, that, after the most careful deliberation upon the whole matter, I lean strongly to the opinion, that, if our negotiations with the City Government shall fail, and if no other scheme shall present itself which promises as well, we should be wise to go on as we are, — leasing our lower story to some safe tenant, for a reasonable rent, until some means or some opportunity for bettering our condition shall be clearly revealed. Better, a thousand-fold, “bear the ills we have, than fly to others that we know not of.”

But there is no opinion which I am not willing to surrender before the deliberate judgment of those who have the honor and welfare of the Society equally at heart with myself: I will not admit that any one has them more at heart.

The President read the following letter from Thomas Jefferson to Gideon Granger, formerly Postmaster-General of the United States, then living in Suffield, Ct., dated Aug. 13, 1800. It was found recently among the family papers of Mr Granger.

Thomas Jefferson to Gideon Granger.

Aug. 13, 1800.

DEAR SIR, — I received with great pleasure your favor of June 4 and am much comforted by the appearance of a change of opinion in your state: for tho' we may obtain, & I believe shall obtain, a majority in the legislature of the U.S. attached to the preservation of the Federal constitution according to it's obvious principles, & those on which it was known to be recieved, attached equally to the preservation to the states of those rights unquestionably remaining with them, friends to the freedom of religion, freedom of the press, trial by jury & to economical government, opposed to standing armies, paper systems, war, & all connection other than of commerce with any foreign nation; in short, a majority firm in all those principles which we have espoused and the federalists have opposed uniformly; still should the whole body of New England continue in opposition to these principles of government, either knowingly or through delusion, our government will be a very uneasy one. It can never be harmonious & solid, while so respectable a portion of it's citizens support principles which go directly to a change of the federal constitution, to sink the state governments, consolidate them into one, and to monarchise that. Our country is too large to have all it's affairs directed by a single government; public servants at such a distance, & from under the eye of their constituents, will from the circumstance of distance be unable to administer & overlook all the details necessary for the good government of the citizen; and the same circumstance, by rendering detection impossible to their constituents, will invite the public agents to corruption, plunder & waste: and I do verily believe that if the principle were to prevail of a common law being in force in the U.S. (which principle possesses the general government at once of all the powers of the state governments, and reduces us to a single consolidated government) it would become the most corrupt government on the face of the earth. You have seen the practices by which the public servants have been able to cover their conduct, or, where that could not be done, the delusions by which they have varnished it for the eye of their constituents, what an augmentation of the field for jobbing, speculating, plundering, office-building & office hunting, would be produced by an assumption of all the state powers into the hands of the general government. The true theory of our Constitution is surely the wisest & best, that the states are independent as to every thing within themselves, & united as to every thing respecting foreign nations; let the general government be once reduced to foreign concerns only, and let our affairs be disentangled from those of all other nations, except as to commerce, which the merchants will manage the better, the more they are left free to manage for themselves, and our general government may be reduced to a very simple organization, & a very unexpensive one: a few plain duties to be performed by a few servants: — but I repeat that this simple & economical mode of government can never be secured if the New England states continue to support the contrary system. I rejoice therefore in every

appearance of their returning to those principles which I had always imagined to be almost innate in them—in this state a few persons were shaken by the XYZ duperies, you saw the effect of it in our last Congressional representation chosen under their influence; this experiment on their credulity is now seen into, and our next representation will be as republican as it has heretofore been. On the whole we hope that by a part of the Union having held on the principles of the constitution time has been given to the states to recover from the temporary phrenzy into which they had been decoyed, to rally round the constitution & to rescue it from the destruction with which it had been threatened even at their own hands. I see copied from the American Mercury two n^{os} of a paper signed Don Quixot, most excellently adapted to introduce the real truth to the minds even of the most prejudiced.

I would with great pleasure have written the letter you desire on behalf of your friend; but there are existing circumstances which render a letter from me to that magistrate as improper as it would be unavailing.

I shall be happy on some more fortunate occasion to prove to you my desire of serving your wishes.

I sometime ago recieved a letter from a M^r. Gregory of Derby in your state, it is written with such a degree of good sense & appearance of candor as entitles it to an answer, yet the writer being entirely unknown to me, and the stratagems of the times very multifarious, I have thought it best to avail myself of your friendship & enclose the answer to you, you will see it's nature, if you find from the character of the person to whom it is addressed that no improper use would probably be made of it, be so good as to seal & send it, otherwise suppress it.

How will the vote of your State & R. I. be as to A. & P.

I am with great & sincere esteem Dear Sir,

Your friend & serv^t

TH. JEFFERSON.

Address, — GIDEON GRANGER, ESQ.

Suffield,

Connecticut.

AUGUST MEETING, 1871.

A stated meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday the 15th instant, instead of Thursday the 10th, the regular time of meeting, — being the one hundredth anniversary of the birthday of Sir Walter Scott, formerly an Honorary Member.

The President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, was in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the records of the last meeting.

The Librarian read his list of donors to the Library for the month.

A request from our associate, Mr. SIBLEY, for leave to make extracts from the MSS. of the Rev. Michael Wigglesworth, was granted.

Messrs. A. A. Lawrence, Saltonstall, and Wm. Amory were added to the Committee on the Society's Building.

The Hon. Charles H. Bell, of Exeter, N. H., was elected a Corresponding Member.

David Masson, A. M., of Edinburgh, author of the new Life of Milton, was elected a Corresponding Member.

A request from Col. J. Bancroft Davis, of the U. S. State Department, for a loan of a printed lecture of the late William Sturgis, relating to the North-western Boundary, was granted.

The President then spoke as follows:—

You have not failed to remark, gentlemen, that the centennial anniversary of the birthday of Walter Scott, which occurs to-day, has been thought worthy of distinguished commemoration on both sides of the Atlantic; and some of you may have observed, in examining the roll of our Corresponding and Honorary Members, which has just been prefixed to the new volume of our printed Collections, that Sir Walter's name was added to that roll on the 3d of January, 1822.

I know not whether our corresponding secretary of that day—the Rev. Dr. Holmes—was as careful in filing his official papers as his successors have been in later years. But it would be most interesting to see the letter, if there was one, in which Scott acknowledged and accepted the election. We could hardly have a more precious autograph. One would like to know how far the great poet and novelist appreciated such a tribute from a land with whose political condition he had but little sympathy, and of whose literary advancement he could then have formed no very exalted estimate. We should certainly be curious to hear, if it were still possible, precisely what was said at Abbotsford when our certificate of membership reached there, so long ago; and to learn whether it were thrown aside with indifference as of little account, or carefully treasured up among the welcome muniments of a world-wide fame. It must have borne the attest of a Lowell as well as of a Holmes; but another generation was to pass away, and Scott himself to pass away with it, before either of those names, venerable as they both were at home, was to be associated with such distinction, in song or in story, as in our own day has given them a significance and a known value in lands beyond the sea.

Some of our young Americans of the highest promise, and who have long since fulfilled that promise and gone to their rest, had, however, already enjoyed the personal acquaintance of "the mighty minstrel of the North," as he was then called, and had given him some impression of American culture and American character. As early as 1817 Washington Irving had spent several delightful days with him; had sauntered with him up the haunted glen of old Thomas the Rhymer; had nestled under his plaid as a shelter from the rain, and had gathered in that rich store of reminiscences which lends such a charm to the sketch of Abbotsford in the "Crayon Miscellany."

Indeed, Irving had evidently found his way to Scott's heart, by his exquisite humor, as early as 1813; before even "Waverley" had witched the world, and while Sir Walter was only famous as a poet. The *fac-simile* of a letter is on our own files, which is full of interest in its relations both to its writer and its subject, and which I cannot forbear from reading in this connection. It is addressed to the late Henry Brevoort of New York, the intimate friend of Irving, who had sent a copy of "Knickerbocker" to Scott, who replied as follows:—

MY DEAR SIR,—I beg you to accept my best thanks for the uncommon degree of entertainment which I have received from the most excellently jocose history of New York. I am sensible that, as a stranger to American parties and politics, I must lose much of the concealed satire of the piece; but I must own that, looking at the simple and obvious meaning only, I have never read any thing so closely resembling the style of Dean Swift as the Annals of Diedrich Knickerbocker. I have been employed these few evenings in reading them aloud to Mrs. S. and two ladies who are our guests, and our sides have been absolutely sore with laughing. I think too there are passages which indicate that the author possesses powers of a different kind, and has some touches which remind me much of Sterne. I beg you will have the kindness to let me know when Mr. Irving takes pen in hand again, for assuredly I shall expect a very great treat, which I may chance never to hear of but through your kindness.

Believe me, Dear Sir,

Your obliged humble serv't,

WALTER SCOTT

No American author, certainly, has ever won a more enviable compliment than the one contained in this letter, dated "Abbotsford, 23 April, 1813," and postmarked "Melrose." What a picture for Sunnyside might have been made out of the scene which it describes, by Leslie, or Wilkie, or Stuart Newton!—Scott, surrounded by his wife and guests, reading Irving

aloud night after night, comparing his style alternately to those of Swift and of Sterne, laughing over his humor till his sides were sore, and looking eagerly forward to more works from the same hand, as a treat of which he was loath to be deprived.

But Irving was not the only eminent American who had become known to Sir Walter before 1822. Our lamented associates, Edward Everett in 1818, and George Ticknor in 1819, had been partakers of his hospitality both in Edinburgh and at Abbotsford; and they have both contributed to Dr. Allibone's Dictionary of Authors most interesting accounts of their respective visits. It was perhaps at their suggestion that Scott's name was placed on our honorary roll.

But, however that may have been, we shall all agree that no worthier or nobler name has ever adorned it. In 1822, Scott was in the full enjoyment of his fame. No cloud had yet overshadowed his faculties or his fortunes. "Kenilworth" and the "Pirate" had just succeeded to "Ivanhoe," the "Monastery," and the "Abbot," in that marvellous series of historical romances which so absorbed and electrified the reading world for nearly twenty years. It may well be doubted whether so prolific and so magnetic a brain had existed since that of Shakespeare; or one which poured forth purer, richer, or more varied streams of entertainment and instruction for the delight and wonder of mankind.

It is possible that, in his modest estimate of his own powers, and in his ever-generous appreciation of the productions of others, he himself, had he lived till now, would have said of Dickens, or of Thackeray, in connection with his own novels, what he did say of Byron in regard to his own poems: "He beat me out of the field in the description of the strong passions, and in deep-seated knowledge of the human heart; and so I gave up poetry for the time." Indeed, he actually expressed something of the same sort in his diary, on the death of Jane Austen, when he observed that "Edgeworth, Ferrier, and Austen, had all given portraits of real society far superior to any thing vain man had produced of a like nature;" adding, in his most characteristic vein, this special tribute to Miss Austen: "That young lady had a talent for describing the involvements, feelings, and characters of ordinary life, which is to me the most wonderful I have ever met with. The big bow-wow I can do myself like any one going; but the exquisite touch, which renders commonplace things and characters interesting, from the truth of the description and the sentiment, is denied to me."

How much stronger he would have made this admission had he lived to read "David Copperfield" or "The Newcomes"!

We are hardly disposed to allow that any faculty was, as he says, "denied to him;" but it is certain that he seldom or never attempted to deal with the incidents of the "ordinary life," or the characters of the "real society," around him. His genius found a different sphere for its display. He was eminently an antiquarian; almost an archæologist; with a profound reverence for the past; with an intense relish for historical research; and with an attachment as patriotic and as passionate as that of Burns to the local traditions, the local tales and ballads, the local superstitions and scenery of his native land. These furnished the staple of his poetry and prose alike, and supplied both warp and woof for his magic embroidery. He sacrificed little to what in these days would be called the sentimental or the sensational. He certainly never pandered to licentiousness, sensuality, or scepticism. It was no flattery, when a venerable bishop of the church he loved told him at a banquet, of which he divided the honors with the Duke of Wellington, that "he could reflect upon the labors of a long literary life, with the consciousness that every thing he had written tended to the practice of virtue, and to the improvement of the human race." It was no self-delusion, when, at the very close of that life, he said of himself: "I have been perhaps the most voluminous author of the day; and it is a comfort to me to think that I have tried to unsettle no man's faith, to corrupt no man's principle." Let us all thank God for that record, and still more for the fact which it so justly embodies.

It were doing but half justice to the memory of Sir Walter, more particularly in connection with his membership of a society like this, if allusion were only made to his poems and novels. We cannot forget how much both biography and history were indebted to him for those three quarto volumes of the Sadler State Papers, in 1809; for those thirteen ponderous tomes of Somers' Tracts, in 1812; for his "Border Antiquities of England and Scotland;" for those grand editions of Dryden and Swift; for those charming Lives and Memoirs of the British Novelists; for that elaborate and masterly treatment of a great period of French history in the Life of the First Napoleon; for those delightful sketches of French, and more especially of Scotch history, in the "Tales of a Grandfather;" and for that continuous stream of brilliant criticism which he contributed to the periodical reviews of his day.

Nor must we forget that all this gigantic literary labor was performed in the intervals of an exacting professional career, and of a social life full of obligations and distractions; per-

formed so quietly and almost invisibly that hardly any one, save an occasional copyist or a publisher, knew what he was doing, or when he had time for doing any thing. And yet it was no exaggeration in Irving to say of him, that "his works have incorporated themselves with the thoughts and concerns of the whole civilized world, and have had a controlling influence over the age in which he lived." Nor can I help thinking that if Dickens and Thackeray could have lived, as we all might have hoped that they would live, to take the lead in this centennial commemoration of their illustrious exemplar, and had been called on, as experts, to say what were the two names which, upon the whole, had exercised the greatest and best, the most pervading and most permanent influence upon English literature, down even to the day of their own lamented deaths, they would have agreed in suggesting that the same initial letters would indicate them both; and would have concurred in assigning to Walter Scott, in that line of literature to which both belong, the place most nearly approaching — at however wide an interval — to William Shakespeare. For no one else, I think, — unless perchance for one of themselves, — would such an approximation be claimed; but it will be for posterity, when their centennials shall come round, and when contemporary opinions shall have been set aside or confirmed by maturer judgments, to pronounce upon their titles to pre-eminence. "*Commenta opinionum delet dies; nature or* (or, as we may imagine Cicero saying in such a connection as this, *humani generis orbisque totius) judicia confirmat.*"

I may not conclude, gentlemen, without reminding you, that by the favor of our ever-honored benefactor, the late Mr. Dowse, who had a most enthusiastic admiration for Scott, this noble library came to us accompanied by one of Chantrey's original marble busts of Sir Walter, which we can hardly prize too highly. Lockhart, in his admirable biography, tells us that "it was during his visit to London (in 1820) that Scott sat to Chantrey for the bust which alone preserves for posterity the cast of expression most fondly remembered by all who ever mingled in his domestic life." The final touches to the first marble copy were given during the following year, when Sir Walter had come to London to attend the coronation of George IV., and that original marble is now at Abbotsford. But the one which we possess, and which is the mute but well-nigh conscious witness of our homage to-day, is hardly less precious.

We have, too, before us — kindly contributed by their owners to lend additional interest to this occasion — the beautiful portrait of Scott, painted by Leslie for our lamented associate,

Mr. Ticknor, and another excellent head painted by Stuart Newton for the late Mr. Samuel Williams.

I leave it to others to call your attention more particularly to these interesting pictures, and I hasten to make way for them by offering, with the sanction of the Standing Committee of the Society, the following resolutions:—

Resolved, By the Massachusetts Historical Society, that, in view of the centennial celebration of the birthday of Walter Scott, on this 15th of August, 1871, we cannot forget that our predecessors, almost fifty years since, adorned our honorary roll with his name, and thus transmitted to us a peculiar privilege, if not a peculiar obligation, to unite in doing homage to his memory.

Resolved, That we look back with admiration and amazement upon a literary career so crowded with brave effort, and so crowned with brilliant achievement; which has left such enduring and ennobling influences on the literature of the world, and has supplied such pure and inexhaustible streams of entertainment and instruction for all generations.

Resolved, That our warmest sympathies are with all at Abbotsford, or elsewhere, who are engaged in this just tribute to the genius of one whose power over the human heart no distance of time or place can extinguish; and whose memory is cherished on every hill-side and in every valley of New England, as gratefully as by those who are privileged to tread his native heather.

The resolutions were seconded by Mr. Longfellow, and supported in interesting addresses by Mr. Hillard, Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson, Mr. Edmund Quincy, the Rev. Robert C. Waterston, and others.

Mr. RALPH WALDO EMERSON spoke as follows:—

The memory of Sir Walter Scott is dear to this Society, of which he was for ten years an Honorary Member. If only as an eminent antiquary who has shed light on the history of Europe and of the English race, he had high claims to our regard. But to the rare tribute of a centennial anniversary of his birthday, which we gladly join with Scotland and indeed with Europe to keep, he is not less entitled,—perhaps he alone among the literary men of this century is entitled,—by the exceptional debt which all English-speaking men have gladly owed to his character and genius. I think no modern writer has inspired his readers with such affection to his own personality. I can well remember as far back as when “The Lord of the Isles” was first republished in Boston, in 1815,—my own and my school-fellows’ joy in the book. “Marmion” and “The Lay” had gone before, but we were then learning to

spell. In the face of the later novels, we still claim that his poetry is the delight of boys. But this means that when we re-open these old books, we all consent to be boys again. We tread over our youthful grounds with joy. Critics have found them to be only rhymed prose. But I believe that many of those who read them in youth, when, later, they come to dismiss finally their school-days' library, will make some fond exception for Scott as for Byron.

It is easy to see the origin of his poems. His own ear had been charmed by old ballads crooned by Scottish dames at firesides, and written down from their lips by antiquaries; and, finding them now outgrown and dishonored by the new culture, he attempted to dignify and adapt them to the times in which he lived. Just so much thought, so much picturesque detail in dialogue or description as the old ballad required, so much suppression of details, and leaping to the event, he would keep and use, but without any ambition to write a high poem after a classic model. He made no pretension to the lofty style of Spenser, or Milton, or Wordsworth. Compared with their purified songs,—purified of all ephemeral color or material,—his were *vers de société*. But he had the skill proper to *vers de société*,—skill to fit his verse to his topic, and not to write solemn pentameters alike on a hero or a spaniel. His good sense probably elected the ballad, to make his audience larger. He apprehended in advance the immense enlargement of the reading public, which almost dates from the era of his books,—an event which his books and Byron's inaugurated; and which, though until then unheard of, has become familiar to the present time.

If the success of his poems, however large, was partial, that of his novels was complete. The tone of strength in "Waverley" at once announced the master, and was more than justified by the superior genius of the following romances, up to the "Bride of Lammermoor," which almost goes back to Æschylus, for a counterpart, as a painting of Fate,—leaving on every reader the impression of the highest and purest tragedy.

His power on the public mind rests on the singular union of two influences. By nature, by his reading and taste, an aristocrat, in a time and country which easily gave him that bias, he had the virtues and graces of that class, and by his eminent humanity and his love of labor escaped its harm. He saw in the English Church the symbol and seal of all social order; in the historical aristocracy, the benefits to the state which Burke claimed for it; and in his own reading and research, such store of legend and renown as won his imagination to their cause.

Not less his eminent humanity delighted in the sense and virtue and wit of the common people. In his own household and neighbors, he found characters and pets of humble class, with whom he established the best relation, — small farmers and tradesmen, shepherds, fishermen, gypsies, peasant-girls, crones, — and came with these into real ties of mutual help and goodwill. From these originals he drew so genially his Jeannie Deans, his Dinmonts and Edie Ochiltrees, Caleb Balderstone and Fairservice, Cuddie Headriggs, Dominies, Meg Merrilies and Jeannie Rintherouts, full of life and reality; making these, too, the pivots on which the plots of his stories turn; and meantime without one word of brag of this discernment, — nay, this extreme sympathy reaching down to every beggar and beggar's dog, and horse and cow. In the number and variety of his characters, he approaches Shakespeare. Other painters in verse or prose have thrown into literature a few type-figures, as Cervantes, DeFoe, Richardson, Goldsmith, Sterne, and Fielding; but Scott portrayed with equal strength and success every figure in his crowded company.

His strong good sense saved him from the faults and foibles incident to poets, — from nervous egotism, sham modesty, or jealousy. He played ever a manly part. With such a fortune and such a genius, we should look to see what heavy toll the Fates took of him, as of Rousseau or Voltaire, of Swift or Byron. But no: he had no insanity, or vice, or blemish. He was a thoroughly upright, wise, and great-hearted man, equal to whatever event or fortune should try him. Disasters only drove him to immense exertion. What an ornament and safeguard is humor! Far better than wit for a poet and writer. It is a genius itself, and so defends from the insanities.

Under what rare conjunction of stars was this man born, that, wherever he lived, he found superior men, passed all his life in the best company, and still found himself the best of the best! He was apprenticed at Edinburgh to a Writer to the Signet, and became a Writer to the Signet, and found himself in his youth and manhood and age in the society of Mackintosh, Horner, Jeffrey, Playfair, Dugald Stewart, Sydney Smith, Leslie, Sir William Hamilton, Wilson, Hogg, De Quincey, — to name only some of his literary neighbors.

Mr. HILLARD's remarks related chiefly to a portrait of Scott painted for the late Mr. Ticknor by Leslie, which, with the smaller portrait by Stuart Newton now the property of Mrs. Philip H. Sears of Boston, was exhibited at the meeting. Mr. Hillard read an interesting letter from Leslie to Mr. Ticknor,

written about the time he was engaged in painting the portrait referred to, which for so many years has hung on the wall over the fire-place in his library in Boston.

Mr. QUINCY produced copies of the first edition of "Waverley" and of "Marmion," belonging to the Boston Athenæum, and also the *éditiones principes* of the novels which are in the Dowse collection, belonging to the Society; and stated some facts connected with their publication. He also spoke of the great merit of the Stuart Newton picture, which he said was regarded as a faithful likeness of the great novelist.

Mr. WATERSTON produced some autograph manuscripts of Scott, including a portion of the History of Scotland, bearing upon the trial of Queen Mary; together with proof-sheets of the same, with important corrections in Sir Walter's own hand. Captain Basil Hall asserts that Scott never corrected the press, or, if he did so at all, it was very slightly, and that in general his works came before the public just as they were written. Similar statements have often been made, and are widely believed. Doubtless, in certain cases, it may have been true that Scott was not careful to revise his manuscripts or proof-sheets; but all the specimens in the possession of Mr. Waterston proved that in many instances he was scrupulously exact, and left nothing undone to have his work brought before the public in as perfect a condition as possible. The manuscripts and the proof-sheets, here presented, gave evidence of the most conscientious care both in regard to the statement of facts, and also to phraseology, even to the slightest shades of expression. In some instances, where long sentences were introduced into the middle of a page and new paragraphs added, the whole type must have been reset. Thus incontrovertible demonstration was given that both the original manuscripts and the proof-sheets were subjected to the most searching revision. Even the punctuation was carefully corrected with his own hand, showing that nothing was too minute to escape notice.

The next autograph paper presented by Mr. Waterston to the meeting, was a letter of Scott to Robert Pierce Gillies, well known as an able translator of several works from the German, and the editor at that time of the "Foreign Review," which commenced its existence under his influence.

With this letter, Scott sends an article for that periodical; a "generous benefaction," as Lockhart terms it, which, he adds, "was equivalent to giving a brother author £100, at the expense of considerable time and drudgery to himself." This was Scott's method, in numberless instances, of serving

literary persons who had often little or no claim upon him, except that they were in need either of literary or pecuniary aid; or perhaps both, which might, as the world goes, not be unlikely! Such a letter, with its accompanying literary contribution, is doubly interesting, both as showing Scott's prompt and hearty way of doing things, and the genuine nobleness of his nature. He makes no parade of liberality, but simply says, "The rest of the Review goes herewith. Also two books,—'Duc de Guise à Naples,' from which there is one or two small translations to be made; the other, a book of my own, a present from my dear friend Lord Somerville."

Lord Somerville, ranking by birth among the most ancient of the Scottish Barons, had suddenly died at Vevay, while on his way to Italy, in 1819, and in the *Edinboro' Journal* of that year Scott published an elaborate tribute to his much loved friend. Lord Somerville, for many years President of the Board of Agriculture, was the original of "the Laird," in "Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk," written by Scott from Paris in 1815. At the time of Somerville's last illness, Scott writes to his son, then an officer in the 18th Hussars,—"His death will be another severe loss to me; for he was a kind, good friend, and, at my time of life, men do not readily take to new associates." The strength of Scott's affections, and their abiding tenacity, are clearly perceptible; referring to the volume given him by Lord Somerville, he says: "I wish you would employ any clever-fingered scribe to write out the passages for insertion, of which there are several. I would not by any means choose the book to go into the printing-office. *Though it is not much worth, I HAVE A PRODIGIOUS VALUE FOR IT.*"

This was written some years after the death of his friend. The letter closes with these memorable words: "Life is but a winter's day, and every minute must be improved.

"I am, dear sir, yours very truly, WALTER SCOTT."

"I will be in Edin' on the 11th instant."

Mr. Waterston then produced from his collection of autographs an important portion of "Kenilworth" in Sir Walter's handwriting, including the interview between Essex and Sussex at the Royal Palace, in the presence of Queen Elizabeth, at which interview, it will be remembered, Sir Walter Raleigh was present, as we find here recorded by Scott's hand.

In the midst of one of the violent outbursts between Leicester and Sussex, Scott exclaims, "The spirit of Henry VIII. was instantly aroused in the bosom of his daughter, and she turned on Leicester with a severity which appalled him, as well as all his followers."

"Kenilworth" was published in 1821, exactly fifty years ago. So that the autograph dates midway between this anniversary and the day we celebrate, a period which may be called the culminating point of Scott's literary greatness, for the success of that work was perhaps without a parallel. The blaze of popularity into which it instantly burst has never diminished. "It continues, and I doubt not will ever continue," says Lockhart, "to be placed in the very highest rank of prose fiction."

The pages upon which this manuscript is written are eight inches by ten, with fifty-six lines to a page. "Three such pages," Lockhart tells us, "were, in the author's estimation, a fair day's work, and were equal to fifteen or sixteen pages, as originally printed."

He never rewrote such pages for the press. What was written was only upon one side of the leaf, all additions and alterations being made upon the blank page. The whole, though in dialogue, is without a break, closely written, five lines to an inch, with no special space indicating particular speakers: the words of Essex, Sussex, and Queen Elizabeth flow directly on; while cool narrative, and fiery and passionate altercation, are given in the same steady hand. It is curious to consider the working of Scott's mind at a moment of such tremendous creation, and to witness with what apparent calmness his sentences glide over the page.

How should we feel to look upon the writing of Shakespeare as he penned the most wonderful passages of Hamlet or Macbeth? Yet here is a production in many respects not less marvellous. We have before us the very page over which Scott brooded at the instant when those immortal imaginations took shape. More than this, we are permitted to stand as it were, by his side, and watch the dawning of his second thought.

Take two instances as an illustration. Queen Elizabeth called upon Essex and Sussex to join hands and forget their animosities. The two rivals looked at each other with reluctant eyes, each unwilling to make the first advance. They remained still and stubborn, until the Queen raised her voice to a height which argued both impatience and absolute command.

"My Lords of Sussex and Leicester," she said, "I bid you, once more, to join hands, and God's death! he that refuses shall taste our Tower fare ere he see our face again." Here the passage originally ended; but on the blank page, in the same handwriting, is the second thought:—

"I will lower your proud hearts, ere we part, and that I promise on the word of a Queen!"

So this added utterance of queenly power and dignity has been read upon the printed page of every copy of "Kenilworth" which has been given to the world.

Nay, there is still another manifestation of thought on the manuscript, which could never be seen elsewhere.

The manuscript reads,—"I will lower ~~bo~~" — Scott was evidently purposing to write "*both* your proud hearts," but he intuitively saw that this would weaken the whole, and he dashed his pen (~~bo~~) over the unfinished word.

The other passage of which we will speak is one in which the affecting tragedy of Amy Robsart comes near being suddenly unveiled before the Queen. Leicester stands on the verge of a gulf yawning for his destruction.

"Is it true, sirrah," said the Queen to Varney, with one of those searching looks which few had the audacity to resist, "that you have seduced to infamy a young lady of birth and breeding, the daughter of Sir Hugh Robsart of Lidcot-Hall?"

"Varney kneeled down, and replied, with a look of the most profound contrition, 'There have been some love passages betwixt me and mistress Amy Robsart.'"

"Leicester's flesh quivered with indignation as he heard his dependent make this avowal, and for one moment he manned himself to step forward, and, bidding farewell to the court and the royal favor, confess the whole mystery of the secret marriage."

"But," says the manuscript, "he looked at Sussex, and the triumphant smile which would clothe his cheek upon hearing the avowal sealed his lips."

Thus it originally stood, but on second thought Scott perceived that, the avowal not having been made, the smile only existed in Leicester's imagination. On the blank page, therefore, the author wrote "*idea of*;" and the sentence, as given to the world, stands thus: "He looked at Sussex, and the idea of the triumphant smile which would clothe his cheek upon hearing the avowal sealed his lips."

How keen and penetrating, to the minutest detail, were Scott's perceptions, is shown by so subtle a thought not escaping him, even in the heat and excitement of such a creation. The whole scene was palpably before him,—every fact and possibility; the internal working of every thought, and the lights and shadows of every sentiment.

Mr. Waterston stated that while in England he had visited, with peculiar interest, such localities as were associated with the writings of Scott: among which he named Ashby-de-la-Zouch connected with "Ivanhoe," and the splendid remains of

Kenilworth, whose magnificent ruins still awaken the admiration of travellers from every part of the world ; or is not the attraction that irresistible charm which has been woven around them by the gifted mind we are considering ? In Scotland also he had made pilgrimage to scenes identified with the genius of Scott. He had climbed the heights of Stirling, had wandered amid the wild grandeur of the Trosachs ; had seen the beauty of Loch Lomond and Loch Katrine, had landed at Ellen's Isle, upon whose pebbly shore the Lady of the Lake had moored her bark ; visited North Berwick and the Law, and looked upon the German Ocean from the crumbling walls of Tantallon Castle ; from Oban had sailed through the Sound of Mull, out amid the stormy Hebrides ; had entered the Cave of Fingal, and at Iona stood by the grave of Duncan and the Lord of the Isles, — and, having seen how the genius of Scott had thrown a spell of enchantment all over his native land, the home of the great magician at Abbotsford was visited ; the scenes he loved at Roslin and at Melrose, and finally his last resting-place at Dryburgh Abbey.

He had listened to reminiscences from those who had known Scott, — Robert Chambers, and the Rev. Dr. Nichol of Jedboro', and others who, by personal recollections, gave a nearness of feeling and an individuality of impression.

At the Parliament House one friend pointed out the rooms and the desk where he had often seen Sir Walter busily engaged as Clerk of the Session, and where through many years (and that during the most active period of his literary career) he conscientiously devoted a large portion of his time to professional duties, — in itself, under the circumstances, one of the most remarkable facts in his remarkable life. The Rev. Dr. Nichol gave an account of being present with Scott at the last public meeting which he attended. The advancing tide of reform had swept onward, beyond what Scott, with his love of the past, could appreciate. He rose and sought to speak. But he could not hold the sympathy of the audience, or stem the current of popular feeling. Moved to deep emotion, he sat down in sadness, covering his face with his hands.

What could be more powerful or touching than Scott's reference to the change which had come over his spirits by physical disability, and domestic and pecuniary disaster ?

“The Sun upon the Weirdlaw Hill,
In Ettrick's vale, is sinking sweet ;
The westland wind is hush and still,
The Lake lies sleeping at my feet.

Yet not the landscape to mine eye
Bears those bright hues that once it bore;
Though Evening, with her richest dye,
Flames o'er the hills of Ettrick's shore.

"With listless look along the plain,
I see Tweed's silver current glide,
And coldly mark the holy fane
Of Melrose rise in ruined pride:
The quiet lake, the balmy air,
The hill, the stream, the tower, the tree, —
Are they still such as once they were,
Or is the dreary change in me?"

Mr. Waterston closed his remarks by alluding to a graphic account he heard from the lips of Edward Everett, who had visited Scott at Abbotsford in 1818, and again after a lapse of twenty-six years. But it was not the delightful picture of domestic life given by Mr. Everett to which Mr. Waterston so particularly referred, as to a visit made in company with Scott to Melrose Abbey. "Musing," he said, "as I had done in my youth, over the sepulchre of the wizard, once pointed out by the bloody stain of the cross, and the image of the archangel, — standing within that consecrated enclosure, under the friendly guidance of him whose genius had made it holy ground, — my fancy kindling with the inspiration of the spot: I seemed to behold, not the vision so magnificently described by the minstrel, — the light which, as the tomb opened, shot upward even to the roof of the chancel, — but I could fancy that I beheld the yet brighter light which had broken forth from the Master-mind, streaming from his illumined page, all-gloriously upward, above the pinnacles of worldly grandeur, till it mingled its equal beams with that of the brightest constellations in the intellectual firmament of England!"

Such was the man, — of varied and most marvellous genius, of unsurpassed industry, of genial and hearty good-will, — the centennial anniversary of whose birth we this day celebrate. Truly may he be counted a benefactor to Mankind. His influence was not limited to clime or country. He was born for all Nations and for all Time.

The President read the following letter from Dr. Holmes, who was unable to be present at the meeting.

BOSTON, August 14, 1871.

DEAR MR. WINTHROP,—I know what I am losing by my enforced absence from the meeting of our Society on the hundredth birthday anniversary of the great historical romancer. The mere fact of coming together with a single thought in our minds and a single feeling in our hearts would make the occasion most interesting, were we only to sit an hour in silence, like an assembly of worshipping Friends.

But I feel sure there will be much that I shall be glad to listen to from lips that will speak for us better than most of us could hope to speak for ourselves. And yet I cannot envy those who have so much to say and so brief a space to say it in. A large and beneficent life is not to be summed up in a few phrases. The glow of enthusiasm which burns in an eloquent eulogy but feebly represents the gratitude we owe to a great writer. He who has hung the halls and corridors, the chambers and the crypts of this house of many mansions, wherein dwells our consciousness, with pictures beautiful, ennobling, imperishable; he who has brought into our homes the friends whose features death cannot change, who will be dear to our children as they are to us, and were to our fathers and mothers,—visitors who always come when called for and never stay too long,—has made us all his bankrupt debtors, and our best thanks are but as a penny in the pound of payment.

The benefactor of whom we are all thinking to-day was a singer and a story-teller. There are no names dearer to the hearts of men than these. To these it is that our life of care and toil owes largely that ideal element which floats over its realities like the vaporous mists of morning and evening, and like them turns the common light of day into almost celestial splendor. Without their voice the fame of how many saints and heroes would be buried with their ashes! The memory of nations perishes *carent quia vate sacro*. How rough would look the Caledonian thistle, bristling with its sharp theologies, had not Burns and Scott crowned it with the purple bloom of song and story! These are the records that outlast monumental brasses and memorial stones. No wonder men love the singer in the amber of whose phrase they and their transitory tribe may outlive the flora and the fauna of their geological era! The birth-place of Homer was the Ether-controversy of antiquity, and there was a sharper rivalry to claim the blind minstrel, than there is, or is like to be, to find the father of painless surgery.

And how can we separate the names of Poem and Story from all that is most sacred, most divine, in the traditions of our race? Was he not a poet who sang "The Lord is my Shepherd," and are there any sweeter passages in romance than those which tell the love-meeting of Isaac and Rebecca, the friendship of David and Jonathan, the affection of Ruth and Naomi?

If I were speaking instead of writing, I should know with what words to round my paragraphs. But I will not crowd my page with those names which in the fictions of the great story-teller represent more real life than many whom we count as living can pretend to.

Their simple recital would of itself alone be eloquence; for each one of them would, like a flying spark, fire a long train of brilliant associations. The far-reaching procession rises before me,—Gael and Sassenach, Hebrew and Saracen, monarch and courtier, noble and serf, knight and squire, chieftain and clansman, Cavalier and Roundhead, lover and maiden, priest and pedant; but why lengthen the catalogue, every word of which recalls some breathing and real creation of the mighty minstrel's brain?

I will not try to conjure with the names which will be on thousands of lips to-day in speech and song. I hope they will be spoken by others of our number, and I only wish I were with you to hear them. This note conveys my regrets, but tries in vain to express the feelings which the inspiring subject suggests as they come to me sitting here alone. Possibly, if I could have shared the sympathies of your meeting, I might have found some form of utterance less unequal to the occasion; but it is a pleasure to know that the fitting words will not be wanting from others, though I cannot be with you to hear them.

Believe me always faithfully yours,

O. W. HOLMES.

Mr. Waterston read the following letter from our Honorary Member, Mr. Bryant, who had been invited to be present at this meeting.

CUMMINGTON, Aug. 9, 1871.

To the Rev. R. C. WATERSTON.

MY DEAR SIR,—Allow me, through you, to return my thanks to the Standing Committee of the Massachusetts Historical Society for affording me the opportunity of being present at the special meeting of the members to be held on the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Sir Walter Scott. My engagements will not allow me to attend the meeting, but I desire to take part in the general expression which this anniversary will call forth of admiration for his genius and of gratitude to Providence for having raised up so nobly endowed an intellect to adorn the literature of the age. In the department of letters, in which he achieved his highest fame, others have since arisen who by their writings have challenged the admiration of mankind, but none of the authors of these later years have displaced him from his high pre-eminence. The delighted astonishment with which the reading world received his works, one after another, as they appeared, has subsided to a gentler emotion, but the calm wonder with which we now regard them is likely to last while the language in which he wrote shall endure.

I am, dear sir,

Very truly yours,

W. C. BRYANT.

The President read an unpublished letter of Scott, dated "Edinboro', 2d February, 1826" (a few weeks only after the

failure of Ballantyne & Co.), which he said belonged to the Recording Secretary, Mr. Deane. The name of the person to whom the letter was addressed had been carefully erased. It is as follows:—

MY DEAR SIR, —I enclose the bills, which will come higher than my computation, especially as a very heavy bill to Child, which Lady Scott thought she had paid in full last year, arrived just now. Besides these, are several of the old accompts for House at Abbotsford, only partially paid. But then, to meet this, I have got some literary reviews, of which I have hitherto made little accmpt, but which can now be made effectual to relieve the funds a little. I should wish the smaller debts and poorer people settled with, if possible. I am sure I can have any reasonable time from the better class. I hope Hogarth has sent the title-deeds.

I am happy to say "Woodstock" advances so well that if God grant me life, health, and spirits, it will be on the counters even on the last of February.*

Castle Street, }
Wednesday. }

Yours very truly,

WALTER SCOTT.

Lady Scott has agreed to make no more accompts.

Indorsed, — "1826, Edin. 2 Febr.
concerning Ballantyne & Co."

The President asked if any member present had ever seen Sir Walter Scott.

Mr. WILLIAM AMORY said he had seen him in the court-room in Edinburgh, but had never spoken with him.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted, all the members rising.

The thanks of the Society were ordered to Mrs. Ticknor and Mrs. Sears for the loan of the portraits of Scott for this meeting.†

* "Woodstock" was completed March 26 of this year (sixty-nine days after the announcement of the failure), and on the 3d of April Scott makes the following entry in his Diary: "I have the extraordinary and gratifying news that 'Woodstock' is sold for £8,228, all ready money, — a matchless sale for less than three months' work."

† The portrait of Scott by Gilbert Stuart Newton was painted at Abbotsford, in the year 1824, for Mr. Samuel Williams of London, who soon after gave it to his niece, Miss Elizabeth Pratt; from whom it descended to the present possessor, Mrs. Philip H. Sears, of Boston, a near relative.

SEPTEMBER MEETING, 1871.

A stated meeting was held on Thursday, 14th instant, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

The records of the preceding meeting were read.

The Librarian read his list of donors for the month.

A bust in plaster of the late Rev. Dr. Jenks was presented to the cabinet by his grandson, the Rev. Henry F. Jenks.

A *Memoir* of our late associate George Ticknor by Charles Henry Hart—read before the "Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia"—was presented by the author.

The President announced a copy of the *Memoir* of the late Hon. John P. Kennedy, by H. T. Tuckerman,—a gift from the author. Some interesting passages from the volume were read by the President to the meeting.

The thanks of the Society were ordered for these gifts.

The President presented two pamphlets,—A *Masonic Eulogy* on George Washington, by George Blake, Feb. 4, 1800; and a funeral eulogium on Washington, by the Rev. Stanley Griswold of Connecticut, Feb. 22, 1800.

Mr. FROTHINGHAM produced a copy of the "*Massachusetts Spy*" of the 12th July, 1775, and read from it some Resolves passed at Mecklenburg Co., N. C., 31st May, 1775, relating to political affairs, and which are referred to in connection with the pretended Declaration of Independence made at that place on the 20th of the same month. They are as follows:—

CHARLOTTE TOWN, Mecklenburgh County, May 31st, 1775.

This day the committee of this county met, and passed the following resolves:—

Whereas by an address presented to his Majesty by both houses of Parliament, in February last, the American Colonies are declared to be in a state of actual rebellion, we conceive that all laws and commissions confirmed by, or derived from the authority of the King or Parliament, are annulled and vacated, and the former civil constitution of these Colonies for the present wholly suspended. To provide in some degree, for the exigencies of this county, in the present alarming period, we deem it proper and necessary, to pass the following resolves, viz.:—

I. That all commissions, civil and military, heretofore granted by the crown, to be exercised in these colonies, are null and void, and the constitution of each particular colony wholly suspended.

II. That the Provincial Congress of each province, under the direction of the great Continental Congress, is invested with all legislative and executive powers within their respective provinces, and that no

other legislative or executive power, does or can exist at this time, in any of these colonies.

III. As all former laws are now suspended in this province, and the Congress have not yet provided others, we judge it necessary, for the better preservation of good order, to form certain rules and regulations for the internal government of this county, until laws shall be provided for us by the Congress.

IV. That the inhabitants of this county do meet on a certain day appointed by this committee, and having formed themselves into nine companies; viz., eight in the county and one in the town of Charlotte, do choose a colonel and other military officers, who shall hold and exercise their several powers by virtue of this choice, and independent of the crown of Great Britain, and former constitution of this province.*

Mr. Frothingham also read from the same paper the following revolutionary document:—

SOUTH CAROLINA, June 6, 1775.

ASSOCIATION.

Unanimously agreed to in the Provincial Congress of South Carolina, on Saturday the 3d of June, 1775.

The actual commencement of hostilities against this continent, by the British troops, in the bloody scene on the 19th of April last, near Boston, the increase of arbitrary impositions from a wicked and despotic ministry, and the dread of instigated insurrections in the colonies, are causes sufficient to drive an oppressed people to the use of arms! We therefore, the subscribers, inhabitants of South Carolina, holding ourselves bound by that most sacred of all obligations, the duty of good citizens towards an injured country, and thoroughly convinced that under our present distressed circumstances we shall be justified before God and man in resisting force by force, DO UNITE ourselves, under every tie of religion and honour, and associate, as a band in her defence, against every foe: Hereby solemnly engaging that, whenever our continental or provincial councils shall decree it necessary, we will go forth, and be ready to sacrifice lives and fortunes to secure her freedom and safety. This obligation to contin[u]e in full force until a reconciliation shall take place between Great-Britain and America, upon constitutional principles; an event which we most ardently desire. And we will hold all those persons inimicable to the Liberty of the Colonies, who shall refuse to subscribe [to] this Association.

Subscribed by every member present, on the 4th day of June, 1775.

Certified by

HENRY LAURENS, *President.*

* The above are but a part of the resolves which passed at this time. The whole of them, twenty in number, may be seen on pp. 70-76 of "Revolutionary History of North Carolina, in Three Lectures," &c. Compiled by William D. Cooke, A.M. Raleigh and New York. 1853. See also Grigsby's "Virginia Convention of 1776," p. 20 *et seq.*—
EDS.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1871.

A stated monthly meeting was held on Thursday, 12th instant, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

The Secretary read the records of the last meeting.

The Librarian read the usual monthly list of donors.

The President said he would make no apology for saying a word on the topic which had been uppermost in all our thoughts and on all our tongues for the last two or three days. It is not often that this Society is called on to take notice of passing events, whether at home or in other parts of the country. But the appalling conflagration at Chicago, which has laid waste so large a part of that enterprising and important city, and has involved so many thousands of our fellow-countrymen in the deepest destitution and distress, may well form an exception to ordinary rules. Such an overwhelming catastrophe calls for expressions of sympathy, as well as for acts of succor, wherever men, in whatever capacity, are assembled together. Our several pecuniary contributions have doubtless found their way already through other channels, or will do so without fail. And, certainly, nothing could have been prompter or nobler than the response from our own city, and from all parts of our State and country, to the cry for help which has come from that desolated community. The spectacle of a whole people roused up, as the American people are at this hour, to a grand simultaneous effort of humanity and beneficence, is hardly less than sublime, and cannot fail to fill a brilliant page in our best local and national history.

But none of us can have omitted to notice the peculiar disasters which have befallen our sister Historical Society in that devoted city, — their hall, with all its books and treasures and memorials of the past, destroyed, and destroyed with accompanying circumstances which have added a peculiar bitterness and horror to the scene: — Not a few estimable and venerable persons, of both sexes, who had sought refuge under their roof, having, it is said, perished in the flames.

The Chicago Historical Society has shown great zeal and activity in collecting materials for the history of the West, and their loss is the loss of us all. We all sincerely trust that they may be able to record a new rise and progress of their city and of their Society even more rapid and more remarkable than that of which so many interesting evidences have now

been obliterated. In that hope, the President said he would conclude by offering the following resolution : —

Resolved, By the Massachusetts Historical Society, that while, in common with our fellow-citizens throughout the land, we deeply deplore the destruction which has fallen so suddenly on a noble city of the West, and are eager to unite as individuals in contributing to the relief of its afflicted and destitute people, we particularly desire to express, on this occasion, our sympathies with our brethren of the Chicago Historical Society on the loss of their Hall, with its invaluable collection of books and papers and treasures of all sorts; and that our Librarian be authorized and instructed, under the advice of the Standing Committee, whenever that Society shall be in a condition to resume its proceedings, to supply them with such volumes and pamphlets as can be spared from our own library, adding to them such donations of books as individual members may offer for that purpose.

The Resolution was unanimously adopted.

The President called attention to a bust in plaster, of the late Judge Davis, a former President of the Society, presented by the son of the late Ezra Stiles Gannett, D.D., to whom it had belonged. The gift was accompanied by some books and manuscripts, — and the thanks of the Society were ordered to the Rev. William Channing Gannett, for these acceptable gifts to the Library and Cabinet of the Society.

The President read a letter from our associate, Mr. Lyman, saying he was soon to sail for Europe, to be absent for some time, and he felt compelled to resign his place on the Standing Committee and on the Building Committee. His resignation was accepted, and it was unanimously

Voted, That Colonel Theodore Lyman, now about to sail for Europe, be requested and authorized to represent this Society during his absence abroad, on any occasion that may be agreeable to himself or may be for the benefit of the Society.

The President laid before the meeting the following resolution from the Committee on Building : —

Resolved, As the unanimous opinion of this committee, that it is a duty of the Society, in view of its rich treasures, to render its building fire-proof; and that it be recommended to the Society, at its next meeting, to raise a sum not exceeding thirty-five thousand dollars to carry out the plan of the architect accepted by the committee.

The resolution was adopted by the Society, and full power was given to the Building Committee to carry out its recommendations.*

* This vote was superseded by one subsequently passed under date of March, 1872. -- Eds.

Mr. DEANE read the following letter from our Corresponding Member, the Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby:—

EDGEHILL, near Charlotte C. H., Virginia, May 2, 1871

MY DEAR MR. DEANE:

I perceive that a rearrangement of your Historical building is now under consideration; and I take the liberty of throwing out some hints for your own eye. It may seem presumptuous in me to suggest any thing to such a body of men as yours, so well instructed as they are from experience and observation, and so familiar with the resources within the reach of the Society; but my suggestions will relate rather to principles, which are the same whether on the banks of the Roanoke or of the Charles, than to details which are regulated as often by necessity as by choice.

The first and most important object in view in the building of a Hall of History is its permanence, and its security from all danger from without and from within. It is necessary that the Hall should not only be secure in fact, but that it should be obviously so to the eye of the public. If it be not safe, at least so far as care and diligence and a sound judgment can make it, it is apparent to all that it may become, in proportion to its prosperity, rather a trap for the destruction of historical material than a means for its preservation. Let it be palpable that every gift of historic value will be carefully preserved, and be faithfully transmitted to future generations; and there will hardly be a single patriotic and intelligent member of the community, who will not be inclined to afford some aid to such an institution. It will become in a certain sense and in due time a sort of Westminster Abbey to the worth and patriotism of the State which it blesses by its presence, and which it immortalizes by its offices.

The first object to be sought in the construction of a Hall is its isolation from every other building. The destruction of books since their multiplication by the art of printing has been mainly effected by fire originating from without. The great fire in London in 1666 is estimated to have destroyed two-thirds of all the books then in England. Yet a few buildings in the midst of the scene of conflagration escaped destruction. Hence we derive two important inferences: first, the importance of as great an isolation from other buildings as possible; and next, the necessity of thick walls and a fire-proof covering from without. How far it is practicable in such a city as yours to obtain an isolated site, I have no means of knowing; but I am inclined to think that more would be gained by the city and by the State by the appropriation of a part of your mall to a historical building than to any other purpose whatever. But if such a site cannot be obtained, then a corner lot ought, if practicable, to be chosen. This would afford comparative security to two sides of the building, leaving the two other sides to be built with a strict attention to safety from fire. I need not call your attention to the fact that those considerations which apply to the site of a mere circulating library, such as an easy access and the like, are comparatively unimportant in the case of a historical hall.

Its books are used for consultation rather than for promiscuous reading; and a distance of a few hundred yards, more or less, from the seat of business, will interfere but slightly with the purposes of such an institution.

But, if the best possible position for a hall is beyond our reach, we must take the best we can get; and I presume your present site is as good as any other that is surrounded by a block. In preparing your building for safety from fire, I would confidently trust to your discretion sooner than to my own; for if iron and stone and brick do not compose the interior framework and flooring, I see no other method of safety than a covering of zinc on the floor.

Not only should a historical hall be isolated from every other building; it should be devoted from the foundation to the roof exclusively to the purposes of the institution. I fully appreciate the practical view of your case in respect of your finances; but truth is truth, notwithstanding, though we may be forced to slight it.

As dryness is of the first necessity in a building designed to hold books and papers, and especially a tight roof, I would suggest, should you remove the present roof, that the sheathing be tongued and grooved. When slating was first introduced, all sheathing was welded by tongue and groove. Slate was designed *not so much to keep out water as to protect from fire*. The ventilation of the building should be constant and thorough, by night and by day, else the plastering is apt to fall. In the olden time, both in England and in Virginia, it was customary to plaster a lower chamber before the upper was floored; and the plasterer had the opportunity of clinching the mortar over the laths with his trowel. Every departure from this old practice is sheer degeneracy, and has resulted, especially in public buildings, in serious injury to human life. The old-fashioned fireplace is one of the best ventilators possible, and with the aid of the windows was quite ample enough for the object.

As the use of gas is universal, it would be deemed a slur upon civilization to speak against it; but it is a detestable thing. It assails the nostrils; it ruins the sight, and will doom our children to spectacles at five and thirty; it was one of the causes that brought on Sir Walter Scott's fatal disease of the brain; but it is particularly fatal to the books in libraries. Several of the British libraries are said to have lost all the books in their upper shelves from its use; and it is fair to believe that the books in the lower shelves suffered likewise. If the student wishes to preserve his sight, let him read by two large sperm candles; and though he read till midnight, he will awake next morning with lids that part easily, and with unclouded eyes. But in large buildings and on public occasions I see no substitute for gas.*

I will make one or two suggestions about shelves, and the best means of preserving the binding and the paper of books from injury.

* One objection to gas is that a rogue, at some personal risk to himself, may blow a building to atoms at any moment; and the same effect may be done by an innocent person.

As much space is gained by keeping folios and quartos together, I will tell you my mode of arrangement in that respect. On the north and east sides of my library, and on them alone, are the shelves made deep enough for folios and quartos. I place the tallest folios, such as bound volumes of newspapers and atlases, on the shelf next the floor; and as the quartos require less depth, I make a platform above the folios, on which I walk and command easily the books up to the ceiling, which is ten feet high. On the first shelf on the platform, I make an interval of twenty inches, which will take in the heaviest class of folios other than newspapers, such as Bayle, Ainsworth, Johnson, *The Biographia Britannica*, &c., all of which are well bound and require gentle handling. The next shelf has a space of eighteen inches, the next fourteen, and the remaining shelves far enough apart to hold such books as *The Encyclopædia Britannica*. This arrangement, slightly modified, but never reduced below twelve inches, so that the largest quarto can be accommodated, extends along sixty feet of my library, and is ample enough for all the folios and quartos I am ever likely to possess. All the shelves on the other sides of the room are narrow, and are designed for octavos and works of a lesser size. As my book-room is only thirty-three feet by sixteen in the clear, and ten feet pitch, and as I possess a large number of folios and quartos, I began to need more space than my walls could afford; and I was forced either to add another room, or to encroach with cases on the middle of the floor. I chose the latter alternative, and have arranged two cases, each with a double front, for octavos and duodecimos only. Each case is from eight to twelve inches wide, six feet long, and six feet three inches high, so that every book may be easily reached. These cases are about ten feet from each other, and contain over two thousand volumes.

Although it may seem to mar the symmetry of the room, yet I regard my plan superior to the plan of alcoves, as in the Mercantile Library of Philadelphia. In those alcoves is a window, which pours a flood of light upon the books that is greatly injurious to them, as I may presently show. The objections are that cases in the middle of a room are unsightly, and prevent its being used for a meeting. This is all true; but I reply that such an arrangement is *best for the books themselves*, affords a free ventilation, and leaves the sides and windows of the room free for use. This whole subject of arrangement, however, is, in most cases, a matter of taste controlled by necessity.

The next point to which I would invite your attention is the means of protecting the books in their proper places from injury and decay. If every book was handled by the reader every day, nothing more would be needed; but as this can never be the case in a large collection, we must act accordingly. One would think at the first blush that a book on a dry shelf was not liable to much injury; but this is a great mistake. And you may be surprised to learn that the greatest source of injury is from the light of day. The introduction of light, long continued, draws the gluten from the leather, fades the binding, and leads to the early disruption of the boards from the back. From long expe-

rience, I can tell instantly from the appearance of a book, whether it has been kept in a bright or in a dark room. As my collection has been made from the libraries of England as well as of this country, I can bring some striking cases to illustrate my remark. I own the noble copy of Juvenal and Persius from the press of Frobenius, which was printed in 1551, and which was one of the gems of the library of the late Duke of Sussex. It is in tall folio, with the broadest of margins. It was probably bound three hundred and twenty years ago. The leather on the boards, though evidently very old, has a look of freshness and strength, while the back is faded, and one of the boards from sheer dryness, produced by exposure to light, is detached. Had the leather on the back been as well protected from the light as was the leather of the sides, the binding would have been as sound as it was when it came from the bindery. Nor has this injury been wrought by use. I made my last reading of Juvenal from its pages, hoping to find some written notes; but with the closest inspection I could not detect any evidence of the book having been read before. The paper is made of linen, and, when thumped by the finger, retains its early resonance, showing that the book has always been kept in a dry place. I will give another instance in a copy of Aikin's Biography in ten volumes quarto. It is elegantly bound in calf, and splendidly gilt, and was evidently the show-book of some private British library. The back is exceedingly dark and dingy; the sides of several of the volumes are nearly detached; while the leather of the sides is as bright and strong as it was the day when it was bound. In examining the pages closely, I can see no proof that it was ever read or opened. The gilt leaves show this very plainly. It is therefore prudent to admit light into the library only in the degree that it is wanted for immediate use, and to exclude it altogether at other times.

The exclusion of light, where it is not admitted from a dome (and even then, though with more trouble), may be effected by inside shutters divided in the middle, so that you may throw what is called the artist's light upon the book when reading it. I have always had inside as well as outside shutters to my library, and I attribute the perfect preservation of my books mainly to their use. I have some two hundred volumes, which have been in our house for sixty-five years, and which I inherited from my father, who died in 1810. My mother, who sought to keep alive in my bosom the memory of a father whom I lost in my fourth year, drew my attention to his books as early as my fifth year; and from that date to the present moment they have been the objects of my unceasing care. They were under glass and green silk until thirty years ago, when my books passed from fashionable book-cases to continuous shelves, and filled room after room. These were, however, always under glass until 1861, when, fearing a bombardment of the city of Norfolk, I removed them to my home on the Roanoke. They include our best English classics, mostly in London editions, are elegantly bound, and have been my text-books throughout life. I am quite willing to stand an examination upon them *ad aperituram libri*. Yet to look at them on the shelves, you might deem them new-comers not six months from the shop.

In 1833, I took with me on a flying visit to Boston about thirty or forty octavo volumes to be bound; and Mr. Ticknor, the bookseller, who then lived, if I am not mistaken, at the corner of Washington and School streets, and who was not a binder himself, kindly undertook to have the work done for me. They included all the then British essayists from the *Spectator* to the *Microcosm* of Canning and the *Olla Podrida* of Horne, the Supplement of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* in five quartos, Jefferson's Works, Pitkin's History, Channing's Discourses, Williston's Eloquence of the United States in five volumes, Trumbull's Poetical Works, and many others; and were handsomely bound, some of them in Russia, some in calf in imitation of Russia. Not a few of them have been almost professional works with me, and are marked on nearly every page with my pencil. I have gone to look at them while writing these lines. I have taken them to the light to examine them carefully, and I can hardly detect the slightest decrease of the original gloss. As for the binding, it is as good as it was the day it was done; and that day was in May, thirty-eight years ago. It is my firm opinion that a book, treated on the shelf and off it as it ought to be, will be the better for the handling of a century.

Light, though a formidable enemy to books on shelves, is not the only one. If books are pressed closely, in some moods of the atmosphere, the finest English calf will mould. As for your New-England sheep, it is my solemn belief that it would mould under the very nose of Rhadamanthus, or in the blaze of Vulcan's forge. All American tanning is bad; that of the North far worse than that of the South. I speak with deference to the shade of Mr. Dowse. He knew very well how leather ought to be tanned; but the people would not allow him to do the work as it ought to be done. Time is an essential, if not a principal, element in good tanning, and Time, swiftly as to men over sixty he seems to move, is too slow for Young America. All the royal modes of tanning are bad. The present generation has not leisure enough to find this out; but it will tell upon posterity. The English understand the matter well; and I handle my books bound one hundred, two hundred, three hundred years ago, in old European and English calf, reverently. We have taught the English to depart from their good old ways, and English leather of the last thirty years is not what it was. But leather in the degree that it is well tanned is able accordingly to resist mould. Mould, which, I believe, is now pronounced to be animalcula or the nest of animalcula, is, perhaps, not so bad in itself, as that it is the precursor of the moth, which assails with equal voracity the paper and the skin of the book. A simple and almost perfect means of preventing mould is to leave a space between the books, so that the air may reach every part of them; for the mould always begins at the point of contact. In damp weather artificial heat ought always to be admitted into the library, especially in summer, which is the time when books suffer most.

The best method of anticipating the presence of moth, and of extirpating the insect when it appears, is an interesting inquiry with all who control the fate of large libraries. As in the case of mould,

which is another kind of vermin, so in that of the moth, the most ready and successful way of procedure is, as I have already said, to leave a space between the books for the admission of air.* It was the custom in France and England, and even in this country in the early part of the century, to take down the books from the shelves in August, and place them edgewise on long tables for several days together. This was a wise measure; but in large collections it is almost impracticable. My own habit is to place twists of strong unmanufactured tobacco behind the books. I send to my overseer for four or five hundred twists of half a pound each, and strew them plentifully behind every shelf in the library. They will retain their strength for ten or fifteen years, and then make an excellent pabulum for the pipe. Perhaps the connoisseur in smoking might detect by their peculiar flavor the twists that rested for a decade of years near the works of Sir Walter Raleigh, of Dr. Parr, or of Robert Hall, and quaff fresh inspiration in adventure, in letters, and in eloquence, from their generous fumes; but I must confess in all candor, that, though I relish the tobacco very highly, I cannot tell one twist from another. Camphor in the gum is a very effective, but not a sovereign remedy. The chemists doubtless possess a number of oils that will answer the purpose. If we could obtain shelves of camphor-wood or of cedar, all would probably be well; but neither poplar, nor mahogany, nor oak, nor pine, nor black-walnut, nor cherry, will keep away the moth. Perhaps the wood of the black gum might answer.

I say here, what I ought to have said in another place, that the adjustment of shelves to the sizes of books is an important matter. The saving of an inch in a large collection of books may result in the accommodation of a thousand volumes; but with every disposition to economy of room, a vacant space between the tops of the books and the shelf is indispensable for safe handling and for the circulation of air. And this space should not exceed an inch. I would also recommend that all the shelves except the top and bottom should come short of the wall about three inches, thus affording a back space for the fall of dust to the lowest shelf, where it may easily be swept away, and for proper ventilation. I am aware that, when books are arranged according to subjects, and not to size, there is much waste of room; but in this case much may be gained by placing the smaller volumes on an upper contiguous shelf. I speak of economy of space; because, if I remember rightly, the front of your present building does not much exceed thirty feet; and it will require great generalship to arrange to advantage your present stock, to say nothing of future acquisitions. I need not say that for obvious reasons books should always be on a line with the edge of the shelf.

I have made no allusion to the best mode of keeping books from the depredations of respectable thieves. Ever since the days of Faust,

* When I have forty or fifty books bound at a time, I order one-fourth of the number to be bound in Russia leather, which the English booksellers affirm the moth will not touch.

books have been liable to be stolen. To return a book when borrowed involves with some people a struggle between *meum* and *tuum*, and most often with those who have a good deal of *suum*. Glass cases are probably the best means of safety; for the books may be seen and their titles read without touching them. But, apart from security, the best covering is a series of curtains so arranged that they may expose those books only that are to be consulted. These protect the books from light, from damp, and especially from dust. The main difficulty with curtains is that from so seldom seeing a book you lose in some degree the recollection of its place on the shelf. If I seem to speak too harshly of book-thieves, I will quote in my defence the experience of William Wilberforce. You know the history of the great philanthropist; and he may be supposed to have kept decent company; yet his visitors stole his books from his table so often, that at last the family dared not put a valuable book upon it.

It will sometimes happen, from a difference in the temperature out of doors and within, that every book in the library will be covered with moisture. The rule in such a case is not to allow a single book to be touched. To wipe it is to injure it seriously; and the same remark will apply to furniture. A complete remedy may be found in kindling a fire in the room, or in the introduction of heat from below. A book that has been wiped when wet never recovers its original brightness.

There is a gradual decay or defacement of books printed on very white paper, that admits of no remedy. In spite of every precaution, the beautiful white paper now used for books will very early become yellow, or red. This result is produced by the chemical action of the ink on the materials of which the whitest paper is made. The fine old linen paper of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, though never so white as our recent paper, was able to resist the acid of the ink, and retain its beauty. For the defects of our present paper, there is no remedy in the case of existing books. While discoloration will be hastened by damp and exposure, no care can prevent it altogether.

You may smile when I tell you that I am so old-fashioned as not to prefer the present interior arrangements of large libraries, such as those, if I mistake not, of your City Library, and certainly those of the Historical Society of New York. I mean, the throwing of the whole interior into a single apartment. Such an arrangement is beautiful to behold, and at the first glance inspires the spectator with the liveliest emotions of admiration and delight. The books in the respective stories are seen at once, and are easily accessible. The building is readily heated. The ventilation is perfect. The galleries afford the best positions for maps, charts, portraits, and other paintings. The broad, unobstructed floor presents a fit place for the meetings of the Society, for social gatherings, and especially for statuary in its most formidable proportions. When I mark the splendor of one of those halls, I can hardly excuse myself for uttering a word of censure against so grand and so imposing a specimen of architectural

skill and taste. I may be willing to concede their fitness for libraries of mere circulation. But I can go no farther. A historical hall should rest on solid rock. It should be able to defy the elements of fire and water. It should partake of the indestructibility of the State, whose representative it is. My reasons for preferring another mode of interior arrangement than that which I condemn, are these:—

I. The increased liability to fire from below and from the roof. If the single floor is burned, the whole interior is destroyed by the flames. If the roof is burned, the same total destruction of the contents by fire and water follows.

II. The cost of fuel is greatly enhanced by the necessity of keeping so vast a space heated when a little heat only is needed.

III. The deterioration of the books and paintings from perpetual light in every part of the interior will be excessive and unjustifiable,

IV. The sacrifice of a large part of the building, say from one-third to one-half, without an equivalent.

V. The risk of accidents, such as falling from the upper stories in case of alarm, or pressure, or inattention.

VI. The great superiority for historical purposes of a building with three separate and independent stories; so that, should one be assailed, the others may be safe, and the diminished risk of loss; the greater extent of space for all purposes; the advantage of rooms for medals and curiosities and specialties of all sorts; and the sense of daily comfort to all who consult the library; in fine, the presence of most of the advantages afforded by a single apartment, and of others which a single apartment does not possess. But, as I shall find nobody of the present generation who will side with me, I may as well stop here.

In support of all that I have suggested about the keeping of books, I can offer my own experience. I have been a lover of books from my earliest childhood. I have unconsciously followed the example of your friend Mr. Dowse, and bought not only good books, but, when practicable, good books in good binding. I use my books freely. I read every day and night of my life. As I never read any books but those that I own, I use my pencil freely on the margin, and make notes to serve as an index on the fly-leaves at the end of the volume; and I am prone to read the same book more than once. Yet I can affirm that not one of my bound books, which I have owned for half a century, will show any mark of wear and tear, or any want of its early freshness. Careful handling, the exclusion of light from the library when not wanted for use, a dry room, the choice of a room as far as possible from the ground, and the separation of the books slightly from one another, explain the result.

I have been detained in the house two days by the rain. It is fortunate for you that sunshine is come at last.

Voted, That the letter of Mr. Grigsby be printed under the direction of the Recording Secretary, with such supplementary remarks as Mr. Sibley may be pleased to contribute.

NOVEMBER MEETING, 1871.

A stated meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, 9th instant, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

The Secretary read the records of the last meeting.

The Librarian read his list of donors for the month.

The Corresponding Secretary read letters of acceptance from David Masson, A.M., of Edinburgh, and the Hon. Charles H. Bell, of Exeter, N. H.

The President read a letter from Mr. H. S. Chase, a Boston merchant, dated at Chicago, October 19th, communicating a copy of the "Chicago Evening Post" of October 17th, which he said contained, in the opinion of the citizens there, the best account of the fire that has been published; the paper contained also a correct diagram of the burnt district.

The following letter from the Rev. William Barry, of Chicago, suggested by the recent terrible calamity in that city, was also read:—

CHICAGO, Oct. 18, 1871.

CHARLES DEANE, ESQ.

My dear Sir,—I cannot refrain from writing a few lines, touching our great woe. You know it all: alas! *not all*, which can never be unveiled. Four long miles of extended, levelled ruins; a hundred thousand homeless ones; all our palatial structures, all our art-treasures, our historic memorials, our monuments of taste, culture, learning—the glory and pride of the present—one waste and desolation! The precious fruit of over twoscore years of manly toil and aspiration has disappeared in half that number of hours.

Yet not all is lost; courage and hope spared. The heroism of man and woman has transfigured our deep woe. Already hundreds of fresh cabins dot our spreading ruins,—to be soon *thousands*. The fiery ordeal has not scorched heart or hope. Chicago will be true, in its future, to its past. Give us but the trust and cheer we need.

Our Historical Building—of which all were proud—is a smoking ruin, though art had sought to make it proof against all ventures. What that loss to *myself* is, *you*, surely, can well weigh. The best labors of my best years and thought were given to it. The fiery flood has passed over it, and it is gone.

My far-spent life leaves me little left to retrieve the sad ruin. That little may yet be fruitful, with kindly help. May I bespeak this, as it may be soon needed.

I returned hither but the 6th, to share with my two dear daughters and their families that week of horrors from the 8th. The husband of one was three hundred miles away. Her home (which I watched)

was spared, where our all are now gathered. It sheltered the Greeles, Clarks, and other refugees. The beautiful home of the other was the *last house consumed*. The green wood beyond (peopled), guarded by two hundred pairs of stout hands, arrested the fiery torrent, sparing one of the most beautiful parts of our lovely lake-shore. Personally, I lost my chief visible property. If insurance fail not, I shall not want.

What shall I say of the thousand angels of mercy that still throng our desolate homes and suffering multitudes! Unspeakable as is our full woe, the tongue falters to own the swift charity that has sprung to our relief. God bless our helpers all!

I write these few hurried lines amidst the dreamlike consciousness of what has passed. We are fast wakening to the great future. What is done and purposed, pledges us *that* future will be worthy the past. Stern winter is at the door of our tents. *Bread*—thanks to the nation's warm charity—lacks *now* to none. But *clothing* and *shelter* for the thousand forlorn ones we must long need.

With the highest esteem, truly yours,

WILLIAM BARRY.

P. S. You will understand that this is a personal letter, not official. The Society has not yet met.

A letter was read from our associate, Mr. George T. Davis, in which he said that he had become a permanent resident of Portland, in Maine, and had thus ceased to be a member of the Society; and expressing the regrets he felt in terminating his connection with this association.

The President, then, gave a detailed representation of the plans at present in contemplation for the reconstruction of our building, and renewed some suggestions in regard to the enlargement of our number of members and the increase of our annual assessment. He said that the growing interest in historical pursuits had been very marked of late in many parts of the Commonwealth, and he felt sure that we could gradually associate with ourselves fifty or even a hundred more who would render us excellent service; adding, that we owed it to others, as well as to ourselves, not to make or keep our Society too exclusive.

Considerable discussion ensued on the reading of this communication, and it was

Voted, That the Committee appointed in June, 1869, namely, Messrs. Clifford, Ellis, H. Gray, Jr., Deane, and Washburn (the last taking the place of Mr. George T. Davis, who had removed from the State), be requested to consider the subject of applying to the Legislature for an amendment of the charter of the Society for liberty to enlarge the number

of resident members, and to hold more real and personal estate, and to report to the Society at its next meeting.

Dr. ELLIS spoke of the desirableness of having the matter of the "Hutchinson Papers" claimed by the State settled before the term of office of the present Attorney-General expired. The State waive all claim to any papers except those deposited by Alden Bradford, and Mr. Henry Adams had been appointed on the part of the State to identify such papers.

Gov. WASHBURN hoped the Society would accept Mr. Adams as umpire on their part, and after some further discussion it was

Voted, That Mr. Henry Adams be accepted as umpire on the part of the Society in the matter of the "Hutchinson Papers."

The President said that Mr. Henry A. Whitney had declined to serve on the Standing Committee or on the Building Committee, to each of which he had been elected at the last meeting.

Mr. Whitmore was chosen to fill the vacancy in the Standing Committee.

Mr. WHITMORE communicated a copy of a letter from Washington to Richard Henry Lee, written from Cambridge, Aug. 29, 1775, the same date of a letter from General Washington to Lee published by Mr. Sparks in his edition of Washington's Writings (vol. iii. p. 68). Both letters contain identical passages; but each contains matter not included in the other.*

Mr. DEANE laid before the Society the following memoranda concerning the decease of Mathew Cradock:—

There seems to have been a lack of information as to the time of the death of Matthew Cradock, the first Governor of the Massachusetts Company. The last of his four letters published in the Winthrop Papers (4 Mass. Hist. Coll., VI. 118-130), in which he very oddly addresses Governor Winthrop as "Governor of London's Plantacōn in Mattachusetts bay in New England in America,"—the name given to the chief officer of the subordinate government at Salem before the transfer of the charter,—is dated Feb. 27, 1639 (1640). His will, in which he speaks of himself as being "in perfect memory and bodily health" (on record in the Middlesex

* The publication of this letter is delayed, in order to give opportunity to compare it with the original MS. now in possession of a gentleman at the South. —Eds.

archives *), is dated Nov. 9, 1640. He is found to have conveyed land in Mystic to Josias Dawston, April 26, 1641; and his widow, Rebecca Cradock, takes a conveyance of nine acres in Watertown, from Robert Saltonstall, Sept. 2, 1642; and on the same date, as executrix of Matthew Cradock's last will, takes a mortgage of a house in Lynn.† So much was evident, therefore, that he died between these two last-named dates,—a period of about one year and four months.‡

It has been known that "Matthew Cradock" was a member of the Long Parliament for London, which first met Nov. 3, 1640. In a volume which I picked up in London a few years since, entitled, "The Diurnall Occurrences, or Daily Proceedings of Both Houses, in this *Great and Happy Parliament*," From Nov. 3, 1640, to Nov. 3, 1641, published that year, I find the following under date of May 28, 1641:—

This evening there was an order given for a writ to issue for the new election of a Burgess for London, in Master Cradocks place, who is lately dead.

In the Journal of the House of Commons, folio, p. 160, the formal order appears as follows:—

DIE VENERIS, 28^o Maii, 1641, Post Meridian.

Ordered, That Mr. Speaker shall issue forth his Warrant directed to the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, for a new writ, for Electing of another Burgess to serve for the city of London, in stead of Mr. Craddocke, formerly chosen to serve for the city of London, and since deceased.

Fourteen days previously to this announcement of Cradock's death in the House of Commons, that is, on the "14th May, 1641," I find "Mr. Craddocke" on a committee for recusants, with Sir Henry Mildmay, Sir Symonds D'Ewes, and others (Journal of the House, p. 147). So that we are now able to narrow down the time of his death to the period *between the 14th and 28th of May, 1641*. No other person by the name of Cradock was a member of Parliament at this time.§ It is said, in the Parliamentary History,¶ that, "during the two

* Published by Mr. W. H. Whitmore in the "Genealogical Register," vol. ix. pp. 124, 125, with genealogical table and notes.

† See "Historical Discourse on the Life . . . of Matthew Cradock. By David Roberts." Salem, 1856. pp. 6, 7.

‡ In a note on Winthrop's Journal (vol. I. p. 2), Mr. Savage says: "His death I refer to 1644, for in our county registry, deeds are found of that year from his agent, and in the next year from the agent of his executors."

§ A Matthew Cradock, cousin of the Governor, was a member for Stafford in 1620.

¶ Parliamentary History. . . . By several hands. . . . London, 1763. Vol. ix. p. 12. On p. 32 of this volume it is erroneously stated that "Matthew Cradock, Esq., deceased in 1640." It was probably a conjecture of the editors based on the election of his successor in May, 1641, the year then beginning 25th March.

first years of this Parliament writs were duly issued for supplying of vacancies"; and it may be safe to assume that not many days elapsed after Cradock's death before the issuing of the warrant for the election of his successor. In those stirring times it was important to the leaders of the liberal party in the House of Commons that no vacancy should exist in their ranks when it could be promptly filled; and the city of London could be depended on. Three days after the issuing of the warrant, that is, on the 31st of May, I find in the "Diurnall," to which I have referred, the following: "This day Captain Ven, being chosen Burgess for London, in Master Cradocks room, took his place in the House." This was the famous Captain John Ven who had also been a member of the Massachusetts Company. Hutchinson says, "he was in the design from the beginning, and intended to have removed, but never did." He was Captain of the London trainbands, and was afterward Colonel. "He led the tumult of citizens at the time of passing the bill of attainder of the Earl of Strafford; and was one of those whom the king required to be given up to justice as a condition of his treating with the Parliament in 1642. He was Governor of Windsor, and one of the king's judges."*

Dr. SHURTLEFF said he had discovered accidentally, in his examination of old newspapers, that Mr. J. M. Pintard, concerning whom inquiry had been made, was at one time United States Consular Agent at Madeira.

The President spoke of the presence at this meeting of our associate, Mr. Adams, who was shortly to depart for Geneva as Commissioner on the part of the United States in the settlement of the Alabama and other claims under the recent treaty, and expressed in the name of the Society the sincere wishes for his health and welfare entertained by all the members, and that his mission might be crowned with success, and that he might entitle himself to renewed honor and gratitude on his second return as an ambassador of his country. The whole Society rose in attestation of their hearty concurrence in the good wishes of the President.

* *Archæologia Americana*, III. lv.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1871.

A stated meeting was held on Thursday, 14th instant, at 11 o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

The records of the preceding meeting were read.

The Librarian read his usual monthly list of donors to the library.

The President spoke of some distinguished strangers who had visited the Society's rooms during the month. Among these was the Rev. J. S. Howson, Dean of Chester, author, in connection with W. J. Conybeare, of the *Life of St. Paul*, and editor of the *Epistles of St. Paul*. Also, on the 12th instant, the Grand Duke Alexis, and some gentlemen of his party; namely, Mr. Catacazy, the Russian Minister to the United States, Admiral Possiet, and Mr. Machin. Admiral Possiet presented to the cabinet several oak-leaves, accompanied by a memorandum in the Russian language, of which the following is a translation:—

"The enclosed (grew) from the acorn* taken from the oak which overshadows the tomb of the immortal Washington, and presented as a token of high esteem by Americans to H. I. M., the Emperor of Russia."

The President called attention to a china punch-bowl on the table, a gift to the Society from Mrs. Benjamin Edes of Baltimore, presented through Dr. John Stearns, formerly of this city. It once belonged to Mr. Benjamin Edes, of Boston, at whose house on the afternoon of the 16th of December, 1773, punch was drunk from it by a number of citizens, who thence proceeded to Griffin's Wharf, and, being joined by others, from three ships which lay there, threw overboard *three hundred and forty-two chests of tea* into Boston harbor.

An original letter of Mr. Peter Edes, a son of Mr. Benjamin Edes, last-named, dated Bangor, Feb. 16, 1836, and addressed to his grandson, Mr. Benjamin C. Edes, of Baltimore, was presented at the same time. Some extracts from the letter are here given:—

MY DEAR GRANDSON,—Yours of the 6th of February I received on the 13th. You request of me a particular account of the "tea-

* It is understood that this acorn was presented to the Emperor of Russia by our late associate, George Sumner. The circumstance was a subject of notice at the time in the public papers.—Eds.

party," so called. I know but little about it, as I was not admitted into their presence, for fear, I suppose, of their being known; but what little I know I give you, so far as I can remember. I recollect perfectly well that in the afternoon preceding the evening of the destruction of the tea, a number of gentlemen met in the parlor of my father's house, — how many I cannot say. As I said before, I was not admitted into their presence: my station was in another room to make punch for them in the bowl which is now in your possession, and which I filled several times. They remained in the house till dark, I suppose to disguise themselves like Indians, when they left the house and proceeded to the wharves where the vessels lay. Before they reached there, they were joined by hundreds. After they left the room, I went into it; but my father was not there. I therefore thought I would take a walk to the wharves, as a spectator, where was collected, I may say, as many as two thousand persons. The Indians worked smartly. Some were in the hold immediately after the hatches were broken open, fixing the ropes to the tea-chests; others were hauling up the chests; and others stood ready with their hatchets to cut off the bindings of the chests and cast them overboard. I remained on the wharf till I was tired, and fearing some disturbance might occur went home, leaving the Indians working like good industrious fellows. This is all I know about it.

The bowl that I left in your mother's possession I present to you most cheerfully, hoping it will never go out of the family. If my father had been like some other men, he might have been worth thousands on thousands of dollars; but he preferred the liberties of his country to all. He once told me that we (his children) might be under no concern, for he should be able to leave us all ten thousand dollars apiece;* but by placing, like many others, too much confidence in the stability of the continental money, he died a poor man. Shame on such conduct! If my father had fallen into the hands of the British, I have but little doubt they would have hung him for a rebel, or sent him to England to be tried; but he made his escape by disguising himself as a fisherman, and getting on board a fishing-boat; and when they were a few miles from town he was landed on one of the islands, from which he made his escape to the mainland. . . .

It is a little surprising that the names of the tea-party were never made public: my father, I believe, was the only person who had a list of them, and he always kept it locked up in his desk while living. After his death Mr. Benjⁿ. Austin called upon my mother, and told her there was in his possession when living some very important papers belonging to the *Whig Party*, which he wished not to be publicly known, and asked her to let him have the keys of the desk to examine it, which she delivered to him: he then examined it, and took out several papers, among which it was supposed he took away the list of the names of the *Tea Party*, and they have not been known since.

I have been interrupted at least half a dozen times since I began

* Benjamin Edes had then six children living. — Eds.

writing; and it is so cold, and my hand trembles so much, that you will excuse all errors and bad writing. I am obliged to quit writing any more, after wishing you a long life, health, prosperity, and happiness.

Your affectionate grandfather,

PETER EDES.

(Addressed) Mr. BENJAMIN C. EDES, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

[Indorsed] MY GRANDFATHER, BANGOR, MAINE, 16 Feb'y, 1836.

Mr. FROTHINGHAM exhibited some original MS. journals belonging to Mr. Harry H. Edes, of Charlestown, and read a letter from him giving an account of members of the family, and of some of the ancient houses in Boston occupied by them, and other historical information:—

CHARLESTOWN, Dec. 13, 1871.

MY DEAR SIR,—Herewith I send the manuscripts which I promised to place in your hands for the inspection of your associates in the Historical Society, at the December meeting, when the punch-bowl used by the Boston tea-party, and the highly interesting and valuable letter of Peter Edes that accompanies it, are to be offered for the Society's acceptance. They consist of three journals, or diaries, a brief account of whose authors may not be uninteresting.

Peter Edes, the author of the letter just mentioned, was seized by the British on the charge of "having fire-arms concealed in his house," on the Monday succeeding the Battle of Bunker Hill, which he witnessed during the afternoon of Saturday, June 17, 1775, from Copp's Hill, in Boston, where his ill-restrained joy at beholding the havoc made in the advancing columns of the King's forces, as they approached the redoubt, drew upon him the attention and wrath of such of the invaders as were spectators with himself. He was confined one hundred and seven days in the jail, which stood, as nearly as my investigations determine me, on the site of the present court-house in Court Street, then known as Queen Street. During his imprisonment, he noted from time to time the names of those who were incarcerated with him, for what offence each was apprehended, the treatment they received, and last, but not the least interesting item, a list of prisoners taken by the British at the Battle of Bunker Hill. This much-prized heirloom is the *first*, and, in connection with the bowl, the most interesting of the three journals.

The second was penned by John Leach, whom Gage caused to be arrested June 29, 1775, on "suspicion of taking plans."* He was committed to the same room where Mr. Edes was confined; and they had, for their companions, the celebrated "Master" James Lovell, John Hunt, and William Starr. Mr. Leach, who was my great-great-grandfather, on the *maternal* side, was born in London in 1724; and, having

* Several drawings of the position of the army at a later period of the war, and plans of real estate in Boston surveyed by him, which he made, are now in my possession.

made three voyages round the world, came to Boston in 1749 or 1750. On the twenty-fourth of July 1750 he married Sarah Coffin, a cousin of the late Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin, Baronet, afterwards of the British navy. He was by profession a civil engineer, and at one time kept a navigation school in Fore Street, now Ann Street. His residence adjoined the homestead of the late Isaac Harris, in North Bennet Street, where he was living at the time of his arrest. In this house he resided for forty years, and there died June 10, 1799, at the age of seventy-five. An obituary notice appeared in the "Columbian Centinel." The British soldiery were quartered in a house nearly opposite, on the corner of that part of Love Lane known as Short Street; and he had the "Red Coats" for *next door* neighbors as well, — Colonel Proctor having taken possession of the house lately occupied by Mr. Harris, for sheltering another detachment of the British forces. I take pleasure in presenting to the Historical Society a photographic view of the Leach and Harris houses, taken for me by our Boston artist, Mr. Whipple. The view includes another house that is historic. At the end of North Bennet Street you observe a large brick house standing on the street running at right angles with it. This house forms the southerly corner of Salem and Sheafe Streets, and during the Revolutionary war was occupied by Robert Newman, by birth or parentage an Englishman, who espoused the cause of the colonies at the breaking out of the struggle for independence. He it was who hung the lanterns in the tower of the old North Church on the night of the eighteenth "of April in seventy-five" as a signal to Paul Revere, whose memorable ride has been made familiar to every child by the beautiful poem of Professor Longfellow. This fact was communicated to me quite recently by one of Mr. Newman's lineal descendants residing in Boston.

Is it not remarkable that these two *revolutionary* journals, kept in the same room, and whose authors frequently refer each to the other in their record, should, after a separation of ninety years, again stand side by side on the shelves of my library?

The third diary is also from Mr. Leach's pen, but at a much earlier period. Commencing with an entry on July 3, 1757, and closing with another on Nov. 5, 1758, it notes many public events that occurred during the expedition against Louisburg, and also the death of Prince, the *Annalist*. This document is of more private than public interest, and is only sent because I was sending its companion.*

In all the accounts of the destruction of the tea that I have seen, it is stated (when stated at all) that the tea-party were disguised in a

* The two revolutionary journals have been printed. Mr. Edes's appeared at Bangor, Me., in 1837, in a small octavo pamphlet of twenty-four pages, of which I have never seen but a single copy besides my own; and Mr. Leach's, in the New-England Historical and Genealogical Register for 1835. As the Edes pamphlet is almost unknown, it is my intention to reprint it with the Leach journal in a limited edition for private distribution, when I can find leisure to annotate them as I desire and prepare biographical sketches of their authors. The third journal — that of Mr. Leach, embracing the period from July, 1757, to November, 1758 — has never been printed nor abstracted, and such passages as are of public interest may find a place in the proposed volume.

room back of Edes & Gill's printing-office, then located on the westerly corner of Queen Street and Dasset's Alley.* The site is on the northerly side of Court Street, directly opposite the court-house, and forms the westerly corner of Franklin Avenue, which separates it from the "Boston Daily Advertiser" building on the easterly corner. Thomas, in his *History of Printing*, in speaking of this site remarks: "Samuel Kneeland began business about the year 1718. His printing-house was in Prison Lane (now Court Street), the corner of Dorset's Alley. The building was occupied for eighty years as a printing-house by Kneeland and those who succeeded him; but it is now [1810] filled with offices occupied by gentlemen of the law." He also tells us that Edes and Gill occupied the premises after the decease of Kneeland, which occurred Dec. 14, 1769, and there continued to publish the "Gazette" until April, 1775, when the war broke out. (Vol. i. pp. 302-306; ii. p. 242.)

From the letter accompanying the punch-bowl, however, it would appear that the party disguised themselves in Benjamin Edes's *parlor*.† This naturally leads us to inquire, "Where did Benjamin Edes reside?" In the journal of his son occurs this paragraph:—

"1775, June 19. About eight o'clock in the morning, being in Edes & Gill's office, three men belonging to the ships-of-war appeared round the office; and, having been previously informed of their pressing every person into the service who happened to fall in their way, I ran out of a back door *which conducted into the lane that led to my father's house*. Thither I repaired," &c.

Thomas, in his *History of Printing*, speaks of Benjamin Edes's residence as "a good house in Cornhill, *part of which formed the alley leading to Brattle Street*: it was next to that formerly owned [and occupied] by John Draper," publisher of the "Evening Post." The "lane" mentioned in the diary was, as we have seen, Dasset's Alley (now Franklin Avenue), which led from Queen Street to Brattle Street; and the "alley," of which the house formed a part, was unquestionably Boylston Alley, now the covered passage-way extending from Brattle Street to Washington Street, *then called Cornhill*,—the present thoroughfare known as Cornhill not having been laid out till 1817. From which it appears that the house stood on a part of the site now occupied by the printing establishment of Rand, Avery, and Frye, in the *present* Cornhill, opposite Washington Street.

Benjamin Edes, senior, was always to be found associated with the

* See Frothingham's *Life of Joseph Warren*, p. 280; Wells's *Life of Samuel Adams*, vol. ii. p. 124.

† Observe that, in the letter of Peter Edes, he expressly states that he was *not admitted* to their presence; and, further, that he only "*supposes*" that their object in remaining in the house till dark was to disguise themselves. I incline to the opinion that the scheme of destroying the tea was matured at the house, that the party then proceeded to the printing-office and donned their Indian garb, and thence sallied forth to the wharves. In fact, since writing the above, I find the following paragraph in a letter written to me in 1866 by Peter Edes's daughter, Mrs. Sargent, of Bangor. She says, speaking of the printing-office, "Father often spoke about the time the men met there and disguised themselves before going to the wharf to throw the tea overboard." This seems to be conclusive.

leading spirits of the Revolution, in all measures taken by the Bostonians against the oppressive acts of Parliament, and those sent hither to enforce them. He was born in Charlestown, Oct. 14, 1732, the second son of Peter* and Esther (Hall) Edes of that place. While yet a young man he removed to Boston, where he married Martha Starr, and in 1755 associated himself with John Gill in the publication of the "Boston Gazette," of which he was for forty-three years editor. Gill was also a Charlestown boy, and a brother of the Hon. Moses Gill, afterwards lieutenant-governor of this Commonwealth. Thomas has given a good account of Mr. Edes's career as a printer in the History of Printing, where his sons, Benjamin and Peter, who were for a time in business with their father, also find mention. He died in Boston, Dec. 11, 1803, aged seventy-one years. An obituary notice of him appeared in the columns of the "Independent Chronicle" on the 19th of the same month. Gordon, in his History of the American Revolution (vol. i. p. 175, London ed. 1788), mentions Benjamin Edes in his list of persons who, on the 14th of August, 1765, suspended from the branches of Liberty Tree an effigy representing Andrew Oliver, the stamp distributor, and a huge boot (typical of the Earl of Bute) with the devil emerging from it holding the Stamp Act in his hand.

Peter Edes, the second son of Benjamin Edes, was born in Boston, Dec. 17, 1756, and at the time of his arrest had not attained his nineteenth year. Dec. 5, 1781, he married Elizabeth Walker, of Bangor, who bore him a large family. Dissolving his partnership with his father, he opened an office in State Street, where he printed many books and tracts of which I have several specimens. Among the most valuable of the works that issued from his press was an edition of the Fifth-of-March Orations, accompanied by a preface over his own name. He remained in Boston till 1786 or 1787, when he removed to Newport, R.I.; † subsequently to Augusta, Me., where he published the "Kennebeck Intelligencer" in 1797; to Hallowell, where he printed one of the many funeral orations on Washington; and finally settled at Bangor, where he died March 30, 1840, at the age of eighty-three.

Benjamin Edes, the son of Peter and Elizabeth Edes, was born in Boston, April 25, 1784, and removed to Baltimore, where, besides following the calling of a printer, he held a commission from the State

* This Peter Edes, who was one of the subscribers to Prince's Annals, is noticed in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vol. xvi. p. 16, with others of "the literati of New England," as Prince's subscribers were termed. He was born in Charlestown, Sept. 15, 1705, the son of John and Grace (Lawrence) Edes, and grandson of John Edes, senior, who emigrated to that town from Lawford, county of Essex, England, where he was born March 31, 1651, and baptized April 6th following.

† I find, upon investigation, that he returned to Boston about 1792, and the following year there appeared a little 12mo volume, a copy of which has recently come into my possession. Its title is "The Miscellaneous | Works | of | Dr. Goldsmith | containing all his | Essays and Poems | Printed at Boston | by P. Edes for Thomas and Andrews | Faust's Statue, No. 45 Newbury St. | MDCCXCIII." This is the only Boston imprint of his subsequent to 1787 that I have seen, though doubtless there were many others. His daughter, Sarah Rhodes Edes, was born in Boston, May 26, 1795, and his removal to Augusta, as above stated, probably occurred between this date and July 14, 1797, when his son, Richard Walker Edes, was born in that town.

of Maryland as colonel of militia, and subsequently was made brigadier-general. He commanded a company in the gallant Twenty-seventh Regiment at the fierce engagement at North Point, on the 12th of September, 1814. And in this connection I must not forget to mention the fact of his having been the first to give to the world in enduring print our glorious national anthem, the Star-Spangled Banner, composed by Francis S. Key during the bombardment of Fort Mc Henry. Mr. Lossing, in his valuable Fieldbook of the War of 1812, pp. 956-958, gives a most interesting account of the origin, authorship, and first publication of this soul-inspiring song. Mr. Edes married in Baltimore, Oct. 25, 1809, Mary Ann Cumming, the lady who presents the bowl and letter to the Historical Society, now eighty-six years old. Their son, Benjamin Caldwell Edes, to whom the letter is addressed, was born in 1819, entered the army and died at Key West, Florida, March 30, 1844.

I regret not having been successful in ascertaining whether the list of members of the tea-party, spoken of in Mr. Edes's letter, is still extant among the papers of Benjamin Austin, whose present owner I took much pains to discover; but only to learn that the gentleman who *probably* is their possessor is now in Europe. I shall make it a point to inquire further into this matter upon his return.

In reference to the paragraph that has been going the rounds in the newspapers of late, stating that the freight on the tea had been but recently paid to parties in Nantucket, I will say a word in conclusion.

About a month since, your associate, Mr. Whitney, and I were drinking the health of Benjamin Edes in a punch brewed in this very bowl, when he inquired if I had seen the paragraph in question. I replied that I had, and would investigate the report before the punch-bowl was presented to the Historical Society. I accordingly addressed a note to a correspondent in Nantucket, and in reply received the information that the freight on the tea shipped in the "Dartmouth," which was the first of the tea-ships to arrive, was paid in full by the East India Company in London to Mr. Francis Rotch, the Quaker, to whom the vessel belonged, before that gentleman's decease in 1820. My correspondent, who is fully informed upon all matters in Nantucket of such public interest as this, writes that he knows nothing of any *recent* payment by the East India Company to any parties in that island; and, until some proof is adduced in support of the statement, I shall be inclined to doubt its truth. Mr. Sanford's letters contain many interesting items respecting Nantucket and some of the prominent men who were born and bred there. I enclose two of them for your perusal, and their contents are at your disposal.

As the interest of your associates at the meeting to-morrow will probably centre in the punch-bowl, and revive recollections of the tea-party, — being so near the anniversary of that exploit, — I thought it might add interest to the occasion, to send you, with the journals, the accompanying daguerreotype, taken from life, delineating the features of one of the few who are known to have been of the social party. The features are those of Colonel Henry Purkett, who was a connec-

tion of my family, by marriage. The Hon. James S. Loring, in the "Hundred Boston Orators," makes mention of his presence with Major Benjamin Russell, and George Robert Twelve Hewes (another of the party, who published some account of it in a little work entitled "Traits of the Tea Party"), at the delivery of Dr. Smith's Fourth-of-July Oration at South Boston in 1835.

Hoping that I have not wearied you by the length of this letter, believe me

Sincerely yours,

HARRY H. EDES.

The Hon. RICHARD FROTHINGHAM.

Remarks on the subject of this communication were made by Dr. Shurtleff, Mr. T. C. Amory, and the Rev. Dr. Ellis.

The thanks of the Society were ordered for these gifts.

The following vote was unanimously adopted:—

Voted, That the Standing Committee be empowered to authorize the Treasurer to borrow money on the credit of the Society to pay outstanding bills, and for current expenses.

A new volume of Collections, Vol. X. of the Fourth Series, being Part II. of the "Aspinwall Papers," and containing an Index of the whole series, was laid before the meeting.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Colonel Aspinwall and his associates of the committee on the new volume.

The Librarian called attention to the circumstance that the Rev. E. D. Neill, in his recent work, "The English Colonization of America," on page 307, had reprinted the absurd fictitious letter of Cotton Mather, about a scheme to capture William Penn, to which he had called the notice of the Society at the meeting in June, 1870 (see printed Proceedings under that date, pp. 328, 329).

An application from our associate, the Rev. E. E. Hale, for leave to copy some Washington letters from the Heath Collection, was granted under the rules.

The President exhibited the records of Castle Island in Boston Harbor, intrusted to him by General Benham. A memorandum of General Benham on a fly-leaf of the volume is as follows:—

The following record appears to have been commenced, and for the most part written out, between the years 1803 and 1805, by Captain (afterwards Major) Nehemiah Freeman, U.S. Army,—as I understand,—a brother of the Rev. Dr. Freeman, formerly pastor of the Stone Chapel, Boston.

H. W. B.

The following, on the same fly-leaf, is probably from the pen of Captain Freeman:—

When the command of Castle Island devolved upon the person who has collected the following record, an imperfect orderly book, kept but for a few months, contained all the information the place afforded. A few lines, in the first Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, make mention of Castle William; and some information has been derived from an octavo page, written by Mr. William Salisbury, and published in the "Massachusetts Magazine" for 1789. The principal source of intelligence has been found in the newspapers, which have obligingly been lent for perusal. This record is respectfully recommended to the care of each succeeding commanding officer, not only for preservation, but also for such additions as the events of the day may require.

JULY 1, 1803.

Ex-Governor CLIFFORD, chairman of the committee on the subject of petitioning the Legislature for authority to increase the number of members and for other purposes, reported, through Mr. Deane, that the committee "have held two meetings since the last stated meeting of the Society, and have fully considered and discussed the matters referred to them; but that they are unanimously of the opinion that it is expedient to postpone a formal Report of their conclusion until a future meeting of the Society."

The Rev. Dr. Samuel Osgood, of New York, a Corresponding Member, being present, was invited to address the meeting: to this call Dr. Osgood briefly responded.

JANUARY MEETING, 1872.

A stated monthly meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at 11 o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read by the Recording Secretary.

The Librarian read his usual list of donors to the Society.

The President noticed the decease of Mr. Henry T. Tuckerman, of New York, a Corresponding Member, in the following language:—

Mr. Henry T. Tuckerman died in New York, after a brief illness, on the 17th of December last. Many of us knew him intimately, and valued him highly as a friend and as a scholar. He was a native of Boston, the son of a Boston merchant;

and though considerations of health, and perhaps of personal preference, led him to fix his residence elsewhere, he was true to the friendships of his early days, and cherished the warmest attachment to his birthplace. Compelled to abandon the idea of completing the collegiate course, for which he had prepared himself, and to resort to a milder climate, he spent several winters in Italy, and there, as a very young man, commenced that literary career which he steadily and happily pursued to the last. His *Italian Sketch Book*, and his *Pilgrimage in Sicily*, were among his earliest productions, and served to introduce him to a literary public wider than that of his own land. Few of our literary men have followed up a first success more diligently or devotedly. For more than thirty years his pen has been constantly employed, sometimes with criticism, sometimes with biography, sometimes with sketches of travel, sometimes with illustrations of art and of artists, and not infrequently with occasional poetry. He was a prolific contributor to the magazines and reviews, and the larger number of his numerous volumes are made up of the essays and articles which had been first prepared for some Northern or Southern periodical. He seemed never weary of literary labor. A closer concentration of his thoughts and studies upon some single line of authorship might, perhaps, have secured for him a more prominent and permanent place in the libraries of the future. But he preferred to work for the present; and he will be remembered by those whose remembrance he valued, as an accomplished and genial writer upon many and varied topics of immediate interest and importance, with an ever-ready pen for doing justice to the worthy living or paying a tribute to the worthy dead. He enjoyed the cordial friendship and respect of such men as Washington Irving and Jared Sparks, of Edward Everett and John Pendleton Kennedy. His last considerable work was a biography of Mr. Kennedy, whose journals he was engaged in editing at almost the last conscious moment of his life.

By some inadvertence or accident, his name was not placed on our roll as a Corresponding Member until within the past year; but he was an active Resident Member for many years of the Historical Society of New York, at whose last meeting an elaborate notice of him was read by his accomplished friend Mr. Duyckinck.

Born on the 20th of April, 1813, he was hardly fifty-nine years old at his death. His remains were brought to our own Mount Auburn for their final repose.

Mr. WATERSTON and Judge METCALF joined in tributes to the deceased.

The President read the following letter from our associate, the Rev. Henry M. Dexter, D.D., in which he has suggested some corrections of Mr. George Sumner's "Memoirs of the Pilgrims at Leyden" (in 3 Hist. Coll. IX., pp. 42-74):—

To the Members of the Massachusetts Historical Society:

GENTLEMEN,—In a volume of our Collections published, if I remember correctly, in 1846, was printed an extremely interesting, and for the most part accurate, paper, from the pen of our lamented associate, George Sumner, Esq., entitled "Memoirs of the Pilgrims at Leyden." On a re-examination of the evidence upon which his statements were made, I have however satisfied myself that he was misled in some of them; and I beg your attention to some small corrections which I think ought to be made as public as the original essay,—in the first place, in the interest of exact truth, and, in the second place, because that truth casts a pleasanter light upon this point in the Pilgrim history than the record as it now stands in our files.

1. Mr. Sumner (p. 55) says that the plague "was raging" in Leyden at the time of Robinson's death, which he urges against the statement of Winslow and Prince that the magnates of the city attended the Pilgrim pastor to the grave. I do not here enter upon the question whether Robinson's funeral was a public or private one; but I submit that the language of Mr. Sumner is inexact, and the impression conveyed by it erroneous. I have examined very carefully the burial records [*Registers van de overlijden personen binnen der Stad Leyden*] for the eighteen months preceding and succeeding the date of Robinson's death,—three years in all; that is, from 1 Sept. 1623 to 1 Sept. 1626,—and I find the following facts: viz., from the 1st September, 1623, to the 1st August, 1624, a period of eleven months, the daily average of burials was $5\frac{2}{5}$. The plague then showed itself, and the average began to increase. On the second day of August, 17 were buried; on the ninth, 24; on the eighteenth, 29, and the daily average for the month was very nearly $18\frac{1}{2}$. The daily average during September was $42\frac{3}{8}$; during October, it reached its highest,—viz., $62\frac{3}{8}$; during November, it receded to 57; during December, to $38\frac{3}{4}$; during January, to $22\frac{3}{4}$; and during February it sank to $21\frac{3}{4}$. Robinson died on the 1st of March. The average for that week was scarcely more than 14, and for that month was only $11\frac{1}{4}$. From the 1st of April to the 1st of September of the next year (1626), a period of seventeen months, and in a city which had lost more than 8,000 people during the previous seven months, the daily average recorded mortality was $5\frac{2}{5}$.—during the last six months of this period being only $3\frac{1}{2}$.

These figures make it clear that the storm had passed before Robinson died; and, though the plague may still have been lingering in the city, it had at that time ceased "raging" in Leyden.

Under this head Mr. Sumner further says: "In one church alone,

twenty-five persons were buried in a single day, and this only three days before Robinson's death." I find no such record. Robinson died on Saturday. The interments of the previous Thursday were, in St. Pancras, 11, and the same number in St. Peter's, — making a total of only 22; and of the previous Wednesday, in St. Pancras, 11, and in St. Peter's, 9, — total, 20. The nearest day to that of Robinson's death of which I find Mr. Sumner's statement to be accurate is *sixty* days previous, when, on 30th December of the previous year, 26 were interred in St. Peter's.

2. Mr. Sumner makes the statement (p. 56) that the sum of *nine* florins, which was that paid for Robinson's interment in St. Peter's, "is the lowest paid for any person whose burial is recorded." I have gone in this case also to the original register which Mr. Sumner consulted [*Blaffaarden, &c., vande drye hooft kerken, &c.*], but have been conducted to a very different result. So far is it from being the fact that nine florins is the lowest sum paid, that in only *seven* of the burials in St. Peter's recorded for that year is that sum exceeded. In the first place, the Burial Records at the *Stad-huis* show that during 1625 there were 1772 interments in St. Peter's, with its adjacent churchyard. Of these only 253 were noted in this *Blaffaarden, &c.*, — as I suppose, because a sufficient price was not paid to bring them into it at all. Of the 253 in this book, *three* are charged with the highest price, or 18 florins, *three* with 16 florins, and *one* with 12 florins. Then come *eighty* with 9 florins, and the majority are less; *one hundred and twenty-eight* being as low as 4 florins. The average of the whole is $6\frac{55}{83}$ florins. This surely proves that, so far as money went, Robinson's burial was of a most respectable character, and quite what was consonant with his position as the honored leader of a humble, yet by no means a pauperized, band. This view is confirmed by the circumstance, which is on record in the same Register [p. 4], that for the burial of the famous *Arminius* in the same church, 23 Oct. 1609, the sum of *six* florins only was paid!

3. Mr. Sumner adds that M. de Pecker, clerk of the Church Commission of the Reformed Church of the Netherlands, informed him that this sum (of 9 florins) was paid only for the hire, for a limited period, of a grave under the Church pavement, and that "*at the end of seven years these bodies were all removed*" [p. 56]. But on a former visit to Leyden, in August, 1865, I saw M. de Pecker, then a very venerable, but extremely intelligent and agreeable man; and, on questioning him as to the accuracy of this statement, he expressed much surprise at it, and distinctly and repeatedly declared to me that the fact was that the bodies remained undisturbed *for fifteen years*, at the end of which time the pit was opened, *the excavation was made deeper, so as to sink out of sight whatever remained*, and then a new burial took place in the thus remade grave. On my last visit to Leyden, during the summer of the still current year, I found that M. de Pecker had been gathered to the great company over whose dust he had so long kept watch and ward; and his place filled by a young man not yet an expert in these sexton studies. But my friend Baron Elsevier, the

keeper of the Public Records, was good enough to make some special inquiry among those old citizens whose knowledge would cover such matters, and as the result, from their verdict, and his own, entirely confirmed the statement which had been made to me six years before. I am, therefore, entirely satisfied that the painful inference which Mr. Sumner's language necessitates concerning the ultimate disposal of the remains of the venerated Robinson, is unauthorized by the facts, and that his repose has not been disturbed in the repulsive manner therein implied. I entertain no doubt whatever that a suitable memorial erected in St. Peter's would have there as legitimate a relation to what was mortal of him, as those of Bockenbergius and Erpenius, and the host of Dutch worthies, which beautify its walls, have to their most respectable dust.

I am not careful to undertake to explain in what way so capable and exact an investigator as Mr. Sumner was led into these erroneous statements; and I entertain no doubt that, were he alive, he would be the first to accept the correction offered by what I humbly conceive to be a patient and thorough, as I know it has been an honest, reinvestigation.

With fraternal regard,

I have the honor to be, &c.,

HENRY M. DEXTER.

34 YORK PLACE, PORTMAN SQUARE,
LONDON, ENG., 18 Dec. 1871.

The Rev. William Barry, of Chicago, was elected a Corresponding Member.

Mr. DEANE presented, in the name of Mrs. Romeo Elton, a number of printed and manuscript papers of much interest and value. The manuscripts consisted principally of letters of eminent lawyers of Maine, addressed to the father of Mrs. Elton, — the late Frederic Allen, of Gardiner, in that State. These were accompanied by portraits of most of the writers. Among the printed papers were included several broadsides of considerable rarity in their original form, — consisting of General Gage's "Circumstantial Account" of the affair of Lexington and Concord, April 19, 1775; the "Recantations" of several citizens of Marblehead, who had signed the "Address" to Governor Hutchinson in 1774; "By the King, A Proclamation for suppressing Rebellion and Sedition," Aug. 23, 1775; the Proclamation of Lord Howe and William Howe, dated at New York, Nov. 30, 1776, issued from the office of "The New-York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury," Dec. 16, 1776; "the Proclamation of General Burgoyne from the Camp at the River Bouquet," June 23, 1777. Two of these papers are printed below. The others may be found in Force's Archives, under their respective dates.*

* These papers were found among the effects of Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, of Boston, a

The Recantations of Robert Hooper, John Pedrick, Robert Hooper, Jun. George M'Call, Richard Reed, and Henry Sanders.

IN COMMITTEE OF SAFETY,

CAMBRIDGE, May 4, 1775.

The Recantations of a Number of Persons of the Town of *Marblehead*, viz. *Robert Hooper, John Pedrick, Robert Hooper, Jun. George M'Call, Richard Reed, and Henry Sanders*, having been laid before this Committee for their Opinion as to the Propriety of accepting them;

Voted, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That the Recantations of these Persons be accepted, and that they be made acquainted with the Proclamation lately issued by the PROVINCIAL CONGRESS, respecting those who may incline to go into *Boston*; and that it be recommended to the Inhabitants of this Province, that they be protected from all Injuries or Insults whatsoever, so long as they adhere to their several Recantations, and continue to assist and abide by their Country, and the Inhabitants of *Marblehead* in particular, in the important Dispute between *Great-Britain* and *America*.

WILLIAM COOPER, *Sec'y*.

To the Inhabitants of the Town of *Marblehead*.

When Governor *Hutchinson* was about leaving the Province, I signed an Address † to him with no other Motive, than the Hopes it would have a Tendency to serve the Province in general, and this Town in particular. I am now convinced it has not had the hoped for Success, and therefore renounce it in all its Parts, and am sorry for it; and stand ready with my Interest to defend the Rights of my injured Country.

ROBERT HOOPER.

MARBLEHEAD, May 3. 1775.

Whereas I the Subscriber, did some Time since sign an Address to Governor *Hutchinson*, which has given just Cause of Resentment to my Fellow-Countrymen: I do now declare that at the Time of signed said Address, I did suppose it might serve us, but am convinced of my Error, and do now renounce said Address in all its Parts, and stand ready with my Life and Fortune to defend my injured Country, and hope for the Forgiveness of all Mankind.

JOHN PEDRICK.

MARBLEHEAD, April 28. 1775.

To the Inhabitants of the Town of *Marblehead*.

Whereas I the Subscriber did some Time since sign an Address to Governor *Hutchinson*, which has given just Offence to my Town and

Loyalist and Refugee, who was a great-grandfather of Mrs. Elton. A large number of letters from Refugees and others, addressed to Dr. Gardiner; also maps, plans, and documents of various kinds, relating especially to lands in Maine, were presented to the Maine Historical Society. — Eds.

* See "Proceedings" under date of Oct. 1870, p. 392, and Feb. 1871, p. 43. — Eds.

Country: I now declare, that I had not the least Design to offend either, but at the Time of signing said Address I thought it might be of Service to my Town and Country, but finding that it has not had the desired Effect, I do now renounce said Address in all its Parts, and beg that my Town and Country would forgive the Error, and I now assure them that at all Times I have been, and still am ready to the utmost of my Power, to support and defend the just Rights and Liberties of my Town and Country with my Life and Fortune.

ROBERT HOOPER, Jun.

MARBLEHEAD, May 1. 1775.

Mr. MODERATOR,

My not acknowledging my Error and Sorrow in the last Meeting, for having signed an Address to the late Governor *Hutchinson*, which justly incensed this Town and Country, was, because I did not know what Business they were to proceed upon until it was too late: I now publicly and solemnly declare, that the Welfare of this Land was the only Motive that induced me to sign it. And as I find myself mistaken, am as ready as any other (as far as in me lies) to support its Rights and Liberties with my Life and Fortune. I humbly ask Pardon of those whose Sentiments then differed from mine, respecting Governor *Hutchinson*, for the high Reflection, which by signing said Address, I cast upon their Sense and Temper, and hope that my Townsmen and the Public will restore me to their Favour and Friendship.

GEORGE M'CALL.

MARBLEHEAD, May 3d, 1775.

To the Gentlemen Select-Men of *Marblehead*.

Whereas I the Subscriber signed an Address to Governor *Hutchinson*, which I supposed would answer a good Purpose and be generally adopted, and being now convinced from a further Attention to the Matter, as well as the public Opinion, that it will greatly injure the Cause of *America*; I do now publicly declare, that I had no such Design, and therefore renounce the said Address in every Respect, and am heartily sorry that I ever signed it, and hope to be forgiven by my Town and Countrymen. I now stand ready with my Life and Interest to defend my injured Country whenever called upon.

RICHARD REED.

MARBLEHEAD, May 3. 1775.

GENTLEMEN,

Whereas I the Subscriber signed an Address to Governor *Hutchinson*, which I supposed would answer a good Purpose, and be generally adopted, and being now convinced from a further Attention to the Matter, as well as the public Opinion, that it will greatly injure the Cause of *America*, I do now publicly declare, that I had no such Design, and therefore renounce the said Address in every Respect, and am heartily sorry that I ever signed it, and hope to be forgiven

by my Town and Countrymen. I now stand ready with my Life and Interest to defend my injured Country whenever called upon.

HENRY SANDERS.

MARBLEHEAD, May 8. 1775.

*Proclamation of General Burgoyne.**

By JOHN BURGOWNE, Esq; &c. &c. Lieut. General of his Majesty's Forces in America, Colonel of the Queen's Regiment of Light Dragoons, Governor of Fort-William, in North-Britain, one of the Representatives of the Commons of Great-Britain in Parliament, and commanding an Army and Fleet in an Expedition from Canada, &c. &c. &c.

The Forces entrusted to my Command are designed to act in concert, and upon a common Principle, with the numerous Armies and Fleets which already display, in every Quarter of America, the Power, the Justice, and, when properly sought, the Mercy of the King; the Cause in which the British Arms are thus exerted, applies to the most affecting Interest of the human Heart: And the Military Servants of the Crown, at first called for the sole Purpose of restoring the Rights of the Constitution, now combine with the Love of their Country, and Duty to their Sovereign, the other extensive Incitements, which spring from a due Sense of the general Privileges of Mankind. To the Eyes and Ears of the temperate Part of the Public, and to the Breasts of suffering Thousands in the Provinces, be the melancholy Appeal — Whether the present unnatural Rebellion, has not been made the Foundation of the compleatest System of Tyranny that ever God, in his Displeasure, suffered for a Time, to be exercised over a froward and stubborn Generation: Arbitrary Imprisonments, Confiscation of Property, Persecution and Torture, unprecedented in the Inquisitions of the Romish Church, are among the palpable Enormities that verify the Affirmative: These are inflicted by Assemblies and Committees, who dare to profess themselves Friends to Liberty, upon the most quiet Subject, without Distinction of Age or Sex, for the sole Crime, often from the sole Suspicion, of having adhered in Principle to the Government under which they were born, and to which, by every Tie divine and human, they owe Allegiance. To consummate these shocking Proceedings the Profanation of Religion is added to the most profligate Prostitution of common Reason! The Consciences of Men are set at naught, and Multitudes are compelled not only to bear Arms, but also to swear Subjection to an Usurpation they abhor. — Animated by these Considerations, at the Head of Troops in the full Powers of Health, Discipline and Valour, determined to strike where necessary, and anxious to save where possible, I, by these Presents, invite and exhort all Persons, in all Places where the Progress of this Army

* For contemporary references to this remarkable proclamation of General Burgoyne (who was then encamped on a small stream on the west side of Lake Champlain, in Essex County, New York, not far from Crown Point), see Lieutenant Anbury's "Travels . . . in a series of letters," London, 1791, vol. i. p. 274; and Thacher's "Military Journal," Boston, 1827, p. 82. — Eds.

may point, and by the Blessing of God I will extend it FAR, to maintain such a Conduct as may justify me in protecting their Lands, Habitations, and Families. The Intention of this Address is to hold forth Security, not Depredation, to the Country; to those whose Spirit and Principle may induce them to partake the glorious Task of redeeming their Countrymen from Dungeons, and re-establishing the Blessings of legal Government, I offer Encouragement and Employment, and upon the first Intelligence of their Association, I will find Means to assist their Undertakings. — The domestic, the industrious, the infirm, and even the timid Inhabitants, I am desirous to protect, provided they remain quietly at their Houses; that they do not suffer their Cattle to be removed, or their Corn or Forage to be secreted or destroyed; that they do not break up their Bridges or Roads, or by any other Act, directly or indirectly, endeavour to obstruct the Operation of the King's Troops, or supply or assist those of the Enemy. Every Species of Provision brought to my Camp, will be paid for at an equitable Rate, in solid Coin. — In Consciousness of Christianity, my Royal Master's Clemency, and the Honour of Soldiership, I have dwelt upon this Invitation, and wished for more persuasive Terms to give it Impression; and let not People be led to disregard it by considering the immediate Situation of my Camp. I have but to give Stretch to the Indian Forces under my Direction, and they amount to Thousands, to overtake the hardened Enemies of Great-Britain; I consider them the same wherever they may lurk. — If notwithstanding these Endeavours and sincere Inclination to assist them, the Phrenzy of Hostility should remain, I trust I shall stand acquitted in the Eyes of God and Men, in denouncing and executing the Vengeance of the State against the wilful Outcast. The Messengers of Justice and of Wrath await them in the Field, and Devastation, Famine, and every concomitant Horror that a reluctant but indispensable Prosecution of Military Duty must occasion, will bar the Way to their Return.

J. BURGOTNE.

Camp at the River BONGRETT, }
[Bouquet] June 23d, 1777. }

By Order of his Excellency the Lieutenant General,
ROBERT KINGSTON, Sec'y.

The President spoke of the Treasurer's having been obliged to borrow twenty-five hundred dollars to pay the debts and current expenses of the Society, and suggested, as a method of aiding the funds just now, that members, in lieu of their annual assessment for the year 1872, should pay a larger sum into the Treasury.

The Treasurer said that more than the sum named would be required for present needs, and he expressed the hope that members would pay their assessments for 1872 in advance. He also read a heading which had been prepared for signatures, agreeably to the suggestion of the President.

After some further conference on the subject of the finances of the Society, it was

Voted, That a Committee of Finance be appointed for the coming year. Whereupon Messrs. Amos A. Lawrence, Robert M. Mason, and William Cullen Bryant were appointed to constitute that committee.

On motion of the Treasurer, it was

Voted, That the Finance Committee, in connection with the Treasurer, be authorized to change the investment of the Peabody Fund, in such a manner as they may deem expedient.

The President read an "Appeal for the Restoration of the Strassburg Library," signed by Noah Porter, President of Yale College, William Cullen Bryant, and others.

Voted, That the Standing Committee be authorized to make a contribution of such of the Society's publications, for the object named, as can be spared.

Mr. EDMUND QUINCY presented in the name of Mrs. Samuel B. Barrell, of Boston, an engraved view of the city of Boston, from a sketch taken by Governor Pownall; and the thanks of the Society were ordered for the gift.

The President exhibited a copy of a book, belonging to a friend, entitled, "*Paraphrastica Expositio Articulorum Confessionis Anglicanae: The Articles of the Anglican Church, paraphrastically considered and explained, by Franciscus A. Santa Clara, S.T.P. (Dr. Christopher Davenport). Reprinted from the Edition in Latin of 1646, with a Translation . . . and a sketch of the Life of the Author. Edited by the Rev. Frederick George Lee, D.C.L. . . . London . . . 1865.*"

The author of this book, Dr. Christopher Davenport, was a brother of the more celebrated John Davenport, the Puritan minister of New Haven. He had become a Roman Catholic, and spent some time at Douay. He was subsequently appointed one of the chaplains to her Majesty Queen Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1872.

A stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at 11 o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

The records of the last meeting were read by the Recording Secretary.

Mr. Augustus Thorndike Perkins was elected a Resident Member.

Hon. George T. Davis, of Portland, Me., was elected a Corresponding Member.

Dr. GREEN read some extracts from a diary, kept by Lieutenant Paul Lunt, of Newburyport, during a part of the Revolutionary War, which, with the following sketch of the writer furnished by the Hon. George Lunt, is here given entire:—

Paul Lunt was a descendant of Henry Lunt, one of the original settlers of the town of Newbury, in the year 1635. His descendants still occupy the farm in Newbury (Oldtown) on which he resided. He was a first lieutenant of the company commanded by his kinsman, Ezra Lunt, at Bunker Hill. Of this company, one of the historians of Newburyport, Mrs. E. Vale Smith, says: "The Rev. Jonathan Parsons having made an appeal at the close of one of his sermons, in which he called on his hearers to form volunteer companies, and invited those to walk out into the broad aisle who would do so, Mr. Ezra Lunt was the first to do so; and a volunteer company was immediately formed, with Ezra Lunt as captain. His was the first volunteer company formed for the purpose of joining the continental army."

The same historian, writing of the final retreat of our troops from the redoubt on Bunker Hill, says: "Captain Ezra Lunt's company was ordered up to cover the retreat of these exhausted troops, whose ammunition was now all expended. His company did good service, and, with aid of others forming this devoted rear guard, effectually kept the enemy at bay till the retreat was accomplished; but many of them were killed or wounded."

Paul Lunt, however, escaped injury; and Ezra Lunt afterward joined Arnold's famous expedition for the siege of Quebec, which sailed from Newburyport in September, 1775, for the Kennebec. Of Paul's later history nothing is known by the writer of this introduction, except that he returned to Newbury and resumed his occupation as a farmer at the old place, where he died in 1824.

PAUL LUNT'S BOOK.*

NEWBURYPORT, May 10, 1775.

A JOURNAL OF TRAVELS FROM NEWBURYPORT TO CAMBRIDGE AND IN THE CAMP.

Wednesday, May 10, 1775.—Marched from Newburyport with sixty men at eleven o'clock, Captain Ezra Lunt commander; marched

* In printing this diary, the spelling and punctuation have been made to conform to modern usage; and a change in the arrangement of some of the dates has also been made for the sake of uniformity. With these exceptions the diary is printed as it was written.

to Rowley, took some refreshments; marched to Ipswich, Treadwell's, supped and lodged.

Thursday, 11th. — Fast day. Marched to Putnam's to breakfast; heard Mr. Hitchcock preach forenoon from Psalm lvi. 3; marched to Newell's, supped on salmon and lodged.

Friday, 12th. — Arrived at Cambridge [at] eleven o'clock, quartered in John Bolin's house; took refreshment, supped, and lodged at Steadman's.

Monday, 15th. — Marched to parade, returned, supped and lodged in quarters. At twelve o'clock at night alarmed by a report that the British troops were landing; paraded the first in the camp, but soon found the report to be false; returned to quarters.

Tuesday, 16th. — Captain Lunt and twenty-four men went on guard.

Wednesday, 17th. — Paraded at two o'clock; marched near Lechmere's Point, where some of our guard fired at a barge, killed two of them [and] wounded one. They returned the fire, but did no damage. At nine o'clock at night a fire broke out in Boston on Treat's Wharf in the soldiers' barracks, by delivering out some cartridges; blew up one soldier and burnt a number of warehouses.

Thursday, 18th. — Rode to Roxbury in company with Rev. Mr. Parsons and Captain Lunt.

Friday, 19th. — Went on guard at Mrs. Inman's with twenty-four men; moved from Bolan's to Mr. Wigglesworth's. Relieved from guard, Saturday, 20th, [at] nine o'clock.

Sunday, 21st. — Went to meeting.

Monday, 22d. — Wind at N.E., stormy. Nine men went on guard.

Tuesday, 23d. — Marched to parade, then returned to quarters.

Wednesday, 24th. — Went [to] Charlestown. Captain Lunt returned.

Thursday, 25th. — Paraded the men; then returned to quarters.

Friday, 26th. — Captain Lunt went upon guard with eighteen men.

Saturday, 27th. — A number of men (about six hundred) marched to Chelsea with two cannon, in order to burn some hay and drive off a number of cattle and sheep from Hog and Noddle's Island. There came an armed schooner against them from Boston, and ran aground between the islands and began a battle. Our men burnt the vessel without the loss of a man, and she kept a continual fire all the time till she was set on fire. She carried twelve cannon and four swivels.

Sunday, 28th. — Six hundred men marched to Chelsea to relieve those that were there.

Monday, 29th. — Went on guard at Madam Inman's with sixteen of our men.

Tuesday, 30th. — Returned from guard. Mr. Huse came here at nine o'clock in the evening.

Wednesday, 31st. — Captain Lunt went to Milton.

Thursday, June 1st. — I set out for Newburyport at ten o'clock; got in at ten at night.

Tuesday, 6th. — Set out for Cambridge at eight o'clock, and arrived at eight at night.

Wednesday, 7th. — Nothing remarkable.

Thursday, 8th. — Drummed a bad woman out of camp.

Friday and Saturday, 9th and 10th. — Nothing remarkable.

Sunday, 11th. — Went upon guard at Mrs. Inman's with forty men.

Monday, 12th. — Returned from guard at nine o'clock.

Tuesday, 13th. — Captain Abner Greenleaf and Captain Rogers came to the camps. Mr. Martin dined with us upon baked veal and green peas.

Wednesday, 14th. — Some ships and transports arrived at Boston with two hundred horse and three thousand troops.

Thursday, 15th. — Mr. Huse came to Cambridge.

Friday, 16th. — Our men went to Charlestown and intrenched on a hill beyond Bunker's Hill. They fired from the ships and Copp's Hill all the time.

Saturday, 17th. — The Regulars landed a number of troops, and we engaged them. They drove us off the hill, and burnt Charlestown. Dr. Warren was lost in the battle: the siege lasted about three hours. They killed about 50 of our men, wounded about 80: we killed of the king's troops 896, — 92 officers, 104 sergeants.

Sunday, 18th. — We intrenched on Prospect Hill; alarmed that the Regulars were advancing towards our intrenchment, but found it to be false; returned to quarters.

Monday, 19th. — We killed some of their guard.

Tuesday, 20th. — Went upon picket guard.

Wednesday, 21st. — Passed muster.

Thursday, 22d. — The soldiers received their first month's pay.

Friday, 23d. — Moved from Wigglesworth's house to Prospect Hill.

Saturday, 24th. — Nothing remarkable.

Sunday, 25th. — Heard the Rev. Mr. Cleaveland preach from Joshua xxii. 22, part 23d verse.

Monday, 26th. — Removed our tents off the hill.

Tuesday, 27th. — Went upon fatigue with thirty-eight men.

Wednesday, 28th. — Fired the morning gun at daylight. Five of the inhabitants broke out with the small-pox near our tents. At about sunset it began to rain after a very dry time, wind N.E.

Thursday, 29th. — Nothing remarkable.

Friday, 30th. — General orders for none to leave the camp.

Saturday, July 1st. — The Cat Ship fired at some of our people in a swimming.

Sunday, 2d. — The Gageites fired upon our troops at Roxbury, hove a number of carcasses and bombs, but did no damage, only burnt one house; in [the] afternoon showers till at night. General Washington came into the camp.

Monday, 3d. — Turned out early in the morning, got in readiness to be reviewed by the general. New orders given out by General Washington.

Tuesday, 4th. — Pleasant in the morning; afternoon, heard that the Regulars were coming out at night; set off a party to intrench on Lechmere's Point, which they did and returned before morning.

Wednesday, 5th. — Pleasant, all still, heard prayers, and at night alarmed; lodged on our arms all night.

Thursday, 6th. — Pleasant, nothing remarkable, all well.

Friday, 7th. — Paraded early in the morning, heard prayers, and a false alarm at night.

Saturday, 8th. — Alarmed early in the morning by our people's setting the Regular guard-houses on fire; burnt three [houses] and killed four Regulars.

Sunday, 9th. — All still, attended public worship. The Rev. Mr. Cleaveland preached all day. At retreat beat, a man was whipped twenty lashes for striking his officer: he belonged to Colonel Nixon's Regiment.

Monday, 10th. — Burnt two or three houses at Roxbury that the Regulars kept for guard-houses. Very hot all day, and dry.

Tuesday, 11th. — Pleasant; saw the fire at Roxbury this morning; very hot forenoon; afternoon, a fine shower, very sharp lightning and heavy thunder. The same day our people took from Long Island in Boston Bay fifteen prisoners, and one of them was Primus Hoyt, a negro that belonged to Joseph Hoyt, of Newburyport, and nineteen head of cattle and one hundred sheep, and killed a number of hogs, with the loss of only one man.

Wednesday, 12th. — Very warm all day, nothing remarkable.

Thursday, 13th. — Went with Captain Jones and Captain Noyes to view the intrenchments and the guards.

Friday, 14th. — New orders; pleasant in morning, but cool; had one man killed at Roxbury with cannon-ball. In the forenoon took my commission.

Saturday, 15th. — Captain Lunt went home to recruit men; new orders read to the company.

Sunday, 16th. — Turned out at gun-firing. In the morning heard Mr. Cleaveland preach; forenoon from Judges v. 23; the other part of the day, Ephesians v. 16.

Monday, 17th. — Not well; a small shower of rain in the forenoon, afternoon a heavy shower of rain, heavy thunder and sharp lightning.

Tuesday, 18th. — This morning a Manifesto from the Grand Continental Congress was read by the Rev. Mr. Leonard, chaplain to the Connecticut forces upon Prospect Hill in Charlestown, to those troops encamped upon and near said hill. Our standard was presented in the midst of the regiments with this inscription upon it, "Appeal to Heaven;" after which Mr. Leonard made a short prayer, and then [we] were dismissed by the discharge of a cannon, three cheers, and a war whoop by the Indians. Captain Derby arrived with our packet from England, and went to Congress.

Wednesday, 19th. — Went to intrench upon another hill to the north of Prospect Hill and near Bunker Hill in Charlestown and near Mystic River.

Thursday, 20th. — Fast day, pleasant weather; our people burnt Boston lighthouse early this morning; heard the Rev. Mr. Cleaveland preach forenoon from Psalm l. 15: "And call upon me in the day of

trouble, I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me;" afternoon, from Ecclesiastes vii. 14: "But in the day of adversity consider." Heard that our people killed six Regulars at Roxbury with a cannon-ball, but found it to be false; took five prisoners at the lighthouse.

Friday, 21st. — Pleasant weather. No remarks.

Saturday, 22d. — Went upon main guard upon the lines at Charlestown.

Sunday, 23d. — Came off guard at ten o'clock, heard the Rev. Mr. Cleaveland preach from Isaiah. Captains Lunt and Kent came into the camps on Prospect Hill, Charlestown; Colonel Little went home.

Monday, 24th. — Pleasant weather, but warm; nothing remarkable.

Tuesday, 25th. — Lieutenant Montgomery went home recruiting; at night one of the Regular Grenadiers deserted and came over to our sentries; two regiments came here from Roxbury, belonging to Rhode Island.

Wednesday, 26th. — New orders, that no man fire a gun upon no pretence whatever, unless leave from the general. Two of the Regulars deserted and came to our sentries.

Thursday, 27th. — Cloudy and rain in the morning, wind at the southward. No remarks.

Friday, 28th. — Colonel Whitcomb's Regiment encamped upon Prospect Hill. An accident happened upon Prospect Hill: a gun went off and wounded two of the Rhode Island troops, one in the hand, the other in the foot, but likely to do well.

Saturday, 29th. — Two hundred and eighty of our regiment went upon main guard and quarter guard, even the cooks after dinner; fair weather.

Sunday, 30th. — Last night, twelve o'clock, a party of General Washington's Riflemen crept within the Regulars' sentries, but being discovered were fired upon, which occasioned a skirmish between them and the Regulars' main guard. Killed of the Regulars seven, took two prisoners: one corporal of the Riflemen was killed or taken. Between the hours of twelve and one o'clock we had an alarm, and we were all paraded, and there was an immediate cry for volunteers to follow such officers as would head them, when all our company marched out to follow the officers wherever they went, and some part of every company in the regiment. We marched up into the fort, and were ordered [to] ground our arms and wait for orders: the alarm was occasioned by the Regulars intrenching upon Charlestown Common. The intent of the volunteers was to go down and beat them off, but upon further consideration the generals thought it not prudent to proceed, they being under cover of their cannon upon Bunker's Hill and the floating batteries and the ships. The generals ordered us to return, and be ready at a moment's warning: [we] then returned according to orders.

Monday, 31st. — Last night at ten o'clock another alarm; paraded immediately, marched up to the fort, but were ordered back. This was occasioned by a brisk fire at the lower sentries. The Regulars came out of their fort to drive in our sentries; but all was soon quieted, and

[we] were ordered back. Turned in and got to sleep; at one o'clock were alarmed by the cry of "Turn out,—for God's sake, turn out." We paraded again and manned our lines, and there remained until after sunrise: the greatest part of the night the air was filled with the roaring of cannon and the cracking of small arms upon all sides. The Riflemen had engaged them upon Charlestown Common from two o'clock till after sunrise, killed a number, recovered five guns, and lost not a man. At the same time they were engaged at Roxbury with small arms. The Regulars set fire to a house and barn in Roxbury, and hove two bomb-shells. The same night our people set fire to the new lighthouse; about eight hundred of our people went, took and killed all upon the island,—killed fifteen, took twenty-five marines, and seven Tories. This day two of our men were killed by a cannon-ball from Bunker's Hill: they kept a continual fire all day from the hill and the floating batteries. At about four o'clock P.M. they sent out a flag of truce, desiring [a] cessation of arms for three days; but it was not granted. One of the Riflemen shot at the flag-staff of the truce, and cut it off above his hand. Between sunset and dark our people killed fourteen of the Regulars which came out in search of their dead.

Tuesday, August 1, 1775.—Orders given from the general for scouting parties to fire at all times whenever they have opportunity. The same day raised the mast that came out of the schooner that was burnt at Chelsea, for to hoist our flag upon, in the fort upon Prospect Hill in Charlestown, seventy-six feet high.

Wednesday, 2d.—Had a good night's rest last night; all still this morning; some firing upon both sides at sunset, but killed none upon our side; some Regulars were seen dragged away, supposed to be dead.

Thursday, 3d.—Went upon court martial; some firing upon both sides of the lines to-day, with small arms; very cool for the time of year.

Friday, 4th.—Went upon court-martial. Lieutenant Montgomery and wife and Captain Lunt's wife came into camp. The Regulars hauled up another ship back of the Common, Boston, or near New Boston.

Saturday, 5th.—Captain Lunt and wife, Montgomery and wife and Kent went to Roxbury. No remarks this day.

Sunday, 6th.—Cool weather, the wind at N.E. In the afternoon the Regulars went from Bunker's Hill and set fire to a house at Penny Ferry; they fired a number of cannon from their floating batteries, but did no damage; we returned the fire and silenced them.

Monday, 7th.—Very cool for the season. Sat upon court-martial to try Patrick Tracy for disobedience of orders, found him guilty; judgment brought in against him to ride the wooden horse twenty minutes.

Tuesday, 8th.—Three hundred Riflemen came into the camps, killed two Regulars. A number of cannon were fired from the enemy, and small arms upon both sides.

Wednesday, 9th.—Patrick Tracy rode the wooden horse, after

which Mrs. Lunt and Mrs. Montgomery left the camps. Cloudy this morning; in the afternoon rain, after a dry time. At night went with Captain Gerrish upon Picket guard, lodged out upon the ground all night. Yesterday a vessel from the West Indies came into Cape Ann. She was beset by a cutter and barges from the Lively man-of-war that lay there, but, by the help of God and the dexterity of the people, beat them off the schooner, and took twenty-five prisoners with the master, and seven of our people which they had pressed on board the ship; likewise took another vessel from them that they had of ours, with the loss of two men: they shot at the town, and did considerable of damage.

Thursday, 10th. — In the morning cloudy, afternoon a great plenty of rain.

Friday, 11th. — Cloudy and some rain. A few small arms fired upon both sides, but did no damage.

Saturday, 12th. — Fine weather for the season, all still this morning; in the afternoon a fine shower of rain, cleared up pleasant. No remarks.

Sunday, 13th. — Pleasant weather after rain; went to Medford to meeting forenoon; dined at Billings'. Two Regulars deserted from Bunker's Hill, swam over to Malden, and were carried to Royal's, General Washington's headquarters.

Monday, 14th. — Fine weather for the season. No remarks.

Tuesday, 15th. — Some firing with cannon upon both sides at Roxbury; all still at Bunker Hill; wounded one man by a bomb, one man was killed by our own people at the lower sentry.

Wednesday, 16th. — Pleasant weather for the season; some firing from the Regular sentries.

Thursday, 17th. — Fine weather, had a shot from Bunker Hill, did no damage.

Friday, 18th. — Went upon picket, home-guard; a smart shower last night.

Saturday, 19th. — Pleasant in the morning, cool in afternoon, the wind out east. No remarks this day.

Sunday, 20th. — Went upon main guard at the corner house; some firing from each sentry, but did no damage; all the brigade mustered and manned the lines.

Monday, 21st. — Pleasant for the season, came off main guard at eleven o'clock.

Tuesday, 22d. — Very hot weather, all still, no remarks. To-day Lieutenant Whittemore and wife came into camp, and Amos Pearson.

Wednesday, 23d. — Very warm weather; heard some cannon that were fired from Roxbury from the Regulars; went upon picket guard at night, some firing about midnight in the Common, Charlestown, but did no damage upon either side.

Thursday, 24th. — Very hot, came off guard at sunset. No remarks to-day.

Friday, 25th. — In the afternoon three men from the Regulars' floating [battery] there swam at Malden, and one came through

Charlestown. A number of cannon and small arms were fired from the enemy this afternoon, but did no damage.

Saturday, 26th. — Cloudy this morning; some small arms fired at break of day. At night a large number of men, about twenty-five hundred, went to intrench upon a hill near Mystic River, well known by the name of the Plowed Hill: about one thousand had tools, the other was to cover them in case of an attack from the enemy.

Sunday, 27th. — As soon in the morning as the enemy saw our works, they cannonaded it from Bunker Hill and their floating batteries, killed two of our men with their cannon shot, belonging [to] Rhode Island, one of them was adjutant to Colonel Varnum's regiment, and his name was Mumford; wounded one Rifleman in the leg so that he was obliged to have it cut off; killed one Indian; they kept almost a continual fire with cannon and small arms all day; we killed a number of Regulars at the lower sentry.

Monday, 28th. — Last night we had a very smart shower of rain, attended with extreme hard thunder and sharp lightning: it began between eleven and twelve o'clock, and lasted about three-quarters of an hour. This morning pleasant, but some clouds after rain. All still at Bunker's Hill; some cannon fired in the afternoon; killed one of the Rhode Island men with a cannon shot, and wounded Robert Martial of Captain Lunt's company in the thigh with a small shot; the enemy hove three bomb-shells at sunset at the Plowed Hill breastwork, but did no damage.

Tuesday, 29th. — Went up to the alarm post at break of day, returned at sunrise; cloudy this morning; at seven o'clock came on stormy, wind at N.E., rained very hard. At night went upon picket guard at the Plowed Hill, out all night in the rain: the Regulars hove eight bomb-shells, but did no damage.

Wednesday, 30th. — Stormy all day, wind at N.E.; some cannon fired from Bunker Hill; at night had four bomb-shells hove at the Plowed Hill.

Thursday, 31st. — Stormy all day, wind at N.E. Some small arms fired at the lower sentries, and some cannon from Bunker's Hill.

Friday, Sept. 1, 1775. — Last night a number of cannon was fired at Roxbury, and small arms; stormy this morning, wind at N.E.; a great number of small arms fired at the lower sentries upon both sides; one man wounded at Plowed Hill, and two killed at Roxbury with cannon shot, and two deserted from the Regulars from Roxbury.

Saturday, 2d. — Cloudy this morning, then pleasant at eight o'clock, and warm after a cold storm; cloudy afternoon; several bombs hove from Bunker's Hill, two burst in the air, and two fell that did not break, which were dug out and carried to General Greene.

Sunday, 3d. — Stormy all day, wind N.E.; one carcass, one shell, and some cannon-shot hove to-day.

Monday, 4th. — Cloudy, dull weather. This morning some cannon and small arms fired from the Gageites, and some bombs hove.

Tuesday, 5th. — Pleasant weather after a long storm. At night went upon guard at Plowed Hill; very cool in the night; all still.

Took three horses from the Regulars in Charlestown Common; fair weather.

Wednesday, 6th. — Came off guard from Plowed Hill at night, all still.

Thursday, 7th. — Pleasant weather for the season; all still. No remarks.

Friday, 8th. — Fair weather, all still; a general court martial held for the trial of Colonel Mansfield, at Cambridge.

Saturday, 9th. — Paraded in order to pass muster forenoon, but did not pass, for the muster master had not time; so were dismissed. Some mutiny among the soldiers.

Sunday, 10th. — Pleasant weather; some cannon fired from the enemy, at Roxbury. Heard the Rev. Mr. Cleaveland, forenoon, from Psalm xiv. 1. Twenty of our company enlisted to go to Canada under the command of Captain Ward.

Monday, 11th. — Cool this morning, wind at N.W., blown hard; passed muster. In the afternoon, six Regulars and a sergeant were taken prisoners at Dorchester.

Tuesday, 12th. — Pleasant weather for the season. No remarks.

Wednesday, 13th. — Pleasant for the season; went to Sewall's Point. In the afternoon the regiment marched from Cambridge to Newburyport, there to embark for Canada, under the command of Colonel Arnold, Lieutenant-colonel Greene, and Major Bigelow. Captain Ward commanded the company that the Newbury men enlisted in.

Thursday, 14th. — Came off picket-guard this morning from Plowed Hill, and in the forenoon paraded, by General Greene's order, the whole of his brigade, and manned the lines; then returned to quarters. A Rifleman was killed dead by an accident of a gun going off.

Friday, 15th. — Fair weather, this morning wind blowed very hard at S.W. A man was shot through the body at Plowed Hill by a gun's discharging accidentally.

Saturday, 16th. — Cloudy this morning, but warm. A Regular of the Fifth Regiment, deserted, and came to the Whitehouse guard last night. The plot that he laid was this: he was standing sentry with another Regular, he took the flint out of his own gun, hove out the priming and spit in the pan, then offered to swap with his partner and give him a drink in the morning, which he accepted. As soon as that was done made his escape; his partner snapped his gun at him, but to no purpose; he turned round and discharged his piece at his partner, then threw off his watch-coat, and cartridge-box, and made the best of his way to our guard.

Sunday, 17th. — Rain last night, cloudy this morning. Heard the Rev. Mr. Cleaveland preach, forenoon, from Acts iii. 19: "Repent ye therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord." Some cannon fired from Roxbury upon both sides; all still at Bunker Hill. One Regular lieutenant killed at Roxbury with a cannon-shot, several more wounded; one hung himself because he thought he was in a wrong cause.

Monday, 18th. — Foggy this morning, but warm, cleared off, pleasant forenoon. A number of cannon fired upon both sides at Roxbury; two shells hove to Plowed Hill, but did no damage; one cannon fired from Prospect Hill at the ship near Lechmere's Point, but did no execution.

Tuesday, 19th. — Cloudy, wind at east. Some cannon fired at Roxbury, on both sides; rain at night; two shells hove at Plowed Hill.

Wednesday, 20th. — Cloudy this morning, some rain. Last night a Regular deserted, and came to the Plowed Hill picket with all his accoutrements. A man was set in the pillory for being concerned in writing an infamous letter against Colonel Brewer. He was to sit one hour; before the time is [was] out the man fainted, and the doctors much ado to bring him to. At night went on guard at Plowed Hill. Cool at night.

Thursday, 21st. — Pleasant this morning. At about eleven o'clock the Regulars began a fire from Bunker Hill upon our people that were intrenching between Prospect Hill and Plowed Hill; they hove two shells and a number of cannon-shot, but did no damage, only wounded two men belonging to Colonel Doolittle's regiment. In the afternoon some cannon fired from Roxbury and two from Prospect Hill.

Friday, 22d. — King's coronation day, 1771 [1761]. The cannon were fired from the ships and batteries in Boston and some from Bunker's Hill at our people. Rain in the afternoon.

Saturday, 23d. — Pleasant after rain; went upon fatigue between Prospect Hill and Plowed Hill. Some cannon fired from Plowed Hill, and a number at Roxbury, but did no damage as we have heard. Captain Lunt went home.

Sunday, 24th. — Pleasant this morning, but cool. Attended public worship all day. All still on both sides. No remarks.

Monday, 25th. — Cool last night; pleasant this day. Some bombs hove at Plowed Hill; one broke in the air, but did no damage.

Tuesday, 26th. — Some cannon fired from Bunker Hill at our people near Plowed Hill. A number of fatigue men went into the fort to make preparations for barracks upon Prospect Hill. All still on both sides.

Wednesday, 27th. — In the morning all still; at twelve o'clock the whole brigade turned out, manned the lines, and were reviewed by the generals. All still both sides; wind at south, blowed hard, some rain just at night.

Thursday, 28th. — Fair weather and pleasant for the season; all still this morning, nothing remarkable to-day.

Friday, 29th. — Cool last night, all still on both sides, wind out east. No remarks; two Regulars deserted at night from Roxbury.

Saturday, 30th. — Pleasant for the season; went upon guard at Plowed Hill at eight o'clock in the morning. All still on both sides.

Sunday, Oct. 1, 1775. — Came off guard at nine o'clock in [the] morning; all still. In the evening Captain Lunt returned to the camp; cloudy and some rain.

Monday, 2d. — Cloudy this morning and warm, wind at the southward; all still. A Regular deserted from Bunker Hill and came to our lines.

Tuesday, 3d. — Clear and pleasant; set out for Newburyport at eight o'clock in the morning; carried Stephen Lunt home sick; got home at nine in the evening. All well.

Thursday, 12th. — Set out for the camp at nine o'clock and arrived at eight at night; left my father sick, the rest of my friends well.

Friday, 13th. — Fair weather, went on guard at the Whitehouse, at night all still at Bunker Hill. Nothing remarkable.

Saturday, 14th. — Pleasant for the season; came off guard at night. All still.

Sunday, 15th. — Cloudy this morning, and cool. Heard the Rev. Mr. Cleaveland preach, forenoon, from Luke iii. 9: "And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees: every tree, therefore, which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down, and cast into the fire." In the afternoon he delivered a fine discourse from Luke x. 42: "But one thing is needful; and Mary hath chosen that good part which shall not be taken away from her." At night heard of the death of Captain Lunt's youngest child, named Ezra.

Monday, 16th. — Some rain last [night], but cleared off pleasant this morning; in the afternoon wind blowed hard at N.W. Mark Anthony departed this life with a putrid fever; he was a soldier in Captain Gerrish's company. One man broke out with the small-pox in Captain Parker's company, and was moved away to the hospital: it is thought that he caught it by a pair of stockings that he took out of a stone wall.

Tuesday, 17th. — Fine weather for the season. Lieutenant Montgomery went home to get tools to finish the barracks.

Wednesday, 18th. — Last night two of our floating batteries went out of Cambridge River, in order to alarm the Regulars in Boston and to try the cannon. After they had fired a number of times into Boston Common they unhappily burst a nine-pounder, which did considerable damage, killed one man and wounded seven more, and damaged the battery, but made out to reach the shore. One Rifleman deserted from us to day and went to Bunker Hill.

Thursday, 19th. — Warm for the season; at night a very heavy shower of rain.

Friday, 20th. — Cloudy and some rain; at night went on picket-guard; at about twelve o'clock it began to rain, and so continued all night.

Saturday, 21st. — Rain all day, came off guard at night; all still.

Sunday, 22d. — Wind at south-west, blowed hard. Attended public worship, heard the Rev. Mr. Cleaveland, forenoon, from Matthew xvi. 26: "For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" In the afternoon from Matthew iii. 12: "Whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the garner; but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire."

Monday, 23d. — All still this morning and pleasant. Nothing remarkable.

Tuesday, 24th. — Cloudy in the morning and rain till near night, then cleared up cool. News came to headquarters that the Regulars had burnt near two-thirds of Falmouth last Wednesday, and that they had orders to burn all capital towns between there and Boston.

Wednesday, 25th. — Went upon fatigue, wind blowed hard at west, and cool.

Thursday, 26th. — Pleasant for the season, and all still with the enemy. A wrestling-match between Winter Hill brigade and Prospect, before our regiment; ours carried the ring.

Friday, 27th. — Went upon guard at Plowed Hill, some rain; all still with the enemy. Nothing remarkable.

Saturday, 28th. — Came off guard, rain all day, wind at N.E.

Sunday, 29th. — Fair weather. This morning a Regular sergeant deserted and came to the Whitehouse guard and said they expected us in last night, and kept their lines manned all night.

Monday, 30th. — Cool this morning; in the afternoon went to Roxbury by way of Sewall's Point, to view the works; all still with the enemy.

Tuesday, 31st. — Pleasant this morning and warm for the season; no remarks, all still.

Wednesday, Nov. 1, 1775. — Pleasant for the season; all still, nothing remarkable.

Thursday, 2d. — Pleasant weather in the morning, in the afternoon the wind out N.E. Nothing remarkable to-day.

Friday, 3d. — Began to rain last night about midnight, rainy this morning. Some cannon fired on board the ships; stormy all day.

Saturday, 4th. — Fair weather and cool. Captain Lunt's wife and Mr. Huse's came into the camps; dined upon roast pork. Daniel Mitchell went home.

Sunday, 5th. — Fair weather and pleasant for the season. Went upon guard in the morning; some rain at night; all still.

Monday, 6th. — Cloudy and warm for the season. Came off guard; all still.

Tuesday, 7th. — Rain last night and this morning; stormy all day.

Wednesday, 8th. — Fair weather, all still.

Thursday, 9th. — Cloudy this morning, some rain. Went upon fatigue. About two o'clock P.M. an alarm through the camp, occasioned by the Regulars embarking from Boston and Charlestown in boats and landing on Lechmere's Point, in order to take off some cattle; the tide being very full, made it difficult for our men to go on, but notwithstanding a large number waded on up to their middles in water and drove them off with the help of the cannon on Prospect Hill. They took off twelve cattle before our men could get on. One Regular was found dead, the next morning. They fired from their ship and from Charlestown, but did little or no damage. The number that came out is thought to be about five hundred.

Friday, 10th. — A very heavy storm came on last night, wind N.E.

Some snow, but little to be seen in the morning. Cloudy, dull weather to-day; all still.

Saturday, 11th. — Fair weather, wind at N.W., blowed hard all day and cold. Heard that two Regulars deserted at Roxbury.

Sunday, 12th. — Went upon Plowed Hill guard. Cold this day, wind blowed hard at N.W., cold at night. All still.

Monday, 13th. — Came off guard this morning, windy and cool; all still. Received our wages for the month of September. In the afternoon some movement with the enemy, ordered to lay on our arms all night. New enlistments were given out.

Tuesday, 14th. — Pleasant this morning for the season; all still. Heard the news that St. John's was taken by the American forces. Fine weather all day.

Wednesday, 15th. — A heavy storm of rain came on last night, wind at N.E., blowed hard and rained very fast this morning. Two Regulars were taken at Plowed Hill; rain all day.

Thursday, 16th. — A small flight of snow fell last night with some rain, wind at N.W. One Regular deserted and came to Plowed Hill last night, and heard that some deserted at Roxbury. Fair weather to-day; all still with the enemy.

Friday, 17th. — Clear and cold, wind at N.W. At night ordered to lay on our arms.

Saturday, 18th. — Very cold for the season this morning. No alarm last night.

Sunday, 19th. — Cool this morning, but pleasant. Went on guard; cool, uncomfortable weather; all still.

Monday, 20th. — Came off guard this morning from Plowed Hill. Pleasant for the season. All still in the day; at night turned out at about ten o'clock, went into the fort but found the alarm to be false. Returned to our tents.

Tuesday, 21st. — Cool this morning, all still. Captain Perkins and Lieutenant Huse went home to recruit men.

Wednesday, 22d. — Snow fell last night so as to cover the ground. Captain Lunt went home to recruit men for the new army.

Thursday, 23d. — Thanksgiving day, pleasant weather for the season. Last night a party of General Putnam's Brigade went to intrench on a hill in Charlestown, well known by officers and soldiers by the name of Cobble Hill; no opposition made as yet by the enemy.

Friday, 24th. — Pleasant this morning for the season; all still.

Saturday, 25th. — Pleasant this morning. Alarmed. At eight o'clock paraded, marched up to the fort, but found it to be false. Returned, went upon fatigue. William Little and Francis and Anthony Davenport came into camp.

Sunday, 26th. — Rain last night, wind at S.E., b[lowed] hard. Went on Plowed Hill guard this morning; stormy all day, wind at N.W., some snow. All still with the enemy.

Monday, 27th. — Cleared off cold last night, cold this morning. Came off guard at sunrise; all still.

Tuesday, 28th. — Cloudy, cold weather. News came that Montreal surrendered to the Americans.

Wednesday, 29th. — A storm of rain came on last night, wind at N.E.; cleared off this morning pleasant and warm, wind at the southward. All still; heard that our privateers took a transport and brought her into Cape Ann loaded with warlike stores, one thirteen inch brass mortar.

Thursday, 30th. — Good weather for the season; all still.

Friday, Dec. 1, 1775. — Fine weather for the season. Captain Lunt came into camp; all still. A ship brought into Beverly by our privateer loaded with coal and dry goods.

Saturday, 2d. — Pleasant weather. Ensign Mitchell went home recruiting; went to guard at Whitehouse. The 13 inch brass mortar was brought into Cambridge this day, with a number of small arms and other warlike implements.

Sunday, 3d. — Came off guard this morning; wind at southward, some rain and warm; all still.

Monday, 4th. — Good weather for the season, but cool. Ordered to lay upon our arms this night; one hundred boats were seen to pass from Boston to Charlestown this day.

Tuesday, 5th. — Pleasant weather for the season. All still with the enemy last night. This morning the prisoners taken by our privateers and brought into Beverly were guarded through the camp to headquarters, twelve in number; guarded by sixteen Rangers belonging to Salem, dressed in uniform.

Wednesday, 6th. — Very fine weather for the season. All still with the enemy.

Thursday, 7th. — Cloudy this morning, but pleasant. Nothing remarkable.

Friday, 8th. — Cloudy this morning, but warm. At six o'clock in the evening began to rain; heard that twenty tons of powder arrived at Dartmouth a few days since. Some of it is arrived in camp. One Rifleman shot another in their barrack, through the partition, and he expired immediately, the other confined for trial.

Saturday, 9th. — Some snow and rain last night; cleared off cold this morning. All still with the enemy.

Sunday, 10th. — Colonel Little's regiment excused from duty. Paraded in order to enlist men for the new establishment; a considerable number engaged. Captain Manly, master of one of our privateers, took a ship and brig and brought them into Salem, which belonged to the king, laden with coal and West India goods and English, &c.

Monday, 11th. — Some rain last night, wind blowed hard at the southward, warm this morning, but soon cleared off cold, wind at N.W. Went upon guard at the Whitehouse.

Tuesday, 12th. — Very cold this morning, wind at N.W.; came off guard at ten o'clock this morning. Edward Rand, of Newburyport, was taken on suspicion of having communication with the enemy at Boston, and brought to camp this day, to be examined by the committee at Watertown.

Wednesday, 13th. — Cold weather, wind at N.W. A number of men

from General Putnam's Brigade went and intrenched on Lechmere's Point without any opposition from the enemy.

Thursday, 14th. — Rain last night, warm this morning. Went to Plowed Hill to guard; some rain in the morning, cleared off pleasant.

Friday, 15th. — Very pleasant for the season. All still with the enemy. Heard that Canada had surrendered to the American arms, and that Governor Carlton with four or five more were fled to the wilderness. This report proved to be false.

Saturday, 16th. — Pleasant for the season, and warm for December. All still with the enemy.

Sunday, 17th. — Rain last night, foggy this morning. After our men had made a covered way on to Lechmere's Point began to intrench on the height of the point. As soon as they were discovered by the enemy they were saluted with four cannon, loaded with grape and langrage shot; wounded two of our troops, and that was all the damage done by the ship, which lay near the point. They continued the fire from the ship all day; at times hove a number of shells, but did no damage with them. Our men fired at the ship from Cobble Hill, which made her move off the next morning.

Monday, 18th. — Cleared off cold this morning, wind at N.W. Some shells hove from Boston and Bunker Hill to-day, but did no damage.

Tuesday, 19th. — A number of shells were hove by the enemy last night from Bunker Hill and Boston, but were but little minded by our troops; still kept on with their intrenchment. One Regular deserted last night from Bunker Hill; some shells and shot hove to-day.

Wednesday, 20th. — Some shells and shot hove from Boston and Bunker Hill, but did no damage.

Thursday, 21st. — Very cold weather. Some shells hove from the enemy, but did us no damage.

Friday, 22d. — Cold weather. One Regular deserted from Bunker Hill. No uncommon movement with the enemy to-day.

Saturday, 23d. — Set out from the camp afoot at eight o'clock in [the] morning, in company with Samuel Noyes; got to his house at seven in the evening; at nine arrived home, found Mrs. Lunt well as could be expected; she was delivered of her first son at about ten o'clock in the day, called his name Joshua Coffin. He lived ten days and left this evil world.

Paul Lunt, son of Paul Lunt and Margaret his wife, was born July 2, 1777.

Sarah Lunt, daughter of Paul Lunt and Margaret his wife, was born Sept. 5, 1779.

Margaret Lunt, daughter of Paul Lunt and Margaret his wife, was born Oct. 14, 1781.

MEMORANDUM, 1779.

1779. — The month of February very fine weather, but little snow. The month of March, some small snows at the beginning, but the 22d

a severe storm of snow that fell about a foot deep. 23d, cleared off pleasant; the 24th came on a storm of snow more terrible; wind at east, then N.E. lasted till next day. The wind continued N.E. by N. Very cold for the season. More snow on the ground than at any one time in the winter.

The President, referring to the volume of Records of the Castle, exhibited at a former meeting, read the following memorandum and the accompanying letters, which it will be seen have some connection with the history of that fort:—

Major John Phillips, youngest son of the Rev. George Phillips, of Brookhaven, Long Island, grandson of the Rev. Samuel Phillips, of Rowley, and great-grandson of the Rev. George Phillips, of Watertown, was born in Brookhaven, 1712, graduated at Harvard, 1736, studied divinity and preached. In 1744 he went as chaplain under General Winslow to Louisburg. After the peace, he was appointed chaplain at the Castle; and in 1759 he was made commander of that fort, on the death of his predecessor. He held the office until the summer of 1770, when Governor Hutchinson took the Castle from the Province and put British troops into it, surrendering the key and control to the commander. He married Mary Winthrop, daughter of Adam, the grandson of the governor. He died Jan. 9, 1787.

John Temple to the Earl of Hillsborough.*

MY LORD,—Though I am so unfortunate as to think that I at present have but a very small share of your Lordship's good opinion as a servant of the Crown, yet may I venture to take the liberty of mentioning to your Lordship the truly unfortunate situation of one whose uniformly good conduct and deportment both as a subject & servant of the Crown in North America has never yet that I have ever heard been called in question. I mean Captain Phillips late commander of Castle William in Boston harbour. This worthy honest gentleman with his family (by the late alteration in the command of that Garrison) is left entirely destitute of every kind of support; my testimony of his zeal & fidelity in the public service (as sentiments at present prevail with your Lordship) I cannot suppose would have much weight in his favor; hereafter, both men & things *may* appear to your Lordship in different colours; in the mean time, will you suffer me to refer your Lordship for the character of this unfortunate man, to the two Governors, M^r Pownall & M^r Bernard, by whom he was there appointed, and under whom he faithfully served. Should their suffrages be in his favor, which I cannot doubt, I trust in your Lordship's candor and humanity that you will not suffer so honest, so valuable, a man to

* Afterwards, Sir John Temple, Bart. He was the son-in-law of Governor Bowdoin. — Eds.

pine away in obscurity & indigence at a time of life too late to engage in any new employment.

With sentiments of deference, respect, and obedience, I have the honor to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithfull, and most humble servant,

J. TEMPLE.

Cockspur St., Pall Mall,
28 Feb. 1772.

The Right Honorable
The Earl of Hillsborough.

John Temple to John Pownall.

DEAR SIR,—As it may have escaped your memory, through a multiplicity of business, will you give me leave to remind you of Capt. Phillips's situation at Boston. That unfortunate man's case is so truly hard & distressing that I cannot help feeling for him, and I was happy to find you in the same sentiments. It is in Lord Hillsborough's power, by a word speaking, to cause him to be appointed *Fort Major* of the very Garrison he once commanded, (till something else offers). The office of *Fort Major* is a separate business from the Command, no way interfering with the military establishment, and is an office, that I apprehend, generally exists in all his Majesty's Forts & Garrisons both at home & abroad. I know your humanity for a worthy, though an unfortunate man,—that you will excuse my thus mentioning his case again, and that you will believe me to be with great truth & esteem, my dear sir,

Your most obed^t & most hble. servant,

J. TEMPLE.

LEICESTER SQUARE,
2^d August, 1772.

Copy to JOHN POWNALL, Esq^r
under Sec^y of state for America.

John Pownall to John Temple.

TUESDAY, Aug. 4th 1772.

DEAR SIR,—I have been indefatigable in the cause of Capt. Phillips, and have the pleasure to tell you that an order will be sent by this packet to Gen^l Gage to appoint him *Fort Major* of Castle William with an allowance of 100^{lb} per an. I am with the greatest truth & esteem, Dear Sir,

Your most obed^t and most faithful humble serv^t

J. POWNALL.

There is a turtle dress'd at the S^t Albans Tavern tomorrow, where I think you will meet some of your acquaintance, & none that will not wish it.

John Temple to James Bowdoin.

DEAR SIR,—The inclosed letter from M^r Sec^y Pownall will shew you that I may wish Major Phillips joy of being appointed *Fort Major* of Castle William; the accounts I had of his dejected state

affected me, & though the appointment is not so much as I wish'd for, or he merited, yet I think myself fortunate in having succeeded thus far; he will, from this appointment be a proper candidate, if any alteration shou'd happen in the Command of Castle William, and he is really lucky in getting this, for as he had no friends here, he was forgot & quite out of sight. I do not find that either Hutchinson or Bernard, (whatever they may have pretended to him) has ever, even recommended him to Lord Hillsborough's favor, and my success is owing to particular circumstances. Lord H. wishes me to think well of him & rather courts me. I am coy & at a distance, & ask no favors from him. My letter to him, of which the inclosed is copy, he says affected him. He sent me word that he would do any thing to oblige me. I reply'd, I ask'd no favor, it was only justice I ask'd for a worthy ill treated man, — I have never made him but one visit which he has much complain'd of to those who he knew would tell me of it; all things considered it must be joy to Cap^t. Phillips, half a loaf in an *honorary* way is better than nothing.

I will still use my endeavours that his commission shall be antedated the day the Castle was given up; the office must be a place of great ease, & perhaps the emoluments he formerly had may be tack'd to it. Upon the whole I have done all that was in my power & more than I expected, & I hope it will please him; my best compliments to him & to his brothers Winthrop, & believe me to be

DE Sir, Your most obed^t & most hble. servant,

J. TEMPLE.

LONDⁿ: 4 Aug: 1772.

John Temple to John Pownall.

DEAR SIR, — I was made happy in the information that you have succeeded in the thing I mentioned for Capt. Phillips, and heartily wish the stipend had been larger, as he has nothing else to depend upon, his old employment yielded him more than 200 £ a year, which he has been accustomed to live up to. Your kindness may yet lead you to cause his allowance to commence from the time the castle was deliver'd up to the kings troops, which would be an alleviation.

There are some little perquisites attending the command of that Garrison, for Let-passes &c. to the shipping, which used to go to the L^t Governor when he had nothing from the Crown; perhaps they might be 20 or thirty Guineas a Year; but *now*, that he has an allowance from the Crown, it is really beneath a L^t Governor to take them! A Line from you, or from Lord Hillsborough to the Governor, signifying the propriety of Capt. Phillips's retaining those little fees to himself would make the living more comfortable.

I am exceeding sorry that I happen to be engaged to day, it would have afforded me real pleasure to have met you at dinner, for I am with unfeigned respect & esteem DE Sir

Your most obedient & most hble servant,

J. TEMPLE.

LEICESTER SQUARE, 5 August, 1772.

JOHN POWNALL, Esq^r, under Sec^y of State for America.

John Temple to James Bowdoin.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you a few lines in an hurry yesterday and inclosed Mr Pownall's letter &c. concerning Cap^t Phillips appointment to be *Fort Major* of Castle W^m and this day I wrote Pownall the enclosed letter. I've not yet had an answer, but I hope the thing will be made better than the mere 100 £ a year; however I am heartily glad he has got that. That most infamous of all villians, Hutchinson, will be disappointed at it, whose mallace & revenge (under a cloake of religion) is equal to that of the Devil; that he is so at present I am not at all sorry; that he may punish & deceive the time-serving Bostonians who are so like himself. I have made particular inquiry whether Hutchinson or Bernard ever represented the hardship of Cap^t Phillips's case, but neither of them ever did, nor ever wish'd that any provision should be made for him.

I have not time to write to Dr Chauncey by this opportunity but will be obliged to you to tell him that Hutchinson was directed more than 6 months ago to get the Assembly back to Boston with as good a grace as he could, and he, in order to shew the minister what address & influence he had, strove to get them to request their removal for *conveniency*; in short by endeavouring to get them back with too much grace he overshot the mark, & has got them back without any at all.

Those that were once the friends of America (for they have none now) are sorry that Lord Hill-borough is likely to be dismiss'd, thinking him the fittest man (as things have got the length they have) to keep the Americans noses to, as long as they are to be kept. I beg your pardon, I have insensably run into a subject that I never intended to entertain you with.

Grenville is finely recover'd from the small pox, he is just return'd with us from the Tower where we have been to see the wild beasts.

I am very respectfully, Dear Sir,

Your most obed^t hble. servant,

J. TEMPLE.

LONDON, 5 Aug. 72.

If Major Phillips gets his old apartments at the Castle with the perquisites & his 100 £ a year, I should think he might make it do very well. But if he has not the apart^{ms} I would advise him to take at rent a good farm or one of the islands in the neighborhood, on which he might live handsomely, & his £100 a year will pay the rent.

(Directed on outside)

The Honorable

JAMES BOWDOIN, Esq.

In Boston,

N. England.

By Capt. ADAMS.

John Temple to James Bowdoin.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you two Letters this week by Mr Stewart, concerning Cap^t Phillips's appointment to be *Fort Major* of Castle William. I now have the pleasure to inform you that I have got his

allowance of £100 a year *free of all deductions* to commence from the day he ceased having the command of Castle William. I assure you I consider it as one of the most fortunate events my having got this affair concluded in the manner it now stands, & it must make Major Phillips easy & I should think happy. I this morning see L^d Hillsborough's letter to General Gage by the King's order authorizing the General to make the aforesaid appointment, & the pay to be upon the Military Contingent list, as good a fund as possible, much better than the American Revenue fund. My success in this business is entirely owing to some particular circumstances, causing a desire to oblige me, circumstances that I need not *at present* explain. I shall still try to get Major Phillips the emoluments of the Castle. A new Colony I believe will be established upon the Ohio, & Rhode Island perhaps loose their Charter. Changes in Administration are talk'd of, but none yet taken place; your town born child may possibly see (& soon) that he gain'd his short-lived idol at too great a price.

I am sincerely yours,

LONDON, Saturday Night,
9 Aug^r 1772.

On motion of Mr. E. QUINCY, it was

Voted, That a new Ballot Box be procured for the use of the Society.

Mr. QUINCY presented a copy of a book by a noted enthusiast, Richard Brothers, entitled, "A Revealed Knowledge of the Prophecies and Times," London, 1794.

Mr. FROTHINGHAM asked if any member present had ever seen a copy of the Declaration of Independence as originally issued on a Broadside by Congress. A copy was originally sent to every State, but that addressed to Massachusetts had been abstracted. No one responded to his inquiry.

MARCH MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at 11 o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

The records of the last meeting were read.

The Librarian read his monthly list of donors to the Library.

The Corresponding Secretary read letters of acceptance from the Hon. George T. Davis, and from Mr. Augustus Thorndike Perkins.

Mr. PAIGE exhibited for inspection a manuscript volume,* written by Rev. John Davenport, B.D., containing "Quæstiones in sacrâ Theologiâ discutiendæ Oxonij, Maij die 18 Año 1625^{to} respondente me Johanne Davenportio gradû Baccalaurij in sacrâ Theologiâ suscepturo,"—and "The true Copey of a Dispute betwixt Dr. Leighton, Dr. of Physicke, sometimes a preacher, and Joh Davenporte, Bachelor of Divinity, and pastor of St. Stephens in Coleman Streete, about Kneeling at the Sacram." He read Dr. Leighton's challenge and Mr. Davenport's reply.

The President stated that the plans for removing the treasures from the Society's building, preparatory to the improvements to be made in it, and for hiring other rooms temporarily, had been put in execution.

He said it would be necessary for the Society to pass certain votes in order to the carrying out of the agreement made with the City of Boston.

On motion of Judge THOMAS, it was unanimously—

Voted, That the President and Treasurer of this Society be authorized and directed to negotiate, execute, and deliver a note and mortgage on the real estate of said Society to an amount not exceeding sixty thousand dollars, on such terms as to time of payment and interest as the said President and Treasurer shall think proper.

On motion of Professor WASHBURN, it was unanimously—

Voted, That the Treasurer of the Society be authorized to sign, execute, and cause to be recorded a proper deed or instrument for relinquishing or rescinding the Declaration of Trust made by the Society and recorded in the Suffolk Records, lib. 827, fol. 63, and to make such further declaration of trust upon other property of the Society as may be proper to secure the safe investment of the fund now secured by said Declaration of Trust first above-mentioned; and to sign and execute the same, and cause the same to be recorded if judged proper.

The following resolution was also unanimously adopted:—

Whereas the Massachusetts Historical Society did on the twelfth day of October, 1871, clothe a committee with full powers, to make alterations and improvements in their Building on Tremont Street, so as to render it fire proof; and also,

* Formerly in the Library of Rev. Abiel Holmes, D.D., and now the property of William A. Saunders, Esq., of Cambridge. Mr. Davenport was subsequently pastor at New Haven and at Boston. Dr. Alexander Leighton was father of Archbishop Leighton.

on the 9th of February preceding, with powers to enter into engagements with the authorities of the City of Boston for the use of a part of the Building for city and county purposes: and *whereas* the said committee have leased the two lower stories and a part of the basement to the City of Boston for fifteen years, at an annual rent of nine thousand dollars, payable quarterly, and the taxes; therefore—

Resolved, That the Society approve and confirm the action of their committee as to the lease above-named, and as to the contemplated alterations and improvements in their building, according to the plans and specifications of Messrs. Ryder & Harris, architects, which have been accepted by said committee.

Mr. Edward D. Neill, late Consul at Dublin, and M. d'Avezac, Membre de l'Institut, Paris, were elected Corresponding Members.

An application from Mr. John Ward Dean, for leave to take copies of portraits of early Puritan ministers in the Society's Cabinet, was granted.

A letter from our associate, Mr. QUINT, was read, asking that leave to consult the MS. volume of the Rev. John Pike, of Dover, N.H., be allowed to the Hon. John Wentworth, of Chicago; and the request was granted.

Permission was given to Dr. Robbins to retain in his possession the MS. Diary of Increase Mather while the Society's Building was undergoing reconstruction.

The same privilege was granted to Mr. Edward N. Perkins, as regards the MS. volume relating to San Domingo, by the late S. G. Perkins, Esq.

The President was authorized to take charge of the MS. volumes of Governor Winthrop's History.

Leave to consult the Williams MSS. was granted to the Hon. George Sheldon, the volume to be consulted at the Athenæum where it will be deposited.

The President read the following letter from the Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull:—

HARTFORD, Feb. 27, 1872.

DEAR MR. WINTHROP,—I never learned till to-day, how the mistake occurred in the "John Haynes" portrait.* Mr. George F. Wright, the artist, who painted the portraits of the governors of Connecticut for the Senate Chamber, copied that of Fitz John

* A portrait of Fitz John Winthrop, lettered "Gov. John Haynes," was published in the first volume of Charles W. Elliott's "New England History," New York, 1887. The error was corrected in a later issue of the work.—Eds.

Winthrop from the original in New York. After Mr. Wright had gone from Connecticut, the portraits remained for some time unframed. When they were hung and labelled, the name of Haynes instead of Winthrop — by whose fault I do not know — was placed on the frame of this portrait, where, however, it did not long remain. Mr. Elliott found it there, and was not much to be blamed for his mistake. . . .

I intended to communicate, before this, to your Historical Society the results of a fortnight's study of the Dukes County records. Part of my last summer's vacation was passed at Edgartown on the Vineyard, where I copied from the Land Records some twelve or fourteen pages of Indian deeds, covenants, &c., recorded (by Thomas and Matthew Mayhew) between 1680 and 1702, in the Vineyard dialect. I knew that this dialect differed somewhat from that of the mainland, but I had not before had the opportunity of comparing the two. The instruments recorded appear to have been *drawn* by Indians, and the recorders — who understood the language well — followed the originals literally, so that it is not very easy to make *good Indian* of the record. I have been so busy this winter that I could not find time to write out translations of any of these instruments. As soon as I can do so, I will send you a specimen. Some English words transferred to the Indian — and conformed to Indian grammar — look curiously in the records. They substituted *n* for *r* (which they could not pronounce), and wrote "*akinnew*" for "acres," "*noddoo*" for "rods," and in one place two quarts of "*nummoo*" are mentioned as a consideration.

Very respectfully and truly yours,

J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Brookline, Mass.

Mr. WATERSTON exhibited a manuscript letter of Sir Philip Francis, which he thought confirmed the position recently taken by Mr. Chabot and Mr. Twistleton, in their book on "The handwriting of Junius"; viz., that Francis must be regarded as Junius.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual Meeting was held on Thursday, April 11th, at 11 o'clock, A.M., at the room of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in the Athenæum Building, Beacon Street; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read by the Recording Secretary.

The Librarian read his monthly list of donors to the Library.

The President spoke of the work which had been done by the different committees, in removing the treasures of the Society (its books, pictures, &c.) to safe depositories, preparatory to the restoration of the Society's Building, and of the progress which had been made in preparing the mortgage and lease of the Building agreeably to the statement laid before the Society at the last meeting. He said that the day previously himself and the Treasurer had signed the leases to the City of Boston.

He also spoke of a small volume of *Epitaphs of "Distinguished and Noted Characters in the Cemeteries and Churches of Saint Pancras, Middlesex,"* England, which he had received from the editor, Mr. Frederick Teague Cansick; London, 1872.

He also read a letter from Count de Circourt in which mention was made of Mr. Ticknor. The Count also spoke of the Prospectus of the "*Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis*," sent to the President some time ago, and expressed the hope that subscriptions had been obtained for the work. The President said that the Astor Library in New York, the Peabody Institute in Baltimore, and the Boston Public Library in Boston, had each subscribed for a copy of the work; and he hoped that other institutions or individuals might be induced to add their names.

A manuscript volume, being an account of Commencement exercises at Harvard College, from 1784 to 1864, inclusive, in the handwriting of the late Dr. Joseph Palmer, was presented by his widow, and the grateful acknowledgments of the Society ordered.

The President now said that the proceedings of the annual meeting would be entered upon.

The Annual Reports of the Standing Committee, the Librarian, the Cabinet-keeper, and the Treasurer, were severally presented, and accepted.

Mr. MASON testified to the correctness of the Treasurer's account on behalf of the Finance Committee.

Report of the Standing Committee.

The Standing Committee are happy in being able to inform the Society that the state of their financial matters is more hopeful than it was a year ago. They trust that a way is now opened out of the embarrassments which have given the Committee and the Society so much anxiety since the last Annual Meeting.

The expiration of the lease of the Savings Bank, and the impossibility of making any arrangement for the profitable oc-

cupation of the lower floor of our Building, deprived us of a very material part of our available income. This has compelled us to resort to loans for current expenses; the particulars concerning which, together with all others relating to our finances, will be stated by the Treasurer in his Report. The Committee also felt obliged to dispense with the services of the Assistant Librarian, Mr. F. H. Hedge, Jr., as a part of a just and necessary economy. His duties, however, have been very satisfactorily performed by Mr. George Arnold, whose fidelity and industry in the discharge of the additional services which thus fell upon him have merited our approbation.

The arrangement with the city authorities, of which the Society has been already advised, we may hope will in time put our money matters on a satisfactory footing. We are to furnish a fire-proof building, of which the city is to take a lease of the first two floors for fifteen years at a rent of nine thousand dollars, free of tax. We shall thus secure a fire-proof depository for our library and collections, and be relieved from the anxiety for their safety, inseparable from their late comparatively exposed position. The rent, together with the assessments, we expect will provide, with economy, for our necessary current expenses, besides paying the interest on the mortgage necessary to raise the funds for the cost of the new building, and which we hope to be able to extinguish gradually by a sinking fund. The Society will remember, however, that they will enter upon this new state of things burdened with a considerable floating debt, which we trust may be paid through the special liberality of members of the Society, so that we can begin our new life with no other incumbrance than the mortgage. The arrangement with the city was negotiated by a committee of the Society, who have given to it their experience in affairs and much of their time. We are sure that the Society will most gratefully appreciate these important services.

The Boston Athenæum has kindly consented to take charge of our books, portraits, and other collections, which have been carefully removed and safely stored in that building.

For the condition of the Library, and the additions that have been made to it, we refer the Society to the Report of the Librarian. We hope to be restored to our Rooms by the next New Year's day, and in the mean time we have hired convenient rooms on the opposite side of Tremont Street, No. 41, for the holding of our monthly meetings and the transaction of our ordinary business.

The expediency of applying to the Legislature for an alter-

ation in our Constitution, allowing an increase in the number of our Resident Members, has been the subject of consideration and discussion. The committee, to whom the subject was referred in a former year, have given the subject their attention, but think it best to defer their report for the present. It is a matter on which a wide difference of opinion probably exists; and no action should be taken upon it, except after the fullest deliberation. It will be well therefore for the members to consider the subject in its various lights, so as to be prepared for an intelligent decision, should it come up at a future time for action.

On the 15th of August the Society held a meeting of especial interest, it being the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Sir Walter Scott, whom we had the honor to count among our Honorary Members. As a very full and accurate report appears in the published "Proceedings," it is unnecessary to give any account here of what was said and done. We believe that few of the many meetings held that day in memory of the Magician of the North surpassed our own in the fitness of the words spoken or in the interest of the personal memorials — among them two original portraits, besides the Chantry bust — by which they were illustrated.

The controversy which has existed between the Commonwealth and the Society touching the ownership of the Hutchinson Papers is in a fair way to a satisfactory settlement. By mutual agreement, Professor Henry Adams, of Harvard University, has been appointed umpire to decide the question which both parties had agreed to submit, according to the Report of our Committee to the Society in June last.

We are happy to be able to state that the Society has lost no Resident Member by death during the past year, — an extraordinary felicity, considering our membership of one hundred, of whom a majority are past the middle term of life, while no small proportion have entered into the period of old age. We trust that our successors may be able to present to you as white a page a twelvemonth hence. Of our Corresponding and Honorary Members, we have to record the death of three. The four vacancies which existed at the beginning of the current year in our Resident Membership have been filled. At this moment, so far as our knowledge extends, the constitutional limit of our Resident Membership has been reached; and our list contains the precise number of one hundred names.

All which is respectfully submitted by the Standing Committee.

EDMUND QUINCY, *Chairman.*

Report of the Librarian.

The Librarian has the honor to report the following accessions to the Library during the past year : —

Books	494
Pamphlets	2,007
Bound volumes of newspapers	54
Maps	30
Plans	4
Broadsides	244
Volumes of Manuscripts	4
Manuscripts	476
	<u>3,313</u>

Of the books added, 426 have been given, 66 have been procured by exchange, and 2 bought. Of the pamphlets added, 1,924 have been gifts and 83 exchanges. Of the Society's publications, 36 volumes have been exchanged for other works, and 8 volumes have been received by exchange. It is reckoned that there are now in the Library, including the Dowse collection and the files of bound newspapers and manuscripts, 20,844 volumes. The number of pamphlets is nearly 36,000.

Mr. Lawrence has continued his gifts, having added, since the last annual meeting, 42 volumes and 83 pamphlets, relating principally to the Great Rebellion. Mr. Whitmore and Mr. Denny have also given valuable books.

Respectfully submitted.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, *Librarian.*

APRIL 11, 1872.

Report of the Cabinet-keeper.

The Cabinet-keeper reports that during the past year gifts to the Cabinet have been received from sixteen different persons, four of whom are members of the Society; and that nine engravings have been added to it by exchange.

Among the gifts most worthy of mention are a painting representing the "Old Feather Store" at the corner of North and Union Streets, Boston, from Mr. Whitmore; a bust in plaster of the late William Jenks, D.D., from his grandson, Rev. Henry F. Jenks, and one of the late Judge John Davis, from Rev. William C. Gannett; several leaves from an oak which grew from an acorn taken from a tree overshadowing

the tomb of Washington, and given to the Emperor Nicholas, of Russia, by Mr. George Sumner, — the gift of Admiral Possiet of the Russian Navy; a framed sketch of Boston made by Governor Thomas Pownall, given by Mrs. Samuel B. Barrell; a portion of the casing of a window in the north-easterly corner of the church in Brattle Street, bearing the king's arrow and the name of a British soldier, "C. Phillips," rudely carved during the occupation of the church by British troops in the Revolution, — the gift of Cyrus Wakefield, Esq., of Wakefield; and a punch-bowl, still serviceable, formerly owned by Peter Edes, of Boston, in which punch was made for members of the tea-party on the night of the destruction of the tea in Boston Harbor in 1773.

The Cabinet-keeper forbears to comment on the small number of members who have thought proper during the past year to make the Society's Cabinet the depository of historical relics or curiosities, as the inadequate accommodation necessarily afforded of late for such gifts, during the unsettled state of the Society's plans, would seem to be reason enough for any lack of contributions; but he ventures to express the hope, and, without presumption, the expectation, that, on the completion of the changes in the Society's building, and perhaps in anticipation thereof, members will make a special effort to bring into the Cabinet large additions to its treasures.

Respectfully submitted.

HENRY G. DENNY, *Cabinet-keeper.*

Boston, April 11, 1872.

Report of the Treasurer.

The Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society presents the Annual Report for the year ending April 1, 1872:—

Cash on hand April 1, 1871	\$1,133.94
Received from all sources to April 1, 1872	8,386.87
	<u>\$9,520.81</u>
Cash paid during the year	\$8,982.82
Cash in hand April 1, 1872	587.49
	<u>\$9,520.81</u>

The following statements show specifically the financial condition of the Society:—

GENERAL ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL, 1872.

DEBITS.	
Balance from account of 1871	\$1,848.91
Frederick H. Hedge, Jr., salary	900.00
George Arnold, salary	999.96
Incidental expenses	350.90
City of Boston, Tax of 1871	720.70
Betterment	200.00
Printing	129.53
Repairs	30.64
Coal	34.75
Books	18.00
Appleton Fund	732.18
Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	302.89
Peabody Fund	1,113.75
Dowse Fund	600.00
Balance	862.66
	<u>\$8,844.87</u>

CREDITS.	
Suffolk Savings Institution, rent	\$875.00
Coupons, Quincy & Palmyra Railroad	80.00
" Hannibal & St. Joseph "	80.00
Assessments and Subscriptions	1,129.00
Admissions	40.00
Sales of Society's Publications	535.65
Sundries	3.25
George Arnold, on note	199.93
" interest	23.12
Balance on converting Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad note into a bond	6.67
To the debit of the Dowse Fund, proportion of salaries and care of rooms	458.50
Notes payable, borrowed of Merchants Bank	4,300.00
Received on Coupons of \$20,000 of Peabody Fund	1,113.75
	<u>\$8,844.87</u>

THE APPLETON FUND.

This fund consisted of ten thousand dollars, presented to the Society, Nov. 18, 1854, by the executors of the will of the late Samuel Appleton, on the condition that its income be applied to the purchase, preservation, and publication of historical material. It was received from the executors in ten shares of manufacturing stocks. These stocks were sold in February and March, 1863; and the net proceeds, amounting to twelve thousand two hundred and three dollars, were invested in the real estate of the Society, according to the Declaration of Trust on file, and recorded in the Register of Deeds' office, book 827, p. 63. Volumes three to ten inclusive, of the Fourth Series of the Society's Collections, and the first volume of the Fifth Series, were printed from the income

of this fund; and the strictly historical portions of the volumes of the Proceedings of the Society for 1862-63, and for 1864-65.

Account ending April, 1872.

DEBITS.

Printing balance of Vol. IX., 4th series Collections, viz.:	
John Wilson & Son, printing	\$690.82
T. Y. Crowell, binding	94.30
	<u>\$785.12</u>
Printing Vol. X., 4th series Collections, viz.:	
John Wilson & Son, printing, &c.	\$1,180.09
T. Y. Crowell, binding	86.55
C. A. Cutter, Index of ten vols.	596.61
	<u>1,863.25</u>
Printing, Vol. I., 5th series Collections, viz.:	
John Wilson & Son, printing	\$1,751.04
W. H. Forbes & Co., engraving	298.00
C. A. Cutter, Index	60.40
T. Y. Crowell, binding	82.63
	<u>2,192.07</u>
	<u>\$4,840.44</u>

CREDITS.

Balance last year	\$598.98
One year's interest of the Fund	732.18
Balance advanced to the Fund	3,509.28
	<u>\$4,840.44</u>

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL TRUST-FUND.

This fund was originally two thousand dollars, presented to the Society by Hon. David Sears, by an instrument dated Oct. 15, 1855, and accepted Nov. 8, 1855. This provides that the income is to be added to the principal annually between July and January, to form a new investment; but in any year before such investment the Society may, by vote, expend the income for such purposes as may be required; or it may, by vote, expend the accumulation of the income, in whole or in part, towards the purchase or improvement of the premises belonging to the Society; "or in the purchase of works of art or desirable objects": provided, that in no case whatever "the original trust-sum be encroached upon or diminished." By vote of the Society, the sum of five hundred dollars was paid July 5, 1859, from the accumulation, in aid of paying the debt incurred by the purchase of the estate which the Society owns. No other expenditure has been made from the accumulations of this fund. On the 26th of December, 1866, the principal was increased by a subscription by Hon. David Sears, and

Nathaniel Thayer, Esq., each of five hundred dollars, which makes the principal of the fund three thousand dollars, standing on the Ledger as an obligation of the Society. The accumulation of income to Sept. 1, 1871, was \$2,048.17, making the amount on which to cast the interest from Sept. 1, 1870, \$5,048.17.

Account ending Sept. 1, 1871.

DEBITS.	
Balance to new account	\$2,351.06
	<u>\$2,351.06</u>
CREDITS.	
Balance of old account	\$2,048.17
Interest one year on \$4,762.43, to Sept. 1, 1871	302.89
	<u>\$2,351.06</u>

THE PEABODY FUND.

This fund was presented to the Society by George Peabody, in a letter dated Jan. 1, 1867, enclosing an order for \$20,000 in 10-40 Coupon Bonds, and providing that they or their proceeds shall be held by the Society as a "permanent trust-fund, of which the income shall be appropriated to the publication and illustration of their Proceedings and Memoirs, and the preservation of their Historical Portraits." This trust was accepted by a vote of the Society, Jan. 10, 1867. The Coupon Bonds have been exchanged for two United States 10-40 Bonds of \$10,000 each, registered in the name of the Society, dated Jan. 12, 1867, and numbered 9,904 and 9,905, with the interest payable in Boston.

The Proceedings for 1866-67, 1867-69, and 1869-70, were printed from the income of this fund. Another volume is passing through the press.

Account to April, 1872.

DEBITS.	
Paid John Wilson & Son, printing Proceedings	\$237.41
T. Y. Crowell, binding "	246.66
Balance to new account	82.33
	<u>\$88.05</u>
	<u>\$1,449.45</u>
CREDITS.	
Balance of old account	\$335.70
Proceeds of coupons of September	563.75
" " March	550.00
	<u>\$1,449.45</u>

THE DOWSE FUND.

This fund, of ten thousand dollars, was presented to the Society, April, 1857, by the executors of the will of the late Thomas Dowse; and it was invested in a note signed by Edward Hyde and O. W. Watris, secured by mortgage on real estate. This note was paid on the 7th of April, 1863. The whole fund was then invested in the real estate of the Society, and it stands on the Ledger as an obligation of the Society. The income of this fund is included in the rent received from the Suffolk Savings Bank, and the expenditure is included in salaries paid to the Assistant Librarian and to Mr. Arnold, who are employed in the care of the Dowse Library. The account on the ledger the last year is as follows:—

Account to April, 1872.

DEBITS.

William H. Forbes, printing Library Cards	\$141.50
Services of the Assistant Librarian and care of the Room	458.50
	<hr/>
	\$600.00

CREDITS.

By one year's interest on \$10,000	\$600.00
	<hr/>
	\$600.00

Pursuant to a vote of the Society, a portion of the basement, and the entire first and second stories of its Building, with the exception of the stairway enclosed, has been leased to the City of Boston for the term of fifteen years at the rate of nine thousand dollars yearly, in quarterly payments; and the Society have agreed to make such alterations as will render the Building fire-proof. The rent is to commence when the Rooms are ready for occupancy.

In carrying out this agreement, the Building Committee have contracted with the following parties: with Thomas H. Whidden to do the mason-work for \$43,975; and with Morton & Chesley to do the carpenter-work for \$10,736: total, \$54,711. The work to be executed according to the plans of Ryder & Harris, architects. To this are to be added the cost of heating apparatus, the architects' charges, and the expense of removing the Library.

To provide for the payment of the alterations, the Society have authorized a loan not exceeding \$60,000.

The General Library consists of 16,194 volumes and 36,000 pamphlets, and the Dowse Library of 4,650 volumes.

The Society's publications consist of 41 volumes of Collections, 9 volumes of Proceedings, 2 volumes of Catalogues, and a volume of Lectures. About seven thousand volumes are for sale. They own the copyright and plates of the "Life of John Quincy Adams." I have no returns of sales of the latter the past year.

To meet the drafts on the Treasury, I borrowed of the Merchants Bank on the two Bonds owned by the Society \$1,800; and \$2,500 on a note signed by me as Treasurer and indorsed by the President.

The income of the Society consists of an annual assessment on each Resident Member of seven dollars; the admission-fee of ten dollars; the rent of the Society's building; the sales of the publications of the Society; the sales of the "Life of John Quincy Adams"; the interest on the Peabody Fund and on two bonds of \$1,000 each.

The liberality of the members in subscribing sums from fifty dollars down, in lieu of the annual subscription, has enabled me to meet a portion of the demands on the Treasury.

Respectfully submitted.

RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, *Treasurer.*

Report of the Auditing Committee.

The undersigned who were appointed a committee to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the year ending April 1, 1872, have compared the vouchers with the entries and find them correct, and the balances on the ledger as follows:—

DEBITS.	
Appleton Fund	\$3,509.28
Cash	587.49
	<u>\$4,096.77</u>
CREDITS.	
Massachusetts Historical Fund	\$2,351.06
Peabody Fund	883.05
General Account	862.66
	<u>\$4,096.77</u>

ROBERT M. MASON, *for the Committee.*

Boston, April 10, 1872.

Mr. LINCOLN, from the Nominating Committee, reported the following list of officers for the ensuing year, which was unanimously adopted by the Society : —

President.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, LL.D. BOSTON.

Vice-Presidents.

HON. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D. BOSTON.

HON. EMORY WASHBURN, LL.D. CAMBRIDGE.

Recording Secretary.

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D. CAMBRIDGE.

Corresponding Secretary.

REV. CHANDLER ROBBINS, D.D. BOSTON.

Treasurer.

HON. RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, A.M. CHARLESTOWN.

Librarian.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D. BOSTON.

Cabinet-keeper.

HENRY G. DENNY, A.M. BOSTON.

Standing Committee.

EDMUND QUINCY, A.M. DEDHAM.

HON. GEORGE S. HILLARD, LL.D. BOSTON.

REV. ROBERT C. WATERSTON, A.M. BOSTON.

HON. NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF, M.D. BOSTON.

AUGUSTUS T. PERKINS, LL.B. BOSTON.

Mr. SMITH offered the following vote, which was unanimously adopted : —

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Theodore Lyman, Esq., the Rev. George Punchard, and W. H. Whitmore, Esq., the retiring members of the Standing Committee, for their valuable services.

Full power was given to the Standing Committee to dispense with meetings of the Society, or change the time of any meeting during the summer months, or until the reconstruction of our building is completed.

The By-Laws of the Society were referred to the Standing Committee to consider and report upon any alterations which they may think desirable to be made in them.

Dr. GREEN made a report of the doings of the Committee on Moving the Library, which was accepted : —

Report of the Committee on Moving.

The Committee on Moving the Library have the honor to report that it has been successfully performed, at an expense of \$599.62. So far as known, it has been done without loss or damage. The books, pictures, manuscripts, &c., have been carefully packed and placed in the Athenæum. The furniture and Library fixtures have been stored in a building on Cambridge Street, and insured against fire.

Respectfully submitted.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, *for the Committee.*

APRIL 11, 1872.

The President spoke of a letter recently received by the Recording Secretary from our associate, Mr. W. S. Appleton, now in Rome, but who expected to return home next summer.

The President then read the following letters which passed between Governors James Bowdoin and Samuel Adams during the years 1775 and 1780. In introducing them, as coming from his own family papers, he alluded to the fact that Bowdoin had been chosen, at the head of the Massachusetts members, as a Delegate to the Congress of Independence; and that his illness alone, which was alluded to in the first of these letters, had prevented him from attending it. He added that he had peculiar satisfaction in reading these letters in the hall of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, which had been so kindly opened for us, as Bowdoin was the first President of that Academy.

Samuel Adams to James Bowdoin.

PHILADELPHIA. NOV. 16. 1775.

SIR, — I embrace this opportunity of writing to you by your son, whose unexpected arrival from London the last week gave me much pleasure. He seems in a great degree to have recovered his health; & I dare say it will be still more satisfactory to you to find, that he is warmly attached to the Rights of his Country & of mankind. Give me leave to congratulate you, & also to express to you the joy I feel on another occasion; which is, that your own health is so far restored to you, as to enable you again, & at so important a crisis, to aid our Country with your council. For my own part, I had even buried you, though I had not forgot you. I thank God who had disappointed our fears; & it is my ardent prayer that your health may be perfectly restored & your eminent usefulness long continued.

We live, my Dear Sir, in an important age — an age in which we are called to struggle hard in support of the public Liberty. The con-

flict, I am satisfied, will the next spring be more severe than ever. The Petition of Congress has been treated with insolent contempt. I cannot conceive that there is any room to hope from the virtuous efforts of the people of Britain. They seem to be generally unprincipled and fitted for the yoke of arbitrary power. The opposition of the few is feeble and languid — while the Tyrant is flushed with expectations from his fleets & armies, & has, I am told, explicitly declared, that “Let the consequences be what they may, it is his *unalterable* determination, to *compel* the colonists to *absolute* obedience.”

The plan of the British Court, as I was well informed the last winter, was, to take possession of New York, make themselves masters of Hudson's River & the Lakes, cut off all communication between the Northern & Southern Colonies, & employ the Canadians upon whom they greatly relied, in distressing the frontiers of New England. Providence has smiled upon our northern expedition. Already St. Johns is reduced, & if we gain the possession of all Canada this winter, of which there is a fair prospect, their design, so far as it respects this part of their plan, will be totally frustrated.

I will not further trespass upon your time. If you can find leisure, a letter from you will exceedingly oblige me, for you may believe me when I assure you that I am with the greatest esteem —

Your Friend and very humble Servant,

S. A.

Hon. Mr. Bowdoin.

James Bowdoin to Samuel Adams.

Dec. 9. 1776.

SAM^l ADAMS Esq^r

Sir, I had the pleasure of receiving your kind epistle by my son & thank you for your congratulations on a supposed recovery of my health; but that blessing I fear is at a distance, having been extremely ill since Dr Franklin's departure from us. Though at present better, I do not expect to be able to attend to public business for some time. I rejoice your health enables you to continue your vigorous exertions in the righteous cause of our distressed country. I understand by my son that from the present disposition of ministry there is little room to hope for an accommodation, that they are raising recruits in all parts of the kingdom, & collecting its whole force to bring us to subjection the ensuing year. Our salvation under God depends upon a spirited exertion on our part, & therefore all delicacy in our hostilities ought to be laid aside, for such kind of delicacy, in case Administration succeeds, will not prevent nor alleviate the effects of their vengeance. We have already shewn too much of it, which instead of attributing it to the true cause — a desire on our part of a reconciliation & the keeping open a door for it — they have looked on as proceeding wholly from pusillanimity, which they expected would end, if rigorous measures were taken with us, in an abject submission. But when we consider the noble & determined spirit which actuates the Colonies, the union which so remarkably cements them together, & the

favor of divine Providence in these & other instances of its operation, we are encouraged to hope that American Liberty is established on too firm a basis to be destroyed, & that it will triumph over the most envenomed efforts for that purpose. The Independence of America will probably grow out of the present dispute. A willing dependence on Great Britain cannot easily be apprehended, as her injuries have been so many & grievous, & all confidence in her justice is lost: — to such a degree lost, that we should not know how to trust her, even if she were sincerely to offer equitable terms of accommodation. The people of Britain have greatly degenerated, & in particular have lost that love of their Country which used to distinguish them, & as it is impossible for one part of an Empire to be in a corrupt state without endangering the other, we, too, should in time lose; by a dependence on her, that glorious virtue which it is hoped characterizes the people of America; the consequence of which might be that Britain would finally subvert our liberties.

I perfectly agree with you, that we live in an important age; in which from the increased illumination of the human mind, we might have expected an enlargement of the Empire of Liberty; but luxury has taken so general a spread, has so far counteracted that illumination & destroyed the principle of virtue, that the ruling part of the nation, to support that luxury, have not disdained the ministerial bribe, but have in consideration of it bartered away their own & the national liberty, together with the liberty of America. This infamous bargain, so far as it refers to America, they expected would furnish them with a further & growing fund to serve the same vile purpose, & because she would not by acquiescing confirm it, they are endeavoring to bring upon her all the evils of a civil war; which, if successful on their part, will end in a forfeiture of our estates, liberty & lives, & prostrate all of them to the mercy of those, whose tender mercies we have found to be cruelty. Such important consequences, if any thing can, must animate every virtuous American to apply all his powers to prevent the dreadful catastrophe from which those consequences will infallibly flow. Individuals in their separate capacity can do but little. They look to that body, — I mean the Continental Congress, whose conduct most justly merits the highest applause, — they look to them as the actuating principle which gives vigour & regularity to the motions of the several parts of the complicated political machine; & they have the fullest confidence, that their most zealous endeavors will be exerted for its preservation, & for bringing to infamy & public justice the infatuated men who continue to labor so strenuously to destroy it.

I congratulate you on the success of the American arms; & hope it is a prelude to final success & victory. I beg you would present my best regards to D. Franklin, Mr. Lynch, Col.^o Harrison, & the Mass.^a Delegates; & be assured that I am with real Friendship & Esteem, Dear Sir,

Your Ob.^d Hum.^{ble} Servant,

(JAMES BOWDOIN.)

The Same to the Same.

BOSTON, July 31, 1780.

SAM^l ADAMS Esq^r at Phil^a

SIR, — I have rec^d your letter accompanying one from the honourable Mrs. Reed to Mrs. Bowdoin, whose answer is enclosed. Be so good as to send it to Mrs. Reed, and at the same time present my most respectful compliments to that patriotic lady.

I thank you for the list of the ships with which Adm^l Greaves arrived at New York. Those ships with 3 of 64 Guns, 1 of 50, 3 of 44 and several Frigates which were before at New York, making in y^e whole 16 or 17 sail have for 8 or 10 days past been cruising off of Newport: with a view, as was supposed, of attacking that place when joined by the troops under Gen^l Clinton. By letters we have receiv^d from Gen^l Heath and from y^e French General we are informed that ten thousand were embarking at New York for that purpose; and in consequence of their requisition the Council have ordered Godfrey's Brigade in y^e County of Bristol and Six Regiments of Militia from other Counties to march immediately to Newport, and also all the three months men, that had not marched, and all that had marched, if they had not gone beyond the County of Worcester, to go to y^e same place and there follow the orders of Gen^l Heath for their further proceeding. The R^o Isl^d post, I am told, reports that y^e Enemy were fortifying at y^e east end of Long Island, and were collecting together all the forage & cattle which are upon that Island: for what purpose is a matter of conjecture. I am in some concern for y^e second division of the French Fleet bound to Newport, lest it should fall into y^e hands of Enemy, whose ships display French colours. We have sent out 4 vessels to meet with that division, and sent letters of advise relative to y^e station of the Enemy's squadron. (J. B.)

*Samuel Adams to James Bowdoin.*PHIL^a Aug. 22, 1780.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have received your favor of the 31st of July & forwarded the letter inclosed to Mrs. Reed who resides in the country.

The Count de Rochambeau, in a letter to Congress, speaks very highly of the attention of the Government of Massachusetts, & of the appearance of the numerous Militia so seasonably forwarded when an attack was expected in Rhode Island. And the Minister of France, who on every occasion expresses his great regards for that state, mentioned the same thing to its Delegates in the most flattering terms. It is a pity that a Militia, always ready to turn out with a view of doing essential service, should be disappointed. They were so full of ardor that the Count was under a necessity of urging their return to their necessary affairs at home, with the promise of their being again called for, when Gen^l Washington should judge that the circumstances of affairs should require it. We are impatient for the arrival of the 2^d division of the French Squadron, which we are informed by letters from Boston was spoke with near a month ago by a vessel bound to

Salem. The season is advancing fast, & our troops must daily consume provision the bare transportation of which is an immense cost. I perceive that the General Assembly stands further prorogued to the 31st of this month. I am sorry that a state of our claim of territory in the New Hampshire Grant has not yet been forwarded to Congress; for although it is my wish as an individual that this uncomfortable dispute may subside till a more convenient season, yet I would not willingly be under the necessity of saying, when called upon after so long notice, that our state is not ready. It might have the appearance of a consciousness in ourselves, that our claim is not well founded.

Our new Constitution* is much approved of by many gentlemen here. I understand it is soon to be in force. I do most earnestly pray that Heaven may direct the people to the choice of a wise man for their Governor, & incline him to accept of the trust.

The post is just going, which obliges me to conclude.

I am with very great respect,

Your assured friend & Very hbl^l Serv^t

S. ADAMS.

Hon. Mr. BOWDOIN.

Mr. PERKINS called the attention of the members to the circumstance that an original portrait of General Warren by Copley, formerly the property of a grandson of the patriot, the late Mr. Alford, of Massachusetts, was now in the possession of Mr. Corcoran, the banker of Washington. He thought it might be purchased. He also read from a memorandum in his possession the prices originally charged by Copley for his portraits, — contrasting them with the prices which his works now command when offered for sale.

MAY MEETING, 1872.

A stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at 11 o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

The record of the previous meeting was read.

The Librarian read his monthly list of donors to the Library.

M. Jules Marcou, of Cambridge, presented to the Cabinet a number of interesting and valuable medals (being original proof impressions), including those of Lafayette, Paul Jones,

* The Constitution of Massachusetts is here alluded to — Bowdoin having been President of the Convention by which it was framed. — Eds.

and Anthony Wayne; for which the thanks of the Society were ordered.

The following Preamble and Resolution were unanimously adopted:—

Whereas this Society, at the stated meeting in March last, unanimously voted to confirm the action of their committee in agreeing to lease to the city of Boston the two lower stories and a part of the basement of their building, No. 30 Tremont Street, now in process of reconstruction, according to the plans drawn by Messrs. Ryder & Harris, architects; and whereas the President of the Society, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, and the Treasurer, the Hon. Richard Frothingham, have since signed, sealed, and delivered the leases to the city of Boston; therefore —

Resolved, That the Society do hereby ratify and confirm the action of their President and Treasurer in executing said leases on the part of the Society.

An application from the Hon. George Sheldon, for leave to copy from the volumes of MSS. entitled “Williams Papers,” was granted under the rules.

An application from Mr. G. E. Sintzenich, of Exeter, England, for leave to copy any portraits of Puritan or Nonconformist ministers in the Society’s gallery, was granted,—Mr. John Ward Dean, agreeably to the request of the applicant, to be notified of this vote.

Attention was called by the President to the oak-leaves presented to the Society by Admiral Possiet when visiting the rooms in December last, which had been arranged under glass, and framed.

The President read the following extracts from a letter of our Corresponding Member, Mr. Grigsby, of Virginia, addressed to himself:—

EDGEHILL, near Charlotte C. H., Virginia, April 29, 1872.

In the last serial of the Society, I read over again your address on the plans for regenerating your Hall, and your remarks on Scott, as well as those of your associates on the same topic; and I cannot but think that it was a very graceful occasion. But with all the admirable things uttered about Scott, none of you (pardon me before you read farther) struck the key-note of his character with the force which was proper to the theme. It is a clear letting down of supreme genius from its original and lofty sphere to speak of Dickens, or Bulwer, or D’Israeli, or Thackeray, in the same breath with Scott. *He* strikes the Colossus from the solid granite at a single stroke of his gigantic hand; while his followers frame very fair and very beautiful forms from ala-

baster and marble and other softer materials, and in the deliberate and delicate garniture of their work substitute beauty for sublimity and grace for grandeur. Scott is the unapproachable master of the dramatic novel, and has rescued History herself from the sleep of ages. To Scott we owe Macaulay, and the dramatic and genial flow of modern historic narrative.

I am disposed to think that Mr. Waterston, in his most interesting and most critical remarks, overlooked one important particular. Scott wrote very rapidly, and often very bad English; and his style bristled with Scotticisms. Now all these passed under the eye of James Balantyne, who sat in his study with dictionaries and authorities at his elbow; and having freely corrected the manuscript, copied the whole for the press. *The handwriting of Scott was never seen by the printer.* It would have revealed his secret at once. The corrections noted by Mr. W. were made *before* the manuscript left the hands of Scott. Byron instantly detected the authorship of "Waverley" from the Scotticisms which he had heard from the lips of Scott in common talk. The excellence of the Waverley Novels consists not in their style, which is often very bald, but in dramatic skill. No man but Scott could have written the scene quoted by Mr. Waterston, in which Elizabeth, Leicester, and Surry are the actors, or the interview between Jeanie Deans and Queen Caroline, and some of the scenes in "Ivanhoe" and "Quentin Durward."

A printed application for aid in restoring the Municipal Library of Strassburg was laid before the meeting, and was referred to the Standing Committee.

Ordered, That the Building Committee prepare a memorial to go under the corner of the front wall of the Society's building, now in course of construction.

JUNE MEETING, 1872.

A stated meeting was held on the 6th instant (instead of the 13th) by invitation of the President, at his house in Brookline.

The meeting was summoned at 4½ o'clock, P.M., and there was a large attendance.

After the Recording Secretary had read the record of the preceding meeting, and the Librarian had read the list of donors to the Library for the past month, President Winthrop spoke as follows:—

I am sure, gentlemen, that I shall be excused from any mere formal words of welcome on this occasion. While our Building is undergoing the process of reconstruction, the Society may fairly be considered as enjoying a vacation; and this meeting, certainly, has been convened rather for social than for business purposes.

In this view I have taken the liberty to invite a number of gentlemen, who are not among our members, to join us in the course of the afternoon. I was in hopes to have had the company of His Excellency the Governor, and of his predecessor, Governor Claflin, to both of whom I extended invitations. But their previous engagements, in other parts of the Commonwealth or of the country, have compelled them to excuse themselves. I hope still to welcome amongst us the President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the President of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society; Dr. Palfrey, the eminent historian of New England, and others who are interested in our pursuits. Meantime we are favored with the presence of several of our Corresponding Members,—Mr. B. R. Winthrop, of New York, M. Jules Marcou, one of the representatives of our founder Dr. Belknap, and Professor Greene, the author of the *Life* of his gallant and patriotic grandfather, General Nathanael Greene. I welcome them all, in your name, as well as in my own.

And now let me avail myself of this opportunity to fulfil the promise I made when the Society intrusted me with the safe-keeping of the manuscripts of Governor Winthrop's *Journal or History*, until our Cabinet should be again in a condition to receive them.

I promised to give an account of the time at which, and of the circumstances under which, these manuscripts came into

our possession and ownership; and for this purpose I proceed to cite the following passages from letters of my father, Thomas Lindall Winthrop, a former President of our Society, which I have copied from old Letter Books, mainly on business, in his own handwriting.

In a letter to his elder brother, the late Francis Bayard Winthrop, Esq., of New York, dated Boston, Oct. 21, 1802, he says:—

"I have lately been several times applied to for the manuscript copy of Governor Winthrop's Journal. The Historical Society here are desirous of having it deposited in their Library; but if this cannot be granted they would be much gratified to see it, and they are of the opinion that some of the blanks in the printed copy may be filled up. The members of this Society have in their possession a great number of manuscripts of equal age with the Journal. Of course the formation of the letters and mode of writing are similar. If you do not incline that the manuscript shall remain here, I will engage, being a member of the Society, that it shall be returned to you at the time you shall fix, and we shall be much obliged to you for any old pamphlets, sermons, &c., you will have the goodness to give us."

In a letter to the same, dated Boston, Jan. 23, 1803, he says:—

"The sermons and the manuscript in the hands of Mr. Trumbull will be extremely acceptable. By Mr. Adam Winthrop, who left town a few days since for New York, I wrote to our brother William. He will be a good opportunity by which to send them."

In a letter to the same, dated Boston, Aug. 8, 1803, he says:—

"I will endeavor to obtain from Dr. Belknap's heirs Governor Winthrop's Journal. It is important that it be compared with the printed copy, that the blanks in the latter may, if possible, be filled up. You promised me some time since some old sermons and pamphlets printed in New England. The older the better. Every piece of paper that can throw light upon the first settlement of this country ought to go into the hands of those who have leisure, ability, and inclination to make them useful."

In a letter to the same, dated Boston, Aug. 20, 1803, he says:—

"The manuscript Journals of Governor Winthrop are in the library of the Historical Society."

In a letter to the same, dated May 9, 1815, he says:—

"I send you by Mr. Parker the second volume of the second series of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in which volume you will find the thanks of the Society acknowledged for the books and pamphlets you presented through me."

In that volume, at p. 285, will accordingly be found an acknowledgment by Rev. Dr. Holmes of "A large trunk of books and pamphlets, chiefly of ancient date, among which are many valuable tracts concerning the early history of New England" from "Francis Bayard Winthrop, Esq., of New York, by his brother, Thomas L. Winthrop, Esq., of Boston."

In a letter to his sister, Mrs. Jane Stewart, of Newport, dated March 24, 1817, he says:—

"You may remember that Governor Trumbull not long before his death procured from our brother John the loan of the manuscript Journal of Governor Winthrop, which was afterwards printed. Within these few weeks past a manuscript has most fortunately been found amongst some old books deposited many years since in the Old South Meeting House. This manuscript contains the remainder of Governor Winthrop's Journal to a period within a few weeks of his death. The discovery of this Journal seemed to give infinite pleasure to the Historical Society, of which I am a member, and witnessed the expressions of satisfaction and delight manifested by my brother-members at this important discovery."

The result of all these extracts is, that the two first parts of the old manuscript Journal or History of Governor Winthrop came down in the family succession to my father's eldest brother, John, who died, unmarried, in 1780; that Governor Trumbull borrowed the manuscript from him, and "with the assistance of his Secretary (as the preface says) copied a considerable part of it," and that it was printed at Hartford in 1790.

The title-page of that first edition speaks of it as written by "the First Governor of Massachusetts," and the dedication entitles the author "The Founder of the Massachusetts Colony, and for many years the Father and Governor of that infant Settlement."

It further appears that the ownership had passed to Francis Bayard Winthrop, of New York, the next brother to John, and that it had been loaned to Dr. Belknap, our founder, and had not been returned at the time of his death in 1798.

It further appears that my father, with the authority of his brother Francis, reclaimed it from Dr. Belknap's heirs, and

that on the 20th of August, 1803, he announced to his brother "The manuscript Journals of Governor Winthrop are in the Library of the Historical Society."

The history of the third part of the Journal is sufficiently given in the extract from the last letter, dated in 1817. It belonged to the family, like the other parts, and had probably been loaned by one of them to Dr. Prince, who, like Governor Trumbull and Dr. Belknap, had not returned it at his death.

The publication of the whole by our late President, Mr. Savage, and the unhappy destruction of the second part by fire, before it had been thoroughly compared and corrected, are well remembered by us all.

I am unwilling to leave this subject without exhibiting here to-day two original papers in the old Governor's hand, which were unquestionably the original study and first draft of what are known in History as "The Conclusions," or "Reasons to be considered for justifieinge the undertakers of the intended Plantation in New England, & for incouraginge such whose hartes God shall move to joyne wth them in it." These papers were prepared in 1629. I have already printed in the first volume of "The Life and Letters of John Winthrop" the finished papers, as found among the Governor's manuscripts, in the careful handwriting of his son Forth.

A condensed and imperfect copy had long before been published in what are called "The Hutchinson Papers." And in the sixth volume of our Proceedings, for the years 1864-1865 (pp. 417-430), will be found two other copies, more or less different from each other; one of them from the papers of the great English patriot, Sir John Eliot, being sent to me by the Earl of St. Germans, his descendant; and the other from the papers of John White, of Dorchester, in Her Majesty's State Paper Office in London, procured for me by Mr. Sainsbury.

There are few things more interesting in regard to the old Massachusetts Colony than the fact established by the papers of Sir John Eliot (recently published by our valued foreign associate, John Forster, LL.D.), that the original undertakers, as they styled themselves, were so immediately associated with John Hampden and Sir John Eliot and others of the foremost and most famous friends of Civil Liberty in England.

Sir John Eliot had Winthrop's paper in the Tower with him, and transcribed it with his own hand, before he died as a Martyr to Free Speech in Parliament. And John Hampden, in a letter to Eliot, promised to transcribe it also (as he probably did), and return it safely to Eliot in the Tower.

The autograph draft of such papers may justly be counted among the "*Origines Sacræ*" of our Commonwealth.

I had a careful copy made of them by our lamented associate, Dr. Appleton, while he was our assistant Librarian, with all the erasures, interlineations, and marginal additions; and I shall leave it to Mr. Deane and the Publishing Committee to decide how far they are worth printing. In their hands I now leave them, presenting the copies to the Society.

[*"Conclusions" from the rough draft of Governor Winthrop.*]

1: It is concluded by all that the worke is bothe lawfull and honor^{ble}.

2: It must be advanced by suche instruments, as have gifts suteable to the action.

3: Everye one that is fitt hath not a minde to the worke, & no bonde of Conscience can be imposed vpon him, who hathe no desire to it.

4. The service of raysinge & vpholdinge a ptič Church is to be preferred before the betteringe some small pte of a Church allreadye established.

5. The members of that Church may be of better vse to their mother Church heere in tyme then those whō she shall keepe in her bosome. When the woman was persecuted by the dragon, & forced to flye into the wilderness, her man-child was taken vp into heaven, & there brought vp for future service, when she should returne after the storme. It was a good service to the Church of the Jewes, that Joseph & Marye forsooke them, that their Messiah might be preserved for them against tymes of better service.

6. The exercise of an office of lesse consequence for God & his Church, whereinto any is putt by an ordinary Callinge, may be lefte, vpon the like Callinge to another office of greater consequence, especē where there is no violatiō of the rule of Righteousnesse. & that there is suche difference betweene the supportinge of these plantatiō & the executiō of an ordinary place of magistracye in this lande, I referre to the iudgment of the best minrs who vnderstande bothe aright.

7. I can instance divers godly magistrats, who for private respects have forsaken the places where they have been longe settled to great vse & their chāges approved.

Particular Considerations.

1: It is come to that issue, as, in all probabilitye, the wellfare of the plantatiō depends vpon my assistance: for the maine pillars of it, beinge gentlemē of highe qualitey,

The opportunity of convertinge suche a pte of the world is to be preferred before the comfort of the life of some allreadye in the flaithe. More care for one lost sheepe—more care for a younger child—no portion, &c.

So religious a worke, enterprized by suche worthy servants of God, & the ende so holye, & of so large extent, for the good of the church, must be furthered according to the latitude of it, though with great inconvenience to many pties.

& eminent pts, bothe for wisdome & godlinesse, are determined to sitt still if I deserte them.

When a man is to wade through a deepe water, there is required tallnesse as well as courage, & if he finds it past his depth, & there open a gapp another waye, he may take it.

When God intendz a man to a worke he seits a flyas on his heart, so as tho' he be troubled this waye & that way, yet his Bias still drawshim to that side, & there he rests at last.

2. My meanes heere are so shortened (now my 3 eldest sonnes are come to age), as I shall not be able to continue in this place & imployment where I now am: & a souldier may wth honor quitt his grounde rather then be forced from it. & wth what comfort can I liue wth 7 or 8 servts in that place & condition, where for many yeares I have spent 3: or 400^l yearly & maintained a greater chardge? & if I should let passe this opportunity, that talent w^{ch} God hathe bestowed on me for publike service were like to be buried.

3. I haue a lawfull callinge, outwarde, from the Cheife of the plantatiō, approved by godly & juditious divines: & inwarde by the inclinatiō of mine owne heart to the worke: & there is in this the like mediate call from the kinge, w^{ch} was in the other.

4. My wife, and suche of my children as are come to yeares of discretiō, are voluntarily disposed to the same course.

5. In my youth I did seriously consecrate my life to the service of the Churche intendinge the ministry^e, but was diverted from that Course by the Counsell of some whose Judgment I did much reverence; but it hathe oftē troubled me since, so as I thinke I am the rather boūden to take the opportunitye for spendinge the small remainder of my tyme to the best service of the Churche w^{ch} I may.

6. W^{ch} way the streame of God's providence leads a man to the greatest good, he may, nay he must goe.

The removing of a scandall from a whole church & religion it selfe, is to be preferred before the benefit of any ptic church.

It is a scandale to o^r Religiō that we shewe not as muche zeale in seeking the conversiō of the heathen as the Papists doe, they sticke not to imploye of their most able men, while we sende onely such as we can best spare or are a burden to vs.

The Constant practice in all other like Cases must be a rule in this: in all foreine expeditiōs we stick not to imploy of o^r best statesmen, & we grutche not the want of their service at home, while they are employed for the good of other churches abroad.

Ob: Many speake ill of the countrey, of the barrennesse &c. of it.

Ans: So did the Spyes of the lande of Canaan.

Ob: But should a man leave his Countrey where he is so well beloved, & breake through the teares & desires of so many good people?

Answ: So did Paul, Acts, [xxi. 13.] What does you weeping & breaking my heart, &c.?

The wellfare of this Com: w. stands vpon 2 maine pillars, Religion & Lawe.

Gen. i: 28. & the Lo: blessed them & said increase & multiply & replenishe the earth & subdue it. God did not replenishe the earth at first wth men, but gave them his Comissⁿ to multiplie & replenish & subdue it, w^{ch} is warrant enoughe for any one that liues in a Country where the people are a burden, to seeke out & replenishe & subdue other places w^{ch} lye waste, that God may haue the glorye of the Creature there also, & man may enioye the fruit of the earthe, w^{ch} was given him by this gen^l Comissⁿ. If it be objected, that suche should goe as haue no lands, &c.: It is easylie answ: Such cannot goe alone, some of ability must goe to convey them over.

[Here ends the first page of the MS. On the other side of the same paper, *reversed*, is found what follows:—it being evidently the conclusion of a letter to some one of his friends who had remonstrated against the N. E. enterprise.]

. w^{ch} now lyes wast there, more plenty wilbe left to suche as remaine behinde.

3: For the 3: if y^e it be a psonall instance it may best receive answer from such as it concerns, but as it may be extended to the estate of o^r Church & Com: w: let the grones & fears of Gods people giue a silent answer. If o^r condition be good, why doe his Embassadors turne their messages into Complaints & threatnings? why doe they soe confidently denounce wrath & iudgm^t ag^t us? Why doe they pray so much for healinge, if we be not sicke? Why doe their soules weepe in secret? & will not be comforted, if there be yet hope that o^r hurt may be healed? One Calfe set vp in Israell removed the tabernacle out of the host, & for 2 God forsook them for ever. One Achan troubled all the people. Let not us trust to the Temple of the Lord, yea many faithfull miñs & good people: Israell had such priuiledges when her Destructiō was at hande; Elias & Elisha & aboue 400: good pphetts, & 7000 good protestants in Ahab's tyme (I suppose the best dayes before could not shewe the like): had not Jerusalem Jeremy & his contemporaries? yet she came down wonder-
Lam. 4: 12,
13, 17.
fully because she would not believe that an enemy could enter into her gates. What though the princes & great ones of the earthe, &c., shall not the iniquity of her pphetts & priests, & the crye of innocent blood make all her confidence vaine? if it be thus wth vs, where then is the happinesse we should rest in? if we imitate Sodom in her pride & intemperance, if Laodicea in her lukewarmnesse, if Eph^s; Sardis, &c., in the sins for w^{ch} their Candlesticke was

removed, if the turks & other heathen in their abominations, yea if the Sinagogue of Antichrist in her superstition, where is yet the good should content us? but it may be it is to be found in the Civill state; what means then the bleating of so many oppressed wth wronge, that drink wormwood for righteousness? Why doe so many seely sheepe that seeke shelter at the iudgm^t seats, retorne wthout their fleeces? Why meet we so many wandering ghosts in shape of men, so many spectacles of misery in all o^r streets, o^r houses full of victuals & o^r entreyes of hunger-starved christians? o^r shoppes full of riche wares, & vnder o^r stalles lye o^r owne fleshe in nakednesse. *Si hæc bona vera, ignorare adhuc placet.*

For the Abiennes [? *] &c.: yet you will grant that it had been better suche had fled, for they may yet belonge to God, at least some of them, — dothe not the history of the Church give vs many examples of the like, who have been renewed by repentance? & for the posterity bothe of good & badde, they are in the Covenant, & a holy seed, & so such as the Church might have had good hope of, if they might have been brought vp vnder their menes. yet we ascribe no suche vertue to the soile: therefore that Conclusion might have been spared.

For the Corruptiō in trade, I see it is not denyed, if it were, I would desire him to instance one, (being fitt imployment for an ingenious minde) wherein a man may looke for recompence suitable to his expence of tyme & industrie; except falshood be admitted to equall the balance. And for that Course of husbandry w^{ch} Jacob & the patriarchs vsed, it was honorable & vsefull in those tymes & Contryes, but not in o^rs. They had their lande for nothing. If we should imploye o^r children in that waye now, their work would soone eat vp their stockes. & for yo^r supposition of what redresse might be had in these things by the magistrate, [it] dothe not conclude that it shalbe, nor tye vs to expect what you give vs no grounde to hope for. We confesse indeed that the multitude of people is the glorie of a kinge, & to maintain these & imploye them to the more profit doth not diminish but increase his glorie. those w^{ch} goe over remaine still his subiects: they may multiply as fast there as heere: by their labor, more food & other pvisions for life shalbe raysed abroad, & yet no whitt the lesse at home: so that it is likely the nayls shalbe somewhat shortned, & yet the flesh remaine wholl.

If you will have us follow you, as you goe, we must yield you the Question: you should first have proved that the foundatiō was erronious, otherwise you conclude

* Perhaps, an abbreviation for Albigenes.

nothing. we saye, & maintaine by sufficient reasons, that the plantatiō is a lawfull & good worke: but seeinge your 2d arg^t implyes a denyall, *hic pes ligatur*: & to omitt all the former, I wil insist vpon this one Argum^t. A lande ouerburdened wth people may ease it self by sending a pte into any other Countrys, w^{ch} lye waste & not replenished: but suche is the condition of o^r lande, ergo, &c. The ppositiō I prove thus. God at first did not replenish the earth wth men but gave them a gen^t Comissⁿ. Gen: 1: 28, encrease & multiply, & replenish the earth & subdue it: the ends are naturall & double, that man may enioye the fruit of the earth, & God may have his due glory from the Creature, w^{ch} is imperfect, while it lyes waste. The Assertion I thus prove, (though I never heard it denied), many of o^r people, perish for want of sustenance & imploy^{mt}, many others live miserably & not to the honor of so bountifull a housekeep^r as the Lord of heaven & earth is, through the scarcity of the fruits of the earth.* all o^r townes complain of the burden of poore people & strive by all menes to ridd any such as they have, & to keepe off such as would come to them: masters are forced by auth^y to entertaine servants, parents to maintain their children; more strife there is & expence between parishes to get ridd of some of their poore, then would suffice to maintaine them many yeares, & to fill vp this Cloud of testimonyes (*quantū animus meminisse horret*) I must tell you, that o^r deare mother findes her famyly so overcharged, as she hathe been forced to denye harbour to her owne children: wittnesse the statutes ag^t cottages & inmates: so that whither it be of necessity or by inevitable accident this is o^r conditiō, & no remedy appeares, so the Assumptiō is proued, & the Argum^t stands good. as for those Allusions resembling David's longinge for a draught of water to this Action, the things are so vnlike as neede no answer: y^e^r similitudes must have more legges, if you will have them stande vp^right or prove any thinge.

* The whole lande of the kingdom, as it is, is scarce sufficient to give imploy^{mt} to one half of the people.

Amonge all other difficultyes, the pvision for y^r poore will prove a laberinth [?] because to preserve life in the weaker you must drawe blood from the stronger, yet you shall finde often thus, that gentle speeches & a small reliefe from y^r own hande, will prevaile muche wth bothe ptyes. and if things growe to an extremity, as I feare they will soone, it will proue a savinge bargain; if popular tumults should arise, w^{ch} God forbid, remember the issue of the Commotiō of the pesants in Germany: those base people were soone punished or subdued, but then were the riche men of the Countrey called to a reconinge, w^{ch} cost many of them their lives & estates, whereof some did but looke

on, & durst not relieve them, & others relieved them ag^t their willes, givinge a pte to save the rest; & so founde the pverbe true, *facile invenies* &c., but these things are too highe for my conceipt, though not vnfit for yo^r consideration. I have been over teadious & bolde vpon your gentlenesse, but my hearte is still full either of matter or affection, & I could vent it freely, for *Literæ non erubescunt*.

[Here ends the second page.]

Objections agt this intended Plantation for New E: Answered & resolved.

1: Ob: it is attended wth many difficulties.

Ans: So is everye good Action: the heathen could saye *Ardua virtutis via*.

2: The waye of Gods kingdome (wth is the best waye in the world) is accompanied wth most difficultyes, & his servants (who are the best of the world) meet wth greatest troubles.

2: Ob: It will certainly overthrowe o^r liues & estates.

Ans: 1: there is no apparent reason to feare this, for there is no suche danger either of sworde, famine or pestilence, as is supposed, & it must be by some of these or the like.

2: If the Action be good, then is it Gods worke, & he who gave vs o^r liues & estates must haue libtye to dispose of them at his pleasure, as he hath doone wth others of his faithfull servants; thus he disposed of the liues & estates of 80: of his priests whō Doeg slewe; thus he disposed of the life & estate of Earle of Bezies in France, & of his subiects who maintained a iust cause of Religiō & right ag^t the vniust violence of the Earle Montfort & the Popes Legatt: Thus he disposed of the Cityes of Tholouse, Merindall, Cabarrus & many others, & of the liues & estates of the Inhliants, & so hath he doone wth them of the Pallatate, bothe prince & people in the like quarell.

3: Ob. If it succeed ill, it will rayse a scandall vpon o^r profes^s.

Ans: It is no rule in Philosophy (muche lesse in Devinity) to iudge the Actiō by the successe: the enterprize of the Israelites ag^t Beniamⁱ succeeded ill twice, yet the Actiō was good, & prospered in the ende. The Duke of Saxonye & the Landgrave of Hesse had ill successe in their warre wth Charles the 5 in defence of the Gospell, for they were bothe taken & kept longe in prison, & the Duke & his children lost their wholl inheritance to this daye. The King of Denmark & other Princes of the Ucraine had ill successe in assisting the Pal^e. Examples in this kinde are frequent, yet where the Cause was good, their p^ression suffered not, except it were wth the adversaries of Religiō wth is no scandall.

4. Ob: It is a worke aboue the power of the vndertakers, being but 6: or 10: Gent.

Ans: 1: This estimate falles shorte aboue 100: psons of qualite or estate, who are interested herein.

2: The wellfare of a bodye consists not so muche in the quantitie,

as in the proportiō & dispositiō of the parts: & the smaler of number is, the lesse pvisiō will serve.

3: It is no wonder for great things to arise from smale & contemptible beginings: it hath been oftē scene in kingdomes & empires, & may as well holde in townes & plantations *nihil simul natum & perfectū*. Abraham went out of Vr wth a small Company, & thoughte he & his posterity liued amonge the Canaanites in a strange lande, yet God increased them to many great nations: Jacob went downe into Egypt wth 70: soules, but he came backe wth a mighty hoste. The Waldenses were scattered into the Alpes & mountains of Peydmont, by small Companies, but they became famous Churches, whereof some remain to this daye.

5: Ob: The Countrie affords no naturall fortifications.

Ans: No more did Hollande, & other places, wth had greater enemyes, & nerer at hande then we shall haue yonder. And God dothe vse to place his people in the midst of perills, that they may trust in him, & not in outward means of safety. So when he would choose a place to plant his onely beloved people in, he seated them not in an Island or other place fortified by nature, but in a plain Contrye, besett wth potent & bitter enemyes rounde about, yet so longe as they served him & trusted in his helpe, they were safe. So the Apl Paul says of h^{is} selfe & his fellows, that they were compassed wth dangers on every side & dayly were vnder the sentence of deathe, that they might learne to trust in the livinge God.

God hath giuen man the facultye of Reason, to supplie all naturall defects whereby (being the most naked of defence of all other Creatures) he is able to defende himselfe ag^t the strength of them, & to bringe them all into subiectiō.

Ob: 6. The place affords not comfortable means to the first planters.

Ans: No more did any other place of it self to the first Inhabts: but by Gods blessinge vpon the wisdom & industry of man, those deserts are ordinarly supplied & whatsoever we stand in need of is treasured vp in the earth by the Creator, & is to be fetched hence by the sweatt of our browes.

Ob: 7: Our breedinge at home hath made vs the more vnfit for the hardshipp we must endure there.

Ans: We must therefore learn of the Ap^{ls}, to want as well as to abound.

2: if we have suffic^t to fill the belly & clothe the back, the difference in the quality may a litle displease vs, but it cañnot hurt vs.

3: it may be God will by this menes bringe vs to repent of o^r Intemperance here at home, & so cure vs of that disease w^{ch} sends many amongst vs to hell. So he carried his people into the wilderness, & made them forgett the flesh-potts of Egypt w^{ch} was some pinch to them indeed, but he disposed it to their good in the ende. Deut. 8, 3: 16.

Ob: 8. The natiues wilbe ill neighb^{rs} in regard of their great number & treacherousnesse.

Ans: if we may belieue suche as have lived amonge them, there are not so many of them in 20 miles compass as wilbe of vs.

2: ten of o^r are able (in regard of the advantage of o^r weapons) to overcome 100 of them.

Ob: 9. The experience of other plantations may tell vs what will befall this.

Ans: 1: None of them sustained any great damage but Virginia, & that was merely through their own misgovern^t & security: & their mishapp hath taught all other plantations to prevent the like occasions.

2: The Argum^t is not good, for thus it stands: Some plantations have miscarried, therefore we are like to doe so also: It consists of p^{ar}tic^ul^{ar}, & therefore concludes nothing, for we might as well reason thus; many houses have been burnt by drying of malt, therefore we should use no malt but drink water. Many shipp^s have been cast away, therefore we may not goe to sea. Some men have been vndooⁿe by being in great offices, therefore we should resist all preferm^{en}t^s. Many men are kept from heaven by their riches, therefore we should give away all o^r welthe.

Ob: 10 is a Conclusiō gathered from all the former objections: that we must looke to be preserved by miracle, if we shall subsist there, & so it is a tempting of God.

Ans: 1: They who walk vnder ordinary menes of safety & supply doe not tempt God, but suche wilbe o^r Conditioⁿ in this plantation. Ergo: the proposition cant be denied. the Assumption I proue thus: we shalbe as muche secured from ordinary dangers as māy 1000: places in the Civill p^{ar}ts of the world are. & we shall have as muche p^{ro}visiō before hand as those townes w^h feare a seige or dearth do vse to provide, & sufficient menes for raying a succeeding store ag^t that be spent. If it be denyed that we shalbe as secure from enemys as many other places, I ans: those of o^r sea townes, & suche as are vpon the Confines of enemys Contryes in the Continent, lye open to more danger then we shall, & though such townes have sometymes been spoyled, yet men tempt not God to dwell still in them. & though many houses, w^h stande alone in the Contrye amonge vs, have been robbed & the owners killed in them, yet no man will saye, that suche must look for miracles if they shalbe preserved & their goods in safety:

2: Though miracles be ceased, yet we may expecte a more then ordinary blessing from God vpon all lawfull menes, where the work is the Lords, & he is sought in it accordinge to his will: for it is usuall w^h him to increase the strength of the menes, or to weaken them, as he is pleased or displeased with the Instruments & the Actiō: & yet bothe w^hout miracle: else you must conclude that he hathe lefte the govern^t of the world, & comitted all power to the Creature, that the successe of things should wholly depend vpon the second Causes.

3: I appeal to the iudgm^t of o^r best soldiers, if 500: men may not in a month rayse a fortificatiō, that w^h sufficient munitiō & victuall, they may make good ag^t 2000 for many months, & yet w^hout miracle.

Lastly, I propound to these object^{rs}, if any of them will laye downe 20^l vpon good security^v to have 100^l for it, when any prince or natiō shalbe at the charge & hazard to furnish out 1000 Souldiers for vj or 8 monthes, & laud them in New: E. to take a place any waye fortified, & where no booty can be expected: if they refuse this offer, they must confesse, that o^r safety will be 5: to one lesse than miraculous.*

Lastly we propound to these ob: of suche inevitable dangers, that they will give us an Instance of any Prince or state that hath rayased 2000: men, & victualled them for vj monthes, wth munitiō & shippes wherewth to invade a place so farr distant as this is from any foreign enemye, & where they must runne a hazard of repulse, & no booty, or iust title of sovereignty to allure them.

Mr. DEANE read the following letter, cited in one of the English Calendars of State Papers, from Henry Vane the younger, to his father, written shortly before his embarkation in the "Defence," for New England, in 1635.

P. R. O. Dom. Car. I. Vol. 293, No. 63.

May it please you,

I am but newly come backe from speaking wth M^r Craddock concerning my intended journey, and have thought it my duty to dispatch forthwth this bearer to you wth the information of what upon consultation wth him seemes to me most necessary and convenient to be done; wth is this. That both in regard of the safety of the passage and of the season of the yeare twilbee most necessary for me to lay hold of the present occasion of these ships wth are now in the River for my transportation into N. E. And although the notice M^r Craddocke tolde me was very late wth I gave him, because the ships looke every daye to be gone: yet he hopes by the Interest that he hath in them to gaine me tenne dayes to prepare my self. And farther hath offered me such accomadation when I come there as I can desire, so that what I cannot now through the shortnes of the time provide my self wth I may take such order wth him that it may come after me. And therefore my humble suite is that you wilbe pleased to dispatch my passe wth his Ma^y, and, if you shall so thinke fitt, to vouchsafe me by this bearer an assurance from your self that you have really resolved this place for me to goe to, that I may wthout farther protraction of time prepare myself effectually for it wth things sutable to the place. And, S^r, beleeve this from one that hath the honour to bee your sonne (though as the case stands judged to be a most unworthy one), that howsomever you may bee jealous of circumventions and plots that I entertaine and practise, yet that I will never do any thing (by God's good grace) which both wth honour and a good conscience I may not justify or bee content most willingly to suffer for. And were it not that I am very confident that as surely as there is truth in God, so surely shall my

* The passage thus erased, and for which the succeeding paragraph was substituted, was probably discarded as being too much in the form of a wager: but it helps to show the meaning and force of the clause with which the paper concludes. W.

innocency and integrity bee cleared to you before you dye, I protest to you ingenuously that the jealousy you have of mee would breake my heart. But as I submitt all other things to the disposall of my good God, so do I also my honesty amongst the rest, and though I must confesse I am, compassed about wth many infirmitys, and am but too great a blemish to the Religion I do professe, yett the bent and intention of my heart I am sure is sincere, and from hence flowes the sweete peace I enjoy wth my God amidst these many and heavy trialls w^{ch} now fall upon me and attend me: this is my only support in my losse of all other things, and this I doubt not of but that I have an all sufficient God able to protect me, direct me, and reward me, and wthin his due time will doe it, and that in the eyes of all my freinds.

Your most truly humble and obedient Sonne

H. VANE.

CHERRING CROSSE, this 7th of July, 1635.

Addressed, —

For the right hono^{ble} S^r Henry Vane Knight, Controller of his Ma^{ties} house hold and of his Ma^{ties} right hono^{ble} privy Counsell, these att the Court — att Theobalds.

A very perfect impression in red wax of the writer's coat-of-arms originally sealed up this letter.

Mr. Deane also read the following extract relating to Vane, from a letter cited in the same Calendar of State Papers: —

P. R. O. Dom. Car. I. Vol. 293, No. 63.

George Garrard to Edw'd Vic't Conway & Killultagh.

18th Sept. 1635. "Sir Henry Vane also hath as good as lost his eldest son, who is gone into New England for conscience' sake: he likes not the discipline of the church of England; none of our ministers would give him the Sacrament standing: no persuasions of our bishops nor authority of his parents could prevail with him; let him go; but he has more sons, but those also bred up at Leyden."

Mr. RICHARD H. DANA, Jr., said that he had lately found, in a trunk of what were supposed to be merely business papers of his grandfather's (Chief Justice Francis Dana), the original of the oath taken and subscribed by Andrew Oliver, on the 17th day of December, 1765, with the *jurat* and certificate of his great grandfather, Richard Dana, thereto.

Mr. Dana added as follows, — The Society probably know quite as well as I do the leading facts of that famous occurrence. The Crown was desirous to have some man of leading influence and position to execute the Stamp Act in Massachusetts. It was understood that Andrew Oliver had received a commission to that effect, and the Sons of Liberty waited upon him, in numbers rather persuasive, and



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New's Paper
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Boston 17. Decem. 7

Suffolk St B
Subscriber to

Whereas a Declaration was yesterday inserted
in my name and at my desire in some of the Boston
Papers, that I would not act as Distributor of
any within this Province, which Declaration
imposed is not satisfactory.
I do hereby in the most explicit and unreserved
manner declare, that I have never taken any measure
in consequence of my Deputation for that purpose,
nor in the Office: and that I never will directly
or indirectly, by myself or any under me, make
up the said Deputation, or take any measures
for enforcing the Stamp Act in America, which is
repugnant to the People.

And Oliver

Decem. 7. 1765

To Boston. Decem. 7. 1765. The honble Andrew Oliver esq.
Subscriber to the above writing, made oath to the same
C. R. Dana Junr. pair

he promised to publish a letter declining to act. His letter, on being published, was not satisfactory ; and the patriot citizens again waited upon him in more persuasive numbers, and invited him to attend them to the Liberty Tree, where they were in the habit of holding their open-air meetings. It was an invitation which, with all its circumstances, he did not like to decline ; and there, under the Liberty Tree, he subscribed the declaration required, and made oath to it, before my ancestor, who, as I recollect the narrative, presided at the meeting. The certificate attached is in his handwriting, but the body of the declaration I think is not. This has always been considered one of the turning-points in our history, and certainly is illustrative of the feelings of the times, and of the ways and methods to which they resorted. Personally it interests me, perhaps more than it may you, as the act of administering the oath, under the circumstances, by a barrister and magistrate, was an act of high treason, under the constructions of those days, in which his descendants may now take some satisfaction.

Mr. Dana said he had had a photograph made of the document, which he would send to the Society, if they thought it worth the preserving. The original his father preferred to keep, at least for the present.

The paper communicated by Mr. Dana is as follows : —

Whereas a Declaration was yesterday inserted in my name and at my desire in some of the Boston News Papers, that I would not act as Distributor of Stamps within this Province, which Declaration I am informed is not satisfactory.

I do hereby in the most explicit and unreserved manner declare, that I have never taken any measures in consequence of my Deputation for that purpose to act in the Office : and that I never will directly or indirectly, by my self or any under me, make use of the said Deputation, or take any measures for enforcing the Stamp Act in America, which is so grievous to the People.

AND^r OLIVER.

Boston, 17 Decem^r, 1765.

Suffolk ss. Boston, Decem^r 17. 1765. The hoñble Andrew Oliver esq^r subscriber to y^e above writing, made oath to y^e same

Co^r Rⁱ DANA, just^a pacis.

Dr. HEDGE read the following curious extracts from a sermon of the Rev. James Allin, one of his predecessors in the ministry at Brookline, "preached [November 5] upon a special fast, occasioned by the earthquake, which happened in the evening after the 29th day of October, 1727" : —

There are very probably *natural Causes* of Thunder and Lightning

which *Philosophers* undertake to account for, which brings to Mind the bold saying of an obdurate sinner, viz. That to have the *Awe and Impression of a Deity upon our Minds when we see the Lightning and hear the Thunder is vain and childish, because we can assign the natural Causes of them.* But this is to pervert the great Design of their glorious Author, which is to make us Fear Him, to rouse up an unthinking World to the consideration of a God above us, that can in a Moment destroy our lives. This was the happy influence of it upon a celebrated Man who was reclaimed from *Atheism* by the terrors of Thunder and Lightning.

The Lightning is very evidently a mixture of *Sulphurous* and *Nitrous Particles* extracted from the Earth by the Sun, which meeting in the middle Region of the Air, are put into a quick motion, or by an *Antiperistasis* are set on Fire; which is also the true notion of the *Stella cadens*; the odds between them being only this the *Meteor* which causes the Lightning being shut up in a thick Cloud, and taking Fire there, and so bursting the Cloud, throws it self out with the mighty and irresistible force we sometimes see: Whereas the other being under no Confinement is more gradual in its motion, and usually spends its strength in the Air. The *perpendicular motion* in the Lightning is from the *Nitre*, the peculiar Quality of which is to burn downwards, and 'tis this renders it so quick and penetrating.

The Thunder follows the Lightning as the Effect the Cause, and is made either by the Collision of the Clouds from the breaking out of the Lightning, or by the divided Clouds falling together after it's Expulsion. The most lively Emblem in nature of Thunder and Lightning is *Gunpowder*, both in respect of its Noise from the mouth of a Cannon, and the Effects of it. Hence it is called *Artificial Thundring*.

God is the Primary Efficient Cause of Earthquakes.

As Thunder is His Voice, and Lightning a Flama that goeth out of His Mouth; so Earthquakes are caused by His Strong Hand: And how much soever it exceeds the Strength of any Creature or all united, to shake the Earth, the *Omnipotent Author* of it can do it with greater Ease than any of us can move a Finger or wave a Feather. Job having asserted the Power of God in general, descends to prove it by an Induction of particular Instances, Job 9. 5, 6. *He is mighty in Strength, — removeth the Mountains, and they know not, overturneth them in his anger, shaketh the Earth out of her place and the Pillars thereof tremble.* What is it that infinite Power exerted to the height can't effect? As He gave Existence to the whole *Globe* of Earth by a Word, so He can destroy it in a Moment.

'Tis absurd and atheistical to assert that Earthquakes are the Effects of a blind Chance; or to resolve them into *natural Causes*, exclusive of the *Divine Superintendency* and Efficiency: We may affirm on equal grounds that God does nothing in the World in respect to Government, that there is no such thing as Reward and Punishment in any degree administered here; as deny Him this great and most sensible and awful Instance of His Power and Justice.

Others tell us that a strong *Windy Exhalation* imprisoned in the Bowels of the Earth and wanting Vent, makes an Earthquake; this also is liable to Exception, it being altogether impossible in Nature that the Wind can have so swift a Currency thro' the Earth as to shake it for five hundred Miles in length within a few Minutes of time; for if we suppose a *Cannon* shot, which glides much swifter thro' the Air then the strongest blast of Wind, flies after the rate of a League in a minute; according to that Computation it must be near three Hours and a half in going 500 Miles, or if we double the Motion it must be one Hour and half, which is above a full Hour more than the distance of time betwixt the late Earthquake's being felt at *Philadelphia*, and at *Arowsick*.

I shall here insert a *short Narrative* of this awful Dispensation, and so conclude this *Proposition*.

It begun as I conceive in the *South-East*, about half an Hour after Ten in the *Lord's Day Evening* after the 29th of *October*, 1727. All on a sudden our Houses shook as if they were falling to pieces, and this was attended with a great Noise, which lasted about one Minute, and then took it's Course *Northward*. In a very short time it return'd upon us, tho' with far less Strength, and the *Shocks* were repeated *seven Times* in my hearing that Night; but they were many more at *Salem*, *Ipswich*, &c. Distant Rumbles were heard by us many times until the next *Friday-Evening*: Since that we don't know that we have heard it; but it has been heard at *Newbury* every Day since, and now for more than three Weeks.

The Surprise and Terror of it were very great: Some thought their Houses were all on Fire about them, and made all possible haste to escape the Burning; others who were free from this Fear, were seized with the Terrors of the *Last Day*, and could think of nothing but the *dissolving World*, the sound of the *last Trumpet*, and the sudden Appearance of Christ, their Judge; others expected to die by the falling of their Houses, or that the Earth under them would open, and they should go down alive into the Pit. Words can't express the *Agonies* that our Souls were in; our Faces were pale as Ashes, our Lips quivered, our Speech faultred, and our Knees smote together, and there was no strength left in us; *Our Flesh then trembled for Fear of God, and we were afraid of his Judgments*. And we were ready, like the Men of *Judah*, to have fled, if we had known where, because of the Earthquake. And thus I have considered the *first Particular* that I propounded to speak to; viz. *That Thunder and Earthquakes are the awful Visitations of God to a People*.

The President laid on the table Massachusetts Senate document, No. 305, containing the present and the late Attorney-General's statement, and also the statement of this Society through Dr. Ellis, Chairman of a Committee, relating to the "Hutchinson Papers" controversy.

Dr. ELLIS spoke of the importance of agreeing upon an

umpire in the matter of the "Hutchinson Papers," in the place of Mr. Henry Adams, who by some inadvertency failed to receive the papers in the case sent to him many months ago, and who now was going to Europe and could not serve.

Mr. W. G. BROOKS, from the Building Committee, read the following copy of an inscription placed under the wall of the Society's building now undergoing reconstruction:—

BOSTON, May 10th, 1872.

DEPOSITED
IN THE FRONT WALL OF AN EDIFICE
BELONGING TO

The Massachusetts Historical Society,

IN ORDER TO PRESERVE AND PERPETUATE FACTS RELATING TO
THE BUILDING.

This building was erected in the year 1832, by the Provident Institution for Savings; and a portion of it was purchased by the Massachusetts Historical Society, March 6, 1833, and the remainder March 13, 1856. It was rebuilt, and the two lower stories leased to the City Government in the year 1872.

The MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY was founded Jan. 24, 1791, and incorporated Feb. 19, 1794.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY, 1872.

ROBERT C. WINTHROP	President
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, EMORY WASHBURN	Vice-Presidents
CHARLES DEANE	Recording Secretary
CHANDLER ROBBINS	Corresponding Secretary
RICHARD FROTHINGHAM	Treasurer
SAMUEL A. GREEN	Librarian
HENRY G. DENNY	Cabinet-keeper

Standing Committee.

EDMUND QUINCY.	GEORGE S. HILLARD.
ROBERT C. WATERSTON.	NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF.
AUGUSTUS T. PERKINS.	

Building Committee.

ROBERT M. MASON.	ERASTUS B. BIGELOW.
WILLIAM G. BROOKS.	
SAMUEL A. GREEN, Librarian.	RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, Treasurer.

Messrs. RYDER AND HARRIS, Architects.

The President read a letter from our associate, Colonel Lyman, dated at Paris, May 3, desiring that his name may be added to the Treasurer's list of subscribers to a fund con-

tributed by members in lieu of the annual assessment for 1872.

The President announced a gift from H. Buxton Forman, Esq., of London, of a poem entitled the "Great Peacemaker," by Mr. R. H. Horne; also the gift of a medal, on the coronation of Queen Victoria, by Mrs. Romeo Elton; for which the acknowledgments of the Society were ordered.

The President also called attention to a volume sent to himself personally by the author, Mr. Forman, entitled "Walter Scott, a Centenary Tribute; reprinted from the 'London Quarterly Review' for April, 1872"; printed "for private distribution." In this the writer has made favorable notice of the commemorative tributes to Sir Walter by this Society last year, as printed in the Proceedings, — the letter of Dr. Holmes being copied entire.

The President referred to the presence of Dr. Dexter at this meeting, he having recently returned from Europe.

Mr. DEXTER, in response, spoke of some historical investigations made by him in England and in Leyden, relating to the Pilgrims.

The President mentioned the recent decease of the venerable Charles Cleveland, of Boston, who was within a fortnight of having completed his hundredth year.

The Society now adjourned to the lawn in front of the house, to assist in the planting of a tree (a purple beech) under the superintendence of the Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, who was present as an invited guest. Spadefuls of earth were thrown in by Professors Longfellow, Lowell, Parkman, and Washburn, and by Colonel Aspinwall, Dr. Palfrey, Dr. Gray, the President of the American Academy, and by Mr. Winthrop as President of the Society.

SEPTEMBER MEETING, 1872.

A stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, in the Society's temporary rooms, No. 41 Tremont Street; the President in the chair.

The Secretary read the record of the last meeting.

The Librarian read his list of donors to the Library for the month.

The President read a letter from our associate, Dr. Ellis, saying that Judge Devens, who had been appointed umpire on the "Hutchinson Papers," declined to serve, from a pressure of engagements, and hoping that another appointment would be made. The subject being substantially in the hands of the committee of which Dr. Ellis is chairman, no action was taken by the Society on his suggestion.

The President then said:—

It will be remembered that the Society gave authority to the Standing Committee to change the time and place of any stated meeting, or to dispense with such meeting altogether, during the period required for the reconstruction of our Building.

Under this authority, and in view of the extreme heat of the summer, and of the absence from the city of so many of our members, the Standing Committee decided to dispense with the July and August meetings.

Meantime, I am happy to say, our Building has made satisfactory progress. It is entirely roofed over, and the stone work is just completed. We have good reason to hope that before New Year's Day we may be re-established in our old quarters.

Since our last meeting a vacancy in our number has been created by the death of the Rev. Charles Brooks. A graduate of Harvard in 1816, he was the pastor of the Unitarian Church in Hingham for eighteen years,—from 1821 to 1839. Since that time, his life had been devoted to science, education, and local history.

Appointed in 1838 a Professor of Natural History in the University of New York, he held that post for several years, visiting Europe in the prosecution of his studies, and publishing, as their first-fruits, an elaborate volume of Ornithology.

But the infirmities of his eyesight compelled him to abandon a study requiring so much minute examination. While abroad he was a diligent observer of the Prussian system of education; and he is understood to have been among the first, if not the very first, to advocate the establishment of Normal Schools on our own soil. Our associate, Mr. George B. Emerson,—the highest authority on the subject,—in his Lecture, at the Lowell Institute in 1869, “On the History of Education in Massachusetts,” says of Mr. Brooks: “This gentleman, indeed, for his long, disinterested, and unpaid labors in the cause of education, especially for his efforts to secure the establishment of Normal Schools and a Board of Education, is entitled to be considered, more than any other individual, what he has been called, ‘the Father of Normal Schools.’”

He wrote an elaborate History of Medford, and was the author of numerous biographies. In 1858 he became associated with our own Society, and always exhibited a strong interest in its prosperity.

He died at Medford, on the 7th of July last, after a long and useful life, having nearly completed his seventy-seventh year.

I am instructed by the Standing Committee to submit the following Resolution:—

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Historical Society desire to express their respect for the memory of their late valued associate, the Rev. Charles Brooks, and that the Hon. Solomon Lincoln be requested to prepare the customary Memoir for our Proceedings.

The President read some official letters and papers relating to the transportation of a number of “Moose Deer” from Fisher’s Island to England, for Queen Anne:—

Governor Hunter to Major-General Winthrop.

Coll Nicolson haveing acquaint’d Her Maty that he had procur’d from you two mooses and a fawn for her, Cap^l Elford who is to Go for England soon has orders to take them on board his ship. So If you please to send them hither or Give Instructions in what maner they must be convey’d care shall be taken accordingly.

I am S^r with much respect, S^r

Your most Humble Servant,

Ro: HUNTER.

N. YORK, 14 Octr. 1712.

Proceedings of the Council-Chamber in Boston about the Moose.

At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston upon Thursday the 13th of November, 1712.

PRESENT.

His Excellency Joseph Dudley Esq ^r Governour.	
The Hon ^{ble} William Tailer Esq ^r Lieu ^t Gov ^r ; & of y ^e Coun ^{se}	
Elisha Hutchinson	Penn Townsend
Peter Sergeant	Andrew Belcher Esq ^r
Joseph Lynde Esq ^m	Edward Bromfield
El ^m Hutchinson	Isaac Addington Esq ^r

PRESENT ALSO.

The Hon^{ble} Govern^r Saltonstall of Connecticut.
Captain Elford of the Hector man of War.

His Excellency Acquainted the Gentlemen, That he had yesterday received a Letter from Captain Elford, Importing That he was Commanded by the Lords of the Admiralty to Transport to Great Britain in Her Majestys Ship Hector under his Command, Three Moose Deer that are upon Fishers Island, And That the Ship is at New yorke fifty Leagues distant from the Said Island.

Captain Elford then further Acquainted the Gentlemen present That it is Impracticable at this Season of the year to bring the Queens Ship round from New Yorke to Fishers Island to take in the Said Moose Deer without utmost Hazard of Her Majestys said Ship.

Governour Saltonstall Informed That the Stag Moose was lately killed by his own unruliness, but that the Dam and the Young Stag were well and fit to be Transported.

It's Concluded That there is no Method for Transporting the Said Moose to New Yorke, but in a Large Open boat of which there are Numbers at New Yorke, and that his Excellency Governour Hunter be Desired forthwith to Send One Such Boat well man'd for that purpose; And an Officer to Over See and take Care of their Transportation to New Yorke.

Governour Saltonstall Declaring there is no Open Vessell within his Government Capable of that Service.

That the Honourable Governour Saltonstall be Desired to Direct Captain John Prentice of New London, whome he named for that End, to take such Assistance as he shall think necessary to see the said Moose Deer well ship'd off with the Advice of Governour Hunters Officer and One Officer from Captain Elford; And that Governour Saltonstall furnish Hay & Oates Necessary for their passage.

That a Letter with a Copy of this Agreement and Resolve be sent to Major Winthrop or his Son at New London to be ready to Deliver the Said Moose Accordingly.

And another Copy be sent to Governour Hunter and Copies of

the same be given to Govern^r Saltonstall and Captain Elford, by the Secretary.

That the matter may be Effected with all Care possible.

Copy.

Is^t, ADDINGTON, Secy.

Governor Saltonstall to Captain Prentiss.

Boston, Nov. 17th 1712.

Cap^t. PRENTISS.

I am to provide some good hands, to assist an Officer who is to come from Gov^r. Hunter in an Open Sloop, to receive y^e. Moose at Fishers Island; and Cap^t. Belcher advised me to you as most knowing in such an Affair & most likely to get a Sufficient Number of Suitable hands to help them on Board: The Officer that comes wth y^e. sloop must have y^e. Direction, so that If they come to any Mischance, we may not be to blame. I must supply wth Hay & Oates, (if y^e. Maj^r. Gen^l. has y^m. not at y^e. Island) for their passage to New York, w^{ch} I must desire you to take care of. And I will See you, & y^e. hands you employ Satisfied. Give my Service to y^e. maj^r. Gen^l. Winthrop, or if he be come away, to his Son, and let him know y^e. y^e. Service I now propose to you, is what has been agreed upon in counsell here. I cant tell when y^e. Sloop will come from N. York, but when she comes y^e. Officer will be directed to call upon you; and if you cant attend by reason of any inevitable accident, you must Substitute one in y^e. Room.

I am y^r. humb^l. Serv^t.

G: SALTONSTALL.

On her Maj^{ties}. Service.

To Cap^t. JOHN PRENTICE at N. London.
frank G. SALTONSTALL.

Secretary Burchett to Captain Davers.

ADMIRALTY OFFICE, 1 Apr^l 1714.

S^r.—When her Maj^{ties}. Ship Hector, commanded by Cap^t. Elford attended on New Yorke, I writ a Letter to him dated the 17th May 1712, letting him know that Gen^l. Nicholson haueing procured for the Queen a Male and Female moose Deer, with a Young one, which were then kept on an Island in New England, belonging to Major General Wait Winthrop, one of her Maj^{ties}. Councill at Boston in New England, and that since it was her Maj^{ties}. pleasure the said Deer should be brought to England, it was the Commands of the L^{ds}. Comm^{rs}. of the Admiralty that he the said Cap^t. Elford shou^d. receive them on board, and take particular care of them in their passage, but it soe happen^d. that the Deer could not conveniently be brought to the Shipp before she sayled, and therefore I am now Ordered by their Lordships to Signifie their directions to you, that Imediatly upon your receipt hereof, you give Notice to the aforesaid Major Gen^l. Winthrop, that you are Ordered to bring home the aforesaid Deer, (or such of them as are liveing) in the Ship under your Command; and that you apply to the Governour of the place for his assistance in getting them to you; and accordingly

you are to receive the said Deer on board, and take care for their Safety in your passage to Great Britain, when you returne thither in pursuance of the Orders you will receive. I am S^r

Yo^r humble Serv^t

J. BURCHETT.

Captain Thomas Davers to — Seaford.

NEW YORKE, 9 Aug^t 1714.

S^r—Haucing received a Lett^r from M^r Secretary Burchett of the Admiralty, a Coppy of which I have sent you, inclosed, Signifying the Lords Comm^{rs} of the Admiraltys directions to me, that I apply my self to you, for a Male and Female Moose Deer, that Gen^l Nicholson has procured for the Queen, which Deer I am to Carry to England in her Maj^{ty}s Shipp under my Command, when I goe thither, soe desiring you'l please to Contrive and get them here by that time, wth provisions for their passage. I desire S^r that what Letters you write me upon this affair you'l direct them for her Maj^{ty}s Service.* I am S^r

Your most humble Serv^t

THOMAS DAVERS.

SEAFORD.

The President also read the following memorandum, in the handwriting of John Winthrop, the fourth of that name in New England:—

“Memorand: I have heard my Father say, y^t w^a they came first into y^e Country, they brought over an Old Woman who was Deafe & Blind,—this Old Woman Lived at Ipswich in New England, w^h my Grandfather taught her to Understand any thing by y^e Letters cut in Wood, & so she felt them.”

The President continued:—

The above is copied exactly from a little scrap of paper in the handwriting of John Winthrop, the grandfather of my father. He was the son of Chief Justice Wait-Still Winthrop; and the grandfather to whom he refers was John Winthrop, the Governor of Connecticut, son of the first Governor of Massachusetts. The writer of the memorandum was born in Connecticut 16 August, 1681, and died in England 1 August, 1747. He was a member of the Royal Society, and one of the volumes of the “Transactions of the Royal Society” was dedicated to him. His grandfather was one of the first settlers of Ipswich, Mass., in 1632–3, and lived there for several years.

I think the memorandum must have been written in England, as it designates Ipswich as in “New England,” which

* We have no further information concerning these “Moose Deer,” and whether the attempt to transport them to England was successful. Queen Anne had died on the first of the month in which this last letter was written.—Eds.

the writer would hardly have done had he been writing in New England. He was in England from 1726 till his death. It is doubtless the earliest record of teaching the blind to read by raised letters in this country, and I know not where to find any earlier account of the process.

Mr. DEANE made the following communication on "The Head-quarters" of Washington in Cambridge:—

In the first volume of Irving's "Life of Washington," at page 496, in speaking of the preparations made for the reception and accommodation of the Commander-in-chief in Cambridge, the author says that, according to a resolve of the Provincial Congress, then in session at Watertown, "the president's house in Cambridge, excepting one room reserved by the president for his own use, was to be taken, cleared, and furnished for the reception of the Commander-in-chief and General Lee." At the end of the first chapter of the second volume, at pages 11 and 12, the author has a long note beginning thus: "We are obliged to Professor Felton, of Cambridge, for correcting an error in our first volume in regard to Washington's head-quarters, and for some particulars concerning a house associated with the history and literature of our country. The house assigned to Washington for head-quarters was that of the President of the Provincial Congress, not of the University." Then follows a description of the house, early known as the "Vassall House," and subsequently as the "Craigie House," and now the residence of Mr. Longfellow.

Wherein consists the "error," referred to above, is not clear. Mr. Irving quoted almost the precise language of the resolve of the Provincial Congress of the 26th June, 1775, assigning the "president's house" to Washington and Lee; and he offered no interpretation as to what president was intended. I apprehend that the only error in the case was made by Professor Felton himself. There was only one house in Cambridge known as the "President's House,"—a name it had borne since it was built for President Wadsworth in 1726.* The

* Mr. Sibley has called to my notice the following entries in President Wadsworth's MS. "Book relating to College affairs" in the College Library: "The President's House to dwell in was raised May 24, 1726. No life was lost, nor person hurt in raising it; thanks be to God for his preserving goodness. In y^e Evening, those who raised y^e House, had a Supper in y^e Hall; after wch we sang y^e first stave or staff in y^e 127 Psalm."

"27 Oct. 1726. This night some of our family lodged at y^e New House built for y^e President; Nov. 4, at night was y^e first time y^e my wife & I lodg'd there. The House was not half finished within."

President of the Provincial Congress (then sitting in Watertown), James Warren, had no house in Cambridge; neither had the Congress any use for one there. During the brief sessions of that body in Cambridge before the siege of Boston, consisting of only forty-four days in all, John Hancock was its President, and he lived in Boston. There is no evidence that the "Vassall House," subsequently known as Washington's head-quarters, was then called the "President's House," and there is no reason, it is believed, why it should have been so called. I have yet to learn that either of the presidents of the Provincial Congress, officially, or John Hancock or Joseph Warren or James Warren, personally, owned or occupied a house in Cambridge known as the "President's House."

I repeat, that the house assigned to Washington by the resolution of the 26th June, and precisely in these words, "Resolved, that the president's house in Cambridge, excepting one room reserved by the president for his own use, be taken, cleared, prepared, and furnished, for the reception of General Washington and General Lee, and that a committee be chosen immediately to carry the same into execution," was undoubtedly the house of the President of the College. Dr. Langdon then held this office. But at this time the teaching and governing bodies, as well as the students, with the library, were dispersed, and the College buildings given up to the use of the troops. Cambridge was a large camp. Many of the families had left the town, and probably Dr. Langdon's family with them. He remained at the camp for some time, preached occasionally to the soldiers, and was once chosen chaplain *pro tempore*. One room reserved for his use was all he might require. Dr. Langdon's official residence was unquestionably the house occupied by Washington and Lee on their first arrival in Cambridge, on Sunday, July 2d.

The day before their arrival, it was ordered by the Provincial Congress "that the committee for procuring and furnishing a house for Generals Washington and Lee be directed to purchase what things are necessary, that they cannot hire."*

* The committee were either not very prompt or not very successful; and on the 5th of July they were ordered by the Congress to "complete the business." On the same day another committee was ordered to confer with Washington "on the subject of furnishing his table, and know what he expects relative thereto." On the 7th it was "ordered that the committee appointed to procure a steward for General Washington be directed to procure him two or three women, for cooks." It was also ordered, at the same time, "that the committee appointed to inquire how General Washington's table should be furnished be a committee to bring in a resolve for the purpose of complying with the requisition of General Washington relative thereto," &c. It was also ordered

On the 6th of July, four days after their arrival, it was by the Congress "Ordered, that the committee of safety [the real Executive of the Congress] be a committee to desire General Washington to let them know if there is any house at Cambridge that would be more agreeable to him and General Lee than that in which they now are; and in that case the said committee are directed to procure such house, and put it in proper order for their reception." On turning to the Records of the Committee of Safety, I find, under the date of July 8th, the following: "Whereas it is necessary that the house of Mr. John Vassall, ordered by Congress for the residence of his Excellency General Washington, should be immediately put in such condition as may make it convenient for that purpose, therefore, *Resolved*, that Mr. Timothy Austin be and he is hereby empowered and authorized to put said house in proper order for the purposes above mentioned; and that he procure such assistance and furniture as may be necessary to put said house in proper condition for the reception of his excellency and his attendants."

This house of John Vassall is the one subsequently known as the "Craigie House" and "Washington's Head-quarters." Sabine tells us, that "early in 1775" Vassall "was driven from his seat by mobs and took up his residence in Boston." Congress had, some time previously, appropriated the house to the use of the Committee of Safety, and as early as the 26th of May that body had directed it to be cleared immediately of "the souldiers now lodged there." Although this house, as well as others in Cambridge belonging to refugees, had been taken possession of for the use of the Government, it was not formally confiscated till some years later. I find no date to determine precisely when Washington took possession of his

that certain persons named "be a committee to wait upon General Lee, to know of him what provision he expects should be made by this Congress for the furnishing of his table." On the 8th, a committee previously appointed reported an order, which was accepted, directing "a committee to make inquiry forthwith for some ingenious, active, and faithful man to be recommended to Genl Washington as a steward; likewise, to procure and recommend to him some capable woman, suitable to act in the place of a housekeeper, and one or more good female servants." Mrs. Washington was now at Mt. Vernon. She joined her husband in Cambridge on the 11th of December following, and remained till the next spring. Ebenezer Austin was appointed Washington's steward soon after the passage of the order above given, and served as long as Washington remained in Cambridge. On the 9th of July the Congress "resolved, that Deacon Cheever be a committee to bring in a resolve, empowering the committee of supplies to furnish General Washington with such articles of household furniture as he had wrote to said committee for." The Provincial Congress was dissolved on the 19th of July; and on the same day the House of Representatives, composed principally of the same persons, met at the same place. On the 22d of July the House "Resolved, That the Committee of Safety be desired to complete the furnishing General Washington's house, and in particular to provide him four or five more beds."

new quarters. It was probably during the month of July. It would require some days to put the house in order for him. I find in Washington's own account-book, under date of July 15th, a charge for having himself paid a sum of money for cleaning the house assigned for his quarters, it having been occupied, he says, by the Marblehead Regiment. In Thacher's "Military Journal,"—which is not a diary, but a record of events, sometimes under a particular month, and sometimes under the day of the month,—I find under the date of "July," when the record is supposed to have been made, an account of the battle of Bunker Hill, and of the arrival of Washington in Cambridge, which latter event he did not witness personally. Thatcher entered upon his duties as assistant surgeon in the hospital there on the 15th of July, and in his record of that month he says that Washington had "established his headquarters in a convenient house about half a mile from Harvard College, and in the vicinity of our hospital." This is followed by an entry under the date of July 20th; and if we may suppose the entries to have been originally made as indicated in the printed volume, it would show that Washington, at this time, was already settled in his new quarters. It is probable that General Lee did not share these quarters with Washington. The Commander-in-chief was no doubt glad to be rid of a man so slovenly in his personal habits as was Lee.* In a letter from Washington's private secretary, Joseph Read, to his wife, dated July 26th, he says: "Our family is much reduced by the departure of General Lee, who has taken the command of part of the army, and has his quarters four miles from us, at General Royal's." The Royal House was in Medford.

A reorganization of the army had been proclaimed by Washington on the 22d of July. It was formed into three grand divisions. The first division or right wing was placed under the command of Brigadier-General Ward at Roxbury; two brigades, one posted on Winter Hill, and one on Prospect Hill, as the left wing or second division, were placed under the command of General Lee. The reserve was placed under the command of Putnam whose quarters were at Cambridge. He occupied the "Inman House." I find a letter from Lee dated from Cambridge as late as the 24th of July.

That the "President's House," now standing on the college grounds near Harvard Square, was the first quarters of General Washington in Cambridge, has, I think, been conclu-

* See Dr. Belknap's description of General Lee, whom he saw in Cambridge in October, 1776,—in the "Proceedings" for June, 1858, p. 83.

sively shown. In this venerable mansion were undoubtedly penned the first despatches of the Commander-in-chief to Congress, to Richard Henry Lee, and to General Schuyler, of date July 10th, and sent off by the first express that could be inaugurated. I cannot but hope that this ancient relic is not destined to give way to the march of improvement now making such onward strides in Cambridge, but may be preserved for many years to come.

I made some inquiry in Cambridge of persons whom I thought likely to know if any tradition existed as to Washington's having occupied for a time the President's house during his residence here. But no one to whom I applied had any knowledge of such tradition. I addressed an inquiry to Miss Quincy, of Boston, then at her country residence in Quincy, and she replied that she had never heard of such tradition, and did not believe the fact. I then communicated to her the evidence contained above, and received from her the following letter, which she has kindly permitted me to introduce into this notice:—

QUINCY, MASS., Aug. 10, 1872.

CHARLES DEANE, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—Having never heard of the residence of Washington for a time in the President's house, from either Mr. Sparks, Mr. Greenleaf, or Dr. Holbrook, I doubted the fact; but the interesting extracts you give from the Provincial Records prove it conclusively. On reflection, the change of abode seems very natural. First, the Congress, wishing to offer the General the most honorable location in their control, appropriated the President's house to his accommodation. The arrangement certainly sounded well. But Washington, coming from Mount Vernon, wished for a wider horizon than that house could, even then, command, and asked for the "Vassall House," from whence he had an extensive view of the winding of the Charles, and of the location of many of the forts which afterwards were thrown up around Boston. Perhaps even High-Fort, Roxbury, now the site of the stand-pipe of the Cochituate water-works, can be seen from its windows. I took a sketch of that fort in December, 1823, for a Mr. Finch, a relative of Dr. Priestley, a mineralogist, who took a great interest in the forts arranged by Washington around Boston, and was very indignant at the indifference manifested by Bostonians to these monuments of the Revolution, and at the manner in which they were allowed to be destroyed. He wrote a minute account of these forts, which was published, I believe, in "Silliman's Journal" of 1823 or 1824. I think I have a copy myself somewhere, given me by Mr. Finch, in return for my sketch. I wish the ancient President's house, with all its associations, had been taken down when Everett resigned the Presidency. It is sad to see it in its present dilapidated

condition. I am often asked the question, "Is it possible, Miss Quincy, that you resided sixteen years in that house? You could not have kept a carriage, for there is no stable!" "Yes, we did," I reply: "we had not only a stable and coach-house, but also a large garden and an extensive court-yard, filled with trees and flowering shrubs, which are now cut down, or turned into the street." Mr. and Mrs. Everett, our successors, who had just come from the British Court, were so well satisfied with the old mansion, that they remained in it for some time as tenants after Mr. Everett had ceased to be President.

Sincerely yours,

ELIZA SUSAN QUINCY.

I subsequently received from Miss Quincy a note, from which I am at liberty to make the following interesting extracts concerning this venerable mansion; while, at the same place, I introduce an engraving of the house from a sketch made by her for President Quincy's History of the College: * —



THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSE, BUILT IN 1726.

"I send you an illustration for your private copy of 'The Proceedings,' — a proof-print of the President's house, from the block, before stereotyping for the History. My sketch represents the house as Washington saw it, except that then there were only two windows on each side the porch in the lowest story. The enlargement of the dining and drawing rooms, which added a third, was subsequently made under the direction of Treasurer Storer, as his daughter informed me. The room in the rear of the drawing-room, on the right hand as you

* The Society is indebted to President Eliot, of Harvard College, for liberty to use the block from which this vignette is struck, — the plates of Mr. Quincy's History having been given by the author to the College.

enter, was the President's study, until the Presidency of Webber, when the end of the house was added, with a kitchen and chamber and dressing-room, very commodiously arranged, I was told, under the direction of Mrs. Webber. The brick building was built at the same time for the President's study and Freshman's room beneath it, and for the preservation of the college manuscripts.* I went over the house with my father and mother and President Kirkland, soon after his accession. As there were no regular records kept during his Presidency of eighteen years, he did not add much to the manuscripts. We then little imagined that we should be the next occupants of the mansion, should repair and arrange the house under Mrs. Quincy's direction, and reside in it sixteen very happy years. I regret its present dilapidated state, and rejoice, in view of 'the new departure,' as it is termed, that I sketched the antiquities and old mansions of Old Cambridge."

"Dr. Holbrook's anecdote of the shell which reached Harvard Square (see Memoir of Mrs. Quincy, p. 223) leads me to think there were cogent objections to the Commander-in-chief residing in the President's house. The shell Dr. H. described must have flown over its roof! Possibly the British might have heard that it had been offered to Washington, and directed their artillery toward it, and with a pretty sure aim! The old mansion had a narrow escape that time! It was well Washington's final headquarters were beyond the reach of such unpleasant visitors."

"E. S. Q."

Mr. APPLETON, recently returned from Europe, presented a manuscript, procured by him in London, labelled "Mr White — Mem^o of plan of a War with Spain, Pisa 9 Decem^r 1776."

The author of this paper, of thirty-three pages, is unknown, neither do we know any thing of its history. It is addressed to Lord George Germain, and embraces an elaborate plan for overthrowing the Spanish power in America by the aid of the natives, and for keeping possession of the whole sea-coast! — thus hopelessly excluding the natives from all intercourse with the rest of the world. It proposes a diversion of the troops from the British Colonies in case the Rebellion there is speedily crushed. The paper begins thus: —

"Memorandum for the Right Hon^{ble} Lord George Germain, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for America.

"In case of war with Spain the Mosquito Shore affords a large

* The brick building stood on the left hand side of the mansion as the spectator faces it, and communicated with it. I learn from Mrs. Dana, the daughter of President Webber, now living in Cambridge, that the brick building was erected during her father's administration, and under his supervision; but that he died before it was finally completed, or, at least, occupied. In 1871 it was moved back, turned round at right angles, and joined to the extreme rear part of the house. The steward's office has for a few years been kept in it. — C. D.

extent of country, occupied by a brave & hardy Race of Indians, well acquainted with all the interior avenues leading into the Spanish Provinces, and always ready to receive his Majesty's forces, and to co-operate with them in every fatigue and danger for conquering and destroying the Spanish Government in America."

The President spoke of a letter recently received from our Corresponding Member, Mr. Almack, with some notes on our late published volumes, which he might at some future time read to the Society.

Dr. SHURTLEFF called attention to a portrait recently presented to the Society by Mrs. Webber, of Boston, for which the acknowledgments of the Society were ordered. On the back of a volume depicted in this portrait was inscribed "Book of Rates," but no one had yet discovered for whom the portrait was intended.

Mr. SALTONSTALL referred to a recent visit he had made to places on the coast of Maine, particularly to the old town of Castine, and recounted some of the historical reminiscences of that place.

Mr. SABINE, Dr. SHURTLEFF, and Mr. THOMAS C. AMORY made some observations on the subject introduced by Mr. Saltonstall.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1872.

A stated meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at 11 o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

The records of the previous meeting were read.

The Librarian read the list of donors the past month to the Library.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter of acceptance from M. D'Avezac, of Paris.

The President called special attention to Mr. Frothingham's new work, "The Rise of the Republic," then lying upon the table, — a gift from the author; and to Dr. Ellis's new edition of the "History of the Massachusetts General Hospital," presented by the trustees of that institution. He also noticed the recent decease of a Corresponding Member, Dr. Francis Lieber, in the following language: —

The recent death of Dr. Francis Lieber at New York,

where he had long resided, has been noticed in all our journals. His name was placed on our Corresponding Roll in January, 1858; and there are few names on that, or any other roll, which are associated with a more eventful career. Born in Berlin in 1800; a soldier of the Prussian Army at Waterloo; a volunteer for the Independence of Greece in 1821; a scholar of the University of Jena; a student in the family of the celebrated Niebuhr; more than once arrested and imprisoned for his liberal, perhaps radical, utterances; he at last was driven over to England at twenty-five years of age, and became a teacher in London. Two years afterwards he came to the United States, and resided for some time in Boston, where to the last he had many warm friends. Here he edited the "Conversations Lexicon;" and, among other useful things, established a Swimming School. In 1835 he removed to South Carolina, and was for twenty-one years Professor of History and Political Economy at Columbia College. Thence he came to New York, where he has since resided for nine years as Professor of History in Columbia College in that city, and since then as the Professor of Law in the Law School connected with that college. Meantime, he has written many books and essays. His work on Civil Liberty and Self-Government, in two volumes, and his Manual of Political Ethics, were, perhaps, the most remarkable. He rendered many services to the Administration at Washington during the late Civil War, and wrote more than one considerable work on legal points connected with the government of the Union Armies.

He was a man of great capacity, of unwearied industry, and of many most attractive and amiable qualities. His sudden death at the age of seventy-two, when both his physical and mental powers seemed still so little impaired, could not fail to be deeply lamented; and many most enviable tributes have already been paid to his memory. My friend, Mr. Hillard, who was his friend, also, is here to add another.

The President was followed by Mr. Hillard, who spoke as follows:—

MR. PRESIDENT,—Having for many years known Dr. Lieber intimately, I feel that there is a propriety in my responding to the call you have made on me, and in laying a tribute on the grave of my friend.

He was in many ways a remarkable man, and in his life there was variety of adventure and experience. He was at once an original thinker and a careful student. In early manhood his

connection with his own country was broken forever; and, after a brief sojourn in England, he began a new career in this country at the age of twenty-seven, starting in Boston. Here he gave proofs of great force of character and variety of intellectual power. He turned his hand to many things. He lectured, gave lessons, and even taught a swimming-school, being one of the earliest to give an impulse to physical training in this country. For some years he was steadily occupied in the preparation of the "Encyclopædia Americana," founded upon the "Conversations Lexicon" of Brockhaus, a work of great merit, not superseded by any productions of a similar class which have succeeded it.

Many subjects were treated by Dr. Lieber in the course of his long and active life. When I first knew him, he was much occupied with prison discipline, and translated the work of Beaumont and De Tocqueville on Prison Discipline in America. But the questions in which he took most interest, and to which his writings are mainly devoted, were those connected with law, government, and politics. The principal works he wrote on these subjects, and on which his reputation mainly rests, are his "Manual of Political Ethics," his "Legal and Political Hermeneutics," and his "Civil Liberty and Self-government." These all have a certain family likeness and are characterized by the same traits of thought and style. In all of them his aim and purpose were to expound the character, and enforce the claims of Anglican liberty, as manifested in the institutions of England and America, and to point out the evils and dangers which are found in that tendency to centralization observed in the history of France. He believed that there was always danger practically in that simplicity and symmetry of form which has such attractions to the Gallican mind. He thought that all genuine liberty was to be bought with a price, and that some sacrifices were to be made, and some advantages were to be given up, in order to enjoy the priceless boon of constitutional freedom. With him, liberty and equality were not convertible terms. In his judgment, civil liberty was dependent upon certain organic political institutions, upon a division and distribution of powers, and upon the independence of the great departments of government. He was fully aware of the danger of despotic or irresponsible power, even under popular forms. He had the highest reverence for the true rights of man, and was always on the side of right as against arbitrary power, under whatever form or whatever pretext it might be put forth.

Although a German born, no Englishman and no American

ever understood more thoroughly than he the nature and character of Anglican liberty, or valued it more deeply. In the works I have mentioned, and in many others of a similar kind, he expounded his views with great range of learning, depth of thought, and force of statement. They form a rich quarry in which students will always find precious products.

But it is true, and I think he himself felt it, that Dr. Lieber has not as yet received all the recognition that he deserved, as a writer upon juridical and political questions. And the reason of this was, that the skill of the workmanship was not equal to the value of the materials. Macaulay says of Niebuhr, that he would have been the greatest of historians if his power of expounding truth had been equal to his power of investigating it. Dr. Lieber labored under somewhat the same disadvantage as his illustrious countryman and friend. This was undoubtedly, in part, owing to the fact that he was obliged to write in a foreign tongue. In his preface to his "Manual of Political Ethics" he speaks, with a touch of pathos, of the difficulty a man labors under who is obliged to write in a language he did not learn at a mother's knee; but I doubt whether Dr. Lieber would have been a good writer even in his own native tongue. He lacked constructiveness and the power of lucid statement,—qualities which the French writers who have treated subjects like his own, and especially Montesquieu and De Tocqueville, who were kindred spirits to him, have in such perfection.

And yet there are to be found in his writings many pointed and vigorous sentences, many condensed aphorisms, many striking statements, and especially many happy illustrations,—sometimes not the less happy for being a little homely. And it should be remembered that to him, a man of foreign birth, we owe the introduction into the language of a word which was immediately adopted, and clothed with all the rights of natural descent. This is the word *jural*. Dr. Lieber was the first to define a state as a *jural* society; that is, a society founded on the idea expressed by the Latin word *jus*, which cannot be translated by any one English word. He felt a little proud of this; and I think he would have been pleased if some of the writers who used it after him—Dr. Whewell, for instance—had told where they had found it.

Dr. Lieber loved his adopted country with a love all the stronger from his experience of other countries and other institutions. During the war, his loyalty burned with a fervid and steady flame, fed not merely by his intense feeling of nationality,

but by his observation of the evils of slavery during his many years' residence as professor in the college in Columbia, S. C.

Dr. Lieber was a man of various and versatile power. Besides a number of works on legal and juridical subjects, he wrote "The Stranger in America," "Reminiscences of Niebuhr," an essay entitled "The Gentleman," a paper on the vocal sounds of Laura Bridgman, and a small volume of poems.

In summing up his claims to honor and remembrance, we should not omit the fact that he, a German born, was chosen a Corresponding Member of the French Academy of Moral and Political Science, on the strength of writings in the English language. This was a rare distinction, and indeed, so far as I am aware, without a parallel.

But the full measure of Dr. Lieber's abilities and attainments could be taken only by those who knew him personally and well; for there was much in him that did not go into his books. Among other qualities, he had a strong sense of humor and a quick perception of the ludicrous, which appeared alike in his correspondence and his conversation. He was a copious and an excellent letter-writer. In conversational power, I have never known his superior, and rarely his equal. He had thought much, read much, and seen much; and his memory firmly retained all that was ever intrusted to its charge. In common conversation he poured forth the wealth of his mind without weariness and without stint. When in the society of those with whom he was in harmony, he was one of the most genial, the most instructive, the most delightful of companions: but it was essential that he should be thus surrounded; for, though a strong man in body and mind, he was also sensitive, and an uncongenial presence acted unkindly upon him. He made and had many warm friends; but all with whom he came in contact were not friendly. His affections were strong, but so were his prejudices. He was impatient of contradiction, and not tolerant of opposition. It was painful to his spirit when those whom he loved did not agree with him.

His was a noble life, — not without struggle and disappointment and hopes unfulfilled and aspirations unsatisfied, but rich in effort and in endurance; and he leaves a name and record which will not pass away.

The President said that, during a little journey from which he had just returned, he had seen on the dinner-table of Mr. George L. Schuyler, at Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., a massive silver vase with the following inscription: —

Presented by
ANNE, Queen of England,
to
COLL PETER SCHUYLER of Albany,
In the Province of New-York:
April 19th 1710.

To commemorate his visit to England by request
of the Provincial Government, accompanied
by Five Sachems of the
Mohawks.

This Colonel Peter Schuyler was the son of the first emigrant of the name, and grand-uncle of General Philip Schuyler, the well-known patriot and hero of the Revolution, whose Life is just about being published, in two volumes, by Mr. Lossing.

Colonel Peter Schuyler was distinguished for his influence over the Indians, and in 1710 took five chiefs to England with him, at his own expense, in order to rouse the British Government to more active and vigorous measures against the French in Canada.

The President also called attention to a new number of the "Proceedings" from September, 1871, to May, 1872, inclusive, just issued.

Dr. ELLIS said the committee on the Hutchinson Papers and the Attorney-General of the State had not been able to agree on an arbiter for the settlement of the pending questions. The Attorney had objected to the names proposed by the committee, and had offered another name which the committee were not prepared to accept. After some discussion, the name of Professor Charles S. Bradley, of Providence, was agreed upon by the Society to be proposed to the Attorney-general; the Society again clothing their committee with full powers in the matter of an arbiter.

Mr. SIBLEY read a letter from Rev. John Marrett, of Woburn, to Rev. Isaiah Dunster, of Harwich, giving an account of the affair of Lexington of the 19th April, 1775.

Mr. WHITMORE communicated a paper on the origin of the name of the Town of Lexington, Mass.:—

On the Origin of the Name of the Town of Lexington, Mass.

In the admirable History of the Town of Lexington, by our learned associate, Hon. Charles Hudson, there will be found on pp. 422-424 his explanation of the origin of the name. The subject is worth a little attention, since, as the author says, "Lexington has become a watchword for freemen through-

out British America"; and "twenty-two counties, cities, and towns of the name are scattered over every section of our wide country."

There being confessedly no authoritative explanation of the reason for the selection of this name, when the town was incorporated, March 20, 1712-13, Mr. Hudson considers that it was given in honor of Robert Sutton, second and last Lord Lexington, who died in 1723. This surmise is fortified by the assertion that "a custom is said to have prevailed in Massachusetts in those days, when a town was incorporated, to pass the Order or Act, and send it to the Governor with a blank for the name to be filled by him." He adds that the then governor was Joseph Dudley, who was a friend and relative of Lord Lexington, the Dudleys being of the Sutton family; and so the name "given to this town would, if given by the Legislature, be a compliment to the Governor, and if given by the Governor himself would be a compliment to his friend and relative."

To most of these assertions I must oppose a denial. In the first place there is no proof that Governor Joseph Dudley was related to Lord Lexington. All that is known of the pedigree of the American Dudleys is, that Governor Thomas Dudley was born in the town of Northampton, and was the son of a Captain Roger Dudley who was slain in the wars. Here the pedigree stops absolutely, and thus far no additional light has been thrown on it. It has been supposed, but never proved, that Roger Dudley was the great-grandson of Edward, second Baron Dudley; but even if this were true, the connection with Sutton is very remote. It is generally held by the heralds that Rowland de Sutton of Aram married about A.D. 1250 the sister and co-heir of Robert, Baron Lexington, a title which was soon extinct. In one line from this marriage came the Suttons,—Barons Sutton of Dudley, created in 1342; and in another the Suttons of Aram, created Baron Lexington of Aram in 1645.

If Governor Dudley's pedigree were substantiated, he would have to reckon five generations to Edward, second Baron Dudley; two more to John Dudley, fourth Baron Sutton of Dudley, and first Baron Dudley; and at least eight generations more, or fifteen in all, to find an ancestor in common with Lord Lexington.

Considering the glories which rightly cling to the name of Dudley in England, we may well doubt if Governor Dudley would have sought so remote a kinsman to honor with a compliment.

As to their being acquaintances and friends, there is no reason to suppose it. I believe that no document or report points to any such personal knowledge, and it must be dismissed as a pardonable but unproved surmise.

In the next place, there is no evidence that Governor Dudley had any thing to do with naming the town. I have made very careful search in regard to this matter of names given by our Provincial Governors, and I am convinced that it became a practice only under Governor Bernard. Many of the towns were incorporated by resolves, and not by special acts; and I have examined all of the engrossed acts of town incorporations under the second charter. I will not take the space to detail the results of my search, but will repeat that the custom of passing the act with the name in blank did not begin before 1732. In that year (Mass. Rec. xv. pp. 265, 271, 280) the acts for Townsend and Harvard were passed in blank, sent down engrossed, read three times and passed to be enacted still in blank. The name of Harvard is written in by Secretary Willard. After this time it became of more frequent occurrence, and the earliest handwriting of a governor on the engrossed act is possibly that of Belcher. My present impression is that Shirley wrote three or four. When we come to Bernard, however, the case is different. During his term, 1760-1769, there were 39 towns formed in Massachusetts, 32 by act, and of these 26 have the names written in by Bernard. In what is now Maine, 10 towns were made, 6 by act, of which Bernard wrote 5. Governor Hutchinson acted in the same way. Under his rule in both States 26 new towns were created, 16 by act, and of these 13 were written by him.

It seems, then, that Mr. Hudson was rightly informed that the Provincial Governors did supply largely the local nomenclature. But he was in error in supposing that this was the case in 1713, as the custom was not in force till a half century later.

To sum up thus far, it seems that Mr. Hudson's reasoning is wrong, because in the first place there is no proof that Dudley was acquainted with Lord Lexington; secondly, no evidence that they were relatives at all; thirdly, if related, the connection was extremely remote; and fourthly, a certainty that the Governor, as such, had nothing to do with the name, and no evidence that Dudley, as an individual, had any connection with it.

But, after all, the name had some reason for being. The large English Gazetteers do not contain the name of Lexington

as now existing, but refer it to the present name of Laxton. This is a parish in Nottinghamshire, and is otherwise called Laxington with Moorhouse. It is ten miles from Newark, contains 3,610 acres, 126 houses, and in 1841 the population was 642.

This is clearly the source of our name, since the Lord Lexington derives his title from this place; and so Mr. Hudson's theory would give us the same derivation at second-hand.

In Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire, published in 1677, p. 373, he treats of "Laxton, Lexington, and Moorhouse." It appears that there were two manors, one termed Laxton and the other Lexington; but possibly these are mere variations of the same word, otherwise termed Lessinton and Lexinton. In Henry III.'s time, Robert de Lexington, Baron of Tuxford, was a judge; his brother, John de Lexinton, was Lord Chancellor, 1238 and 1247; and Henry de Lessinton, another brother, was Bishop of Lincoln in 1254. This family, however, ended in the male line in that generation; and one of the sisters of Lord Lexinton married Robert de Sutton of Aram, and inherited a part at least of the property.

After twelve generations the representation of the family came to Robert Sutton of Aram, who was in 1645 raised to the peerage. In memory of the great family of which he was a co-heir, he took the title of Lord Lexington of Aram. His son, the second Lord, died in 1723, leaving an only daughter, Bridget, wife of the third Duke of Rutland. The title became extinct, but the estates came eventually to George Manners, third son of Bridget, who took the additional name of Sutton. From him were descended Charles Manners-Sutton, Archbishop of Canterbury; Thomas Manners-Sutton, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, created Lord Manners in 1807; and Charles Manners-Sutton, Speaker of the House 1817-1834, created Viscount Canterbury in 1835.

The question still remains, Why was this name chosen in 1713 for a little town in Massachusetts? Having removed the special and specious reasons adduced by Mr. Hudson, was the then Lord Lexington a man worthy of such a compliment, and was it customary then to name our towns for distinguished Englishmen?

As to the first point, I cannot find that this nobleman was pre-eminent. In 1851 there was published a volume entitled "The Lexington Papers," being extracts from his correspondence, then recently discovered by accident.

It seems that Lord Lexington was made a member of the

Privy Council in 1691; was employed in the Diplomatic Service; was Envoy to Vienna, 1694-1697; one of the Council of Trade and Plantations, 1699-1705, but not after that time; one of the Lords of the Bedchamber; Ambassador to Spain, 1712-1714; and was "named as likely to hold high office in the Government about to be formed under the auspices of Lord Bolingbroke," when Queen Anne died. He was severely censured in the Report of Mr. Walpole's committee, but escaped the impeachment which befell Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Strafford. The remainder of his life was passed in retirement, and he died Sept. 19, 1723, aged sixty-two years.

Waiving the point whether Lord Lexington was so distinguished that his name would be selected, — and I for one should contend that he was not, — I desire to call attention to another important part of the case. It is clear that if he were distinguished at all in 1713, it was as a member of Bolingbroke's party, the ultra Jacobites, the Tories who were ready to place the Stuart Pretender on the throne instead of King George.

But Hutchinson, under date of 1714 (*Hist. of Mass.*, ed. 1767, vol. ii. p. 209), writes as follows: —

"The secret designs of Queen Ann's last ministry were nowhere more suspected, nor more dreaded, than in the Massachusetts; and the first of August was nowhere celebrated with greater joy during the whole of the king's reign."

I think, therefore, that we may safely assume that, if the Legislature of Massachusetts desired to compliment any English statesman, the choice would not have fallen on one of Bolingbroke's friends.

Having attempted to show that, if a custom prevailed of naming towns for living statesmen, the choice would not have fallen on Lord Lexington, I have farther to urge that there is no evidence of such a custom. Of course we may leave out of consideration the towns named under the first charter, many of the names evidently being given by the emigrants. But from 1689 to 1724 it is hardly possible to find any trace of a custom of honoring living Englishmen in this way.

The towns named were Little Compton, Freetown, Rochester, Tiverton, Harwich, Attleborough, all before 1695; Framingham (1700), Dracut (1702), Brookline (1705), Plympton (1707), Truro (1709), Pembroke, Norton, Needham, Weston, Dighton, Abington, Chatham, Leicester, Northfield, Rutland, Lexington (1711-1713), Medway, Oxford, Chilmark, Sun-

derland, Sutton, Littleton, Hopkinton (1713-1715), Westborough, Brookfield, and Bellingham (1717-1719).

From 1724 — when Holliston, Walpole, and Methuen were named — we begin to see a system in use of complimenting distinguished Englishmen; but before this I can see no trace of the custom. In this list of thirty-two towns, Abingdon or Abington and Lexington are the only two which could reasonably be considered especially personal. Oxford was indeed the title of the Prime Minister; but it occurs with Leicester and Rutland, and we may well consider that the English counties were meant. Sunderland is the name of a large seaport as well as of a peerage, and Sutton* is the name of sixty English parishes. As to Abington, there was, indeed, living in 1711 Montagu Bertie, second Earl of Abingdon, one of over sixty Privy Councillors. As there are three or four Abingtons in England, I prefer to seek the origin of our name in one of them, rather than to suppose this utterly obscure peer was thus selected for honor.

I hope, then, that having settled that Governor Dudley had nothing to do with giving the name, I have shown that the Legislature before 1724 did not have a custom of selecting the names of English statesmen for the new towns, and that certainly had they made such a choice, it would not in 1713 have fallen on a high Tory like Lord Lexington. I trust that I have wholly disproved the supposition to which my learned friend was driven by the necessity of accounting in some way for the name of our famous town. I would add that the derivation was a very plausible one, and only to be questioned after an examination of the whole subject of our local nomenclature, which could hardly be demanded of the historian of a town.

But if we reject the mediation of Lord Lexington, can any reason be given for the choice of this obscure hamlet in Nottinghamshire for commemoration here? I will propound a theory in reply, confessing, however, that it is not supported by the desired evidences. It is very certain that our first settlers gave to their new homes, in many instances, the names of the villages whence they had emigrated. We do not find the cities and great provincial centres thus remembered, but

* At first sight the names Sutton, Lexington, Leicester, and Rutland seem to favor Mr. Hudson's theory. But I have explained Sutton and Leicester, and I would add that the marriage of the heiress of Lexington to the Duke of Rutland was not until 1717, or some four years after the naming of our towns. Coincidences bear many interpretations.

the little places in which their recollections centred. Research in such cases proves that some one of the settlers had thus the honor and pleasure of perpetuating the name of the home of his youth. I venture to suggest that in the same way Lexington may have been the renewal of the name of the English home of some one of the settlers. Although not incorporated till 1713, Lexington was set off as a precinct in 1691, in accordance with a petition made in 1682. At that time the settlement was known as the North Precinct or Cambridge Farms; terms of no particular force, being merely descriptive of a part of Cambridge.

A search of the parish records of Lexington or Laxton, England, made by Colonel Joseph L. Chester, shows clearly that, with one exception, none of the first settlers at our Lexington bore names found there. In the order for the boundary line in 1684, confirmed in 1691, it was placed "on the south side of Francis Whitmore's house towards the town of Cambridge aforesaid"; that is, so as to enclose his house in the new town. In 1713 the order incorporating the town of Lexington recited this order, and therefore repeats the name of Francis Whitmore.

Without putting too much stress on this prominence given to his name, it is fair to point out that the limits of the town were fixed during the lifetime of Francis Whitmore, and that the incorporated name was taken during the residence of his son Samuel on the same land.

Francis Whitmore was one of the early colonists, born in 1625, presumably in England, and could it be shown that he was born in Lexington, England, it would be a moral certainty that we have found the cause of the name here.

Unfortunately the evidence on this point is still wanting, but something can be said in favor of the probability. Early in the seventeenth century the chief family at Laxton, Notts, was that of Roos. Francis Roos, of Laxton, who died in 1577, had, besides male descendants who continued the name, a daughter, who married Thomas Whitmore. Their son was Rev. Francis Whitmore, of Bingham, county Notts, whose son, Francis Whitmore, was of London chiefly, but whose will, proved in 1649, styles him of Laxton.

We can say, then, that there was in 1649 a Francis Whitmore, of Laxton or Lexington, England, and a Francis Whitmore, of Cambridge, Mass., at the same time. That this last-named Francis lived in that part of Cambridge, which, in the lifetime of his son, was called Lexington. However fallacious coincidences may be, the absence of all other reasons

for the naming of this town may lead us to attach some importance to this concurrence of names. When we find a town named, as Groton was, by one of the emigrants in honor of his own home, the connection is evident. On the other hand, when we find Colonel Richard Lee, an emigrant to Virginia, naming his plantations Ditchley and Stratford, we feel sure that he must be a relative of the Lees of those places in England. In the case of Lexington, we have neither the certainty that Francis Whitmore named it, which would argue that he belonged to the family there at Laxton, nor any proof that he was of that origin, which would make it reasonable to think he revived the name of Lexington here. All that can be said is, that there was some reason for the name; if Francis Whitmore were born at Laxton, England, that would be sufficient reason; that Lord Lexington had nothing to do with the matter; and so for lack of certainty the question must still remain unsettled.

Mr. APPLETON communicated a number of letters of the celebrated Paul Jones, principally addressed to Captain Hector M'Neil; also some letters of Captain M'Neil himself.

The Publishing Committee have selected the following for publication in the Proceedings:—

*Hector M'Neil to Samuel Adams.**

SIR,—Although I know that your time is constantly taken up with matters of importance, yet I cannot help begging your attention for a few moments to the case of a person now under distress in this City whose situation formerly I was well acquainted with.

I believe you are no stranger to the deplorable circumstances our army in Canada were reduce'd to, immediatly after the death of General Montgomrie.

I my self am a witness, of the amazing fortitude and perseverance of that handfull which remained under Gen' Arnold, who with a number much less then half the Garrison, kept up the Blockade of Quebec for some months untill reinforcements arived from these States: it was at that critical time the General stood in great need of the assistance and friendship of the canadians, who although they were well disposed towards the american army, and their cause, yet were frightened by their preists, who threatned them with Excommunication, and had actually refused evrey church privelidge to any who served or inclined to serve on the side of the Americans; On this occasion the person above spoken of step'd forth, and offred his services as a cler-

* The address "To the Hon^{ble} Samuel Adams" has a pen drawn through it. The letter is labelled, "Copy to M' — on Lobeniers Situation Jany 14th 1779." — Eds.

gey-man for the canadians, which good pollicy, and the Exigencey of our affairs, inclined the Gen^l to accept, and M^r Lobenier was accordingly appointed chaplain to a Canadian Reg^t, much to the satisfaction of those poor men, who thought their eternall filicity depended on the assistance of a preist.

It is beyound a doubt that the part M^r Lobenier had taken renderd him obnoxious to the Brittish, consequently he was obliged to quit his native country with our retreating army and throw himself on the mercy of a people whose part he had taken in the darkest hour of their distress.

Since his arival in this City he has enjoyed, by the Bounty of congress, a small pittance, which has made his Exile Tollerable untill the setting in of the present Winter; but as the times grow worse, even with those who have much greater Resources then this poor Gentleman can possibly have, so has it fallen heavily on him; for ever since the Last of november he has been retrench'd of fire and candle, which at this pinching season of the year are undoubtedly among the Necessarys of Life; Espacially to a man in his situation, burthened with age, an utter stranger among us, and totally unable even to begg in our Language.

I know this man as a Gentleman, to belong to one of the Greatest familys in canada, and as a clergyman I believe the only one of that country honoured with the Religious Cross of Malta; I know also that he enjoyed a Liveing worth between four and five hundred pounds sterling a year, besides a Patrimonial Estate, all which he has Lost through his friendship for the americans. What pity it is then, that in addition to the sacrificses he has made for our sakes, he should be sufferd to pine away in want and misery, dureing his Exile from his friends and Countrey — in short I am shockd at the idea of the consequences this mans case may produce hereafter; a time may come once more when we may stand in need of the Freindly offices of the canadians, who I fear instead of assisting us, will have reason to take warning, and reproach us with the unhappy fate of the Refugees from that country, many of whom are now Exposed to Extream poverty, and Little or no Notice taken of their sufferings.

I think it my Duty to make you acquainted with M^r Lobenier's Case in particular, not doubting of your disposition for doing all the Good you can on evrey Occasion.

I am Sir, with due Respect & Defference,

Your most Obed^t Serv^t,

HECTOR MCNEILL.

PHILADELPHIA, January 14th, 1779.

Paul Jones to Hector McNeill.

PORTSMOUTH, New Hampshire, March 21st 1782.

I am honored, my dear friend, with your favors of the 7th by Post and by M^r Brown. I need not tell you I am sorry for the difficulties that seem to stand in the way of what I mentioned respecting you to the Minister of Finance and of the Marine; who wrote me he had

given Orders to M^r Brown in consequence. M^r Brown has not shewn me his Orders, and I cannot ask him how far they extend; but when we take leave of each other I will mention your subject and say every thing I can on the occasion. I think he will do whatever may be consistent with his Orders. — I am greatly obliged by your kind intention of honoring me with a visit here. If this could be done consistent with Business, I should be earnest in Urging it; but purely as a compliment to me, however flattering it is, I must not — I cannot expect it. If your Business should bring you to Newbury, it would be easy for me to meet you there; and if you could then conveniently come on with me to Portsmouth to see the America and spend a few Days with your Friends here, I should be very happy in your Company. — It is probable that Business may bring me to Boston in the summer, so that I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you at all events before I again leave the Continent. I am happy to hear M^r McNeil and your Family are well, and pray you to return them my respectful Compliments. — Excuse the liberty I take of enclosing a Guinea which I pray you to *Invest* in good Hair Powder, and ship it to my address, on a Coasting Vessel said to be now at Boston and bound here. *Entre nous* there is none of that Luxury to be had here; except such as is impregnated with Luxurious Mites. I am always

Your affectionate

PAUL JONES.

HECTOR McNIEL, Esq., Boston.

Same to the Same.

PORTSMOUTH, May 25th 1782.

I am honored, my dear friend, with your esteemed favor of the 20th. I am altogether in the dark about what has been done or is doing to re-establish the credit of our Marine. In the course of near Seven Years service I have continually suggested what has occurred to me as most likely to promot its honor and render it serviceable to our Cause; but my Voice has been like a cry in the Desert: I know no remedy but patience. No man can be more in suspense than I am — and my reason as well as my feelings correspond with yours in lamenting the protraction of Justice to men who have merited the smiles of the Sovereign Authority. Whatever I have written or may Write to you on so delicate a Subject must be *in confidence* — I fondly hope the times will mend, and that Merit and Abilities will yet find encouragement; but were I used ever so ill I determin to persevere, till my Country is Free. When I hear any thing farther I shall not fail to write you, meantime present my affectionate respects to your family and believe me

Your

PAUL JONES.

N.B. I duly received the Hair Powder; which is very good and is a great favor.

HECTOR McNIEL, Esq., Boston.

*Same to the Same.*PORTSMOUTH, N. Hampshire, Sept. 17th 1782.

Your Letter, my dear friend, by Monsieur Ravy, was delivered to me by that Gentleman Yesterday. I conducted him and his companion over the River to see the America, but as he departs this morning I am precluded from showing him the attentions due to every recommendation of yours. I expect we shall launch the America within four weeks, and the present prospect of affairs leaves me some room to think I may shortly visit Boston. You will believe the pleasure of seeing you and yours well will not be my *least* inducement. I am sincerely and affectionately

Your friend,

PAUL JONES.

HECTOR MCNEIL, Esq., Boston.

The President spoke of the intended visit to Boston of our distinguished Honorary Member, Mr. Froude, and hoped an opportunity would occur for the members to pay their respects to him.

NOVEMBER MEETING, 1872.

A stated meeting of the Society was held on Thursday evening, the 14th instant, at the residence of the Hon. John Amory Lowell, No. 7 Park Street, at which the distinguished historian, Mr. Froude, was present as an Honorary Member. Before introducing him to the Society, the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, took occasion to refer to the great calamity under which our city was suffering, and to recount something of the history of Boston in the olden time, as affording consolation and courage for the present hour. He spoke as follows:—

Gentlemen of the Massachusetts Historical Society:—

I must beg your attention for a few moments. I have promised our distinguished guest that, after the fatigue of the interesting lecture which he has just delivered at the Tremont Temple, he shall not be involved in any ceremonious utterances again to-night. But as we desire that our meeting shall be a matter of record, and that his name may be entered among those present, if not as taking part in its proceedings, I am

sure he will pardon me, and you will all pardon me, for an informal word or two before we relapse into a mere social party.

Let me say, at the outset, that the arrangements for this occasion were made before the occurrence of the awful calamity which we all so deeply deplore, and from which so many of us are more or less sufferers in common with our fellow-citizens. And our guest was himself the first to suggest that, in presence of such an event, all engagements of this sort might well be cancelled. But on consultation with our worthy host, Mr. Lowell, I found that he saw no reason why a stated meeting of our old Historical Society should not proceed according to the programme under his hospitable roof, — more especially as at this moment we have no sufficient roof of our own for the purpose. Our meeting will at least furnish evidence that, while we heartily unite with those around us in lamenting the terrible disaster which has befallen our beloved city, we have the fullest faith and confidence that, at no very distant day, it will be ours to witness and to record the reconstruction of all which has been destroyed, the recovery of all which has been lost, the building up again of all these waste places, and of the fortunes of those who have occupied them, and the complete restoration of Boston to its long-accustomed prosperity.

We may well draw consolation and confidence from the records of the past; and I venture to presume so far upon your indulgence, and upon the official relation which I bear to the Society, as to turn back the pages of history for a few moments, and to remind you how often our fathers suffered in the same way before us, and how bravely and triumphantly they met such calamities.

I doubt not that there are many of those present who remember having read a discourse delivered by Cotton Mather, at what was called "The Boston Lecture," on the seventh day of February, 1698, and which is included in the first volume of his *Magnalia*. After alluding to the wonderful growth of our town, until it had become known as "The Metropolis of the whole English America," he proceeds to say: "Little was this expected by them that first settled the town, when for a while Boston was proverbially called *Lost-town*, for the mean and sad circumstances of it." And then, after depicting the dangers of famine and the ravages of the small-pox from which it had repeatedly and severely suffered, he goes on as follows: —

"Never was any town under the cope of heaven more liable to be laid in ashes, either through the carelessness or the

wickedness of them that sleep in it. That such a combustible heap of contiguous houses yet stands, it may be called a standing miracle. It is not because the watchman keeps the city: perhaps there may be too much cause of reflection in that thing, and of inspection too. No, it is from thy watchful protection, O thou keeper of Boston, who neither slumbers nor sleeps." "TEN TIMES [he continues] has the fire made notable ruins among us, and our good servant been almost our master; *but the ruins have mostly and quickly been rebuilt.* I suppose that many more than a thousand houses are now to be seen on this little piece of ground, all filled with the undeserved favors of God."

This was in the year 1698, when Boston had but seven thousand inhabitants, and when one thousand houses were as many as Cotton Mather dared positively to count on our whole peninsula. Ten times, it seems, the town had already been devastated by fires. You may find an account of almost all of them in Mr. Drake's elaborate History of Boston.

One of them, in 1654, was long known as "The Great Fire"; but neither its locality nor extent can now be identified. Another of them occurred in November, 1676, which was called "the greatest fire that had ever happened in Boston." It alarmed the whole country, as well as the town, and burned to the ground forty-six dwelling-houses, besides other buildings, together "with a Meeting House of considerable bigness." Two or three years only afterwards, in 1679, another still more terrible fire occurred, when all the warehouses and a great number of dwelling-houses, with the vessels then in the dock, were consumed,—the most woful desolation that Boston had ever seen. "Ah, Boston" (exclaimed Mather, in view of this catastrophe), "thou hast seen the vanity of all worldly possessions! One fatal morning, which laid *four-score* of thy dwelling-houses and *seventy* of thy warehouses in a ruinous heap, gave thee to read it in fiery characters."

So fierce were the ravages of this last fire, we are told, that all landmarks were obliterated in several places, and considerable trouble was experienced in fixing the bounds of estates. But, we are also told, "rebuilding the burnt district went on with such rapidity that lumber could not be had fast enough for the purpose"; and, as Dr. Mather said eighteen years afterwards, the ruins were mostly and quickly rebuilt.

We read of another fire in 1702, which was for many years talked of as "the seventh great fire." It broke out near the dock, destroying a great amount of property, and "three ware-

houses were blown up to hinder its spreading." It thus seems that a hundred and seventy years ago our fathers understood this mode of arresting the flames; perhaps better than we seem to have done in these latter days. But they must have been sadly deficient in other appliances; as, only two days before this fire broke out, a vote had been passed in town-meeting "that the selectmen should procure two water-engines suitable for the extinguishing of fires, either by sending for them to England or otherwise to provide them."

In October, 1711, again, a still more destructive conflagration took place in Boston. The town-house, the old meeting-house, and about a hundred other houses and buildings, were destroyed, and a hundred and ten families turned out of doors. "But that [it is recorded] which very much added unto the horror of the dismal night, was the tragical death of many poor men, who were killed by the blowing-up of houses, or by venturing too far into the fire." The bones of seven or eight of these were supposed to be found. "From School Street to Dock Square, including both sides of Cornhill, all the buildings were swept away."

Once more, and finally, we turn over to 1760, when the remembrance of all other Boston fires was almost obliterated by that of the 20th of March of that year, which, it is said, "will be a day memorable for the most terrible fire that has happened in this town, or, perhaps, in any other part of North America, far exceeding that of the 2d of October, 1711, till now termed 'The Great Fire.'" *Three hundred and forty-nine* dwelling-houses, stores, and shops were consumed, and above one thousand people were left without a habitation.

And thus has history repeated itself in the experiences of Boston; and thus we find that our early predecessors in these pleasant places were called to endure calamities by fire almost as great, perhaps quite as great in proportion to the population and wealth and means of relief of their days, as those which have now fallen upon us. We see, too, with what constancy and courage they bore them, and how uniformly the record runs that "the ruins were quickly rebuilt."

I will not come down to later years, though, even within the memory of some now living and present, disastrous and widespread conflagrations have occurred which seemed at first to overshadow the prospect of our prosperity and growth. But we see what Boston has become in spite of all these discouragements and drawbacks, and how the enterprise and bravery of her people, ever mounting with the occasion, have carried us onward and upward to the position and elevation which

we have recently enjoyed, — let me say, which we still enjoy. The same enterprise, the same courage, are still ours. With trust in each other, trust in ourselves, and trust in God, we shall go through our furnace of affliction as our fathers went through theirs, — not unscorched certainly, but tried, purified, invigorated; and Boston will resume a leading place in the business of the country and of the world, and rise to greater eminence than she has ever yet attained.

Yes, my friends, I am persuaded that those who succeed us in this Historical Society, — I will not say a century hence, nor even half a century, nor a quarter of a century, but at a much earlier period, — when they recall the incidents of this overwhelming conflagration, and describe the devouring element leaping from roof to roof with such terrible energy, and involving so much of the solidest part of our city in seemingly helpless, hopeless desolation, will say also, not only that there was no hanging of the head or folding of the arms in despair, but that even while the embers were still casting their glaring light upon the sky, while the wearied firemen were still pouring rivers of water upon the smouldering, treacherous ruins, and before the danger of further destruction was altogether at an end, even then the elastic and irrepressible spirit of our people asserted itself as it had never done before; that even then our noble merchants, with old familiar names at their head, were engaging their architects and making their estimates for reconstruction, while the municipal authorities were running out the lines of new streets and new squares, and projecting the plans of a grander and safer business city than had ever before been witnessed here. And they will add to the record, that these plans were rapidly executed and the reconstruction completely accomplished.

True, we have lost much, and our hearts are in the deepest sympathy with the sufferers. Indeed, we are all sufferers together. There is no exemption from the results of this catastrophe, and I would not underestimate its severity. But how much we have left! Almost all the dwellings of the poor as well as of the rich; Faneuil Hall and the State House and the City Hall; the old State House and the Old South; our Charity Bureau, never more blessed in its ministrations than at this moment; all our court houses and record offices, not one touched; our public library, all our school-houses, and almost all our churches. Still more, the enterprise and liberality of our capitalists; the genius of our engineers and inventors; the public spirit of our citizens; the sympathy of our fellow-men everywhere, — all are left to us; and, above all else, that

abiding faith and trust in a wise and merciful Providence, which we inherited from our fathers, and from our mothers also,—and which is emblazoned on the very seal of our city,—*Sicut Patribus, sit Deus nobis*. While we are true to that motto, and to the spirit of that motto, Boston will never be called “Lost-town,” either proverbially or otherwise, however it may have been so called in the days which Cotton Mather described.

And now let me turn from this painful topic, which could not fail to be uppermost in all our thoughts and hearts to-night,—let me turn to a word of welcome to our distinguished guest. He needs no introduction to any of us. His elaborate and brilliant History has introduced him, long before his arrival, to every reader of the English tongue. Whether or not he has absolutely reversed or even modified our views of some of the great figures of the period which he describes, we all feel that he has gone down deeper into the mines of history than any of his predecessors in the same field, and has brought up things rich and rare for our entertainment and instruction, weaving them with surpassing skill into the most attractive and effective form. He has given a new zest to the reading and the study of that English history, which I well remember that Daniel Webster, when I was a law student in his office, so emphatically enjoined upon me as furnishing the key to all our own free institutions. He has given us, too, the history of the old mother country during the very period when the founders of the American colonies, as he has reminded us this evening, were being shaped and moulded for their great wilderness work, under that Maiden Queen, as she was wont to be called, in honor of whom our whole continent, or certainly our whole coast, once bore the name,—which one of our largest and most ancient commonwealths still bears,—the name of Virginia. You all remember that even the Pilgrim Fathers, in the ever memorable compact which they signed in the cabin of the Mayflower on the 11th (21st) of November, 1620, designated their voyage as undertaken “to plant the first colony in the northern part of Virginia.”

Elizabeth had then been dead for seventeen years, but her imperious refusal of all suitors for her hand had been inscribed where it was never to be forgotten. The great events of the latter part of her reign, at least, were familiar as household words to those by whom our colonies were founded. It was but yesterday that I was showing to Mr. Froude a contemporary account of “the Order and Manner of the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots,” which I had found

carefully copied into the common-place book of Adam Winthrop, the father of our Governor. And as he thinks that it may never yet have been printed, I propose, with our Secretary's leave, that it shall go into the next serial number of our printed Proceedings.

But I have said more than enough for the introduction of one who, as I have suggested, in writing the history of his own country at a period when it was our country also, or certainly the country of our fathers, has long ago secured for himself the most respectful and cordial welcome to our shores, and who we rejoice has at length come over to receive that welcome. I present to you, gentlemen, our distinguished Honorary Member, Mr. Froude.

Mr. FROUDE made a graceful response to the welcome extended to him, and acknowledged the satisfaction he felt on receiving notice a few years since of his enrolment as a member of this Society. It was a compliment for which he felt at the time most grateful as one of his earliest recognitions.

The following is the account of the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, referred to by the President:—

The manner & order of y^e execution of y^e late Queene of Scottes, wth y^e wordes w^{ch} she spake at her Deathe, truly sett downe by Doctor fletcher Deane of Peterborowe.

On Wednesday y^e viii of february ñō 1586 there assembled at y^e Castle of ffordringham y^e Earles of Shrewsbury & Kent, wth divers Knightes & gentlemen Justices of y^e peace of y^e yeare in those Countreies. About viii of y^e clocke, y^e Earles & Sherifes of y^e Shire went upp to y^e Scottish Queene, whom they fownde prayinge on hir knees, wth hir gentlewomen & men. And the Sherifes rememberinge hir y^e time was at hand, she awnswere & sayde she was readie. Then she was ledde by y^e armes from hir chamber into the y^e chamber of presence, where wth many exhortacions to hir people to feare God, & to live in obedience, kissinge hir women, she gave hir hande to hir men to kisse: prayinge them all not to sorowe, but reioice & pray for hir. She was brought downe y^e stayers by two Souldiers: Then beinge belowe she stayed, & lookinge backe she sayed she was evill attended, & desired y^e Lordes she might for woman hoodes sake, have two of hir women to wayte uppon hir. Then they sayde, they were onely wthholden for y^e it was feared, by their passionate cryinge they would disquiet hir Spirit, & disturbe y^e execution. She sayde, I will promise for them y^e they shall not doe so. Then two of them whom she willed were brought unto hir. Then she spake muche unto Welbin hir man, & charged him as he woulde answere before God, to deliver

hir Speache & message to hir Sonne in suche sorte as she did speake them, all wth tended onely to will him to governe wisely, in y^e feare of God, & to take heede to whom he betooke his chiefest trust; & not to geve an occasion to be evill thought of by the Queene of Inglande, hir good sister, to certefie him she dyed a true Skotte, a true frenche, & a true Catholique. Aboute X of y^e clocke she was brought downe into y^e greate hall, where in y^e midst of y^e howse, & agaynste y^e chimnie, (wherein was a greate fire) was a skaffolde sett upp of twoe foote height, & xii foote broade, havinge two steppes to come upp; about y^e scaffold went a rayle halfe a yarde highte rownde covered wth black cotten: So was hir stoole, y^e Lordes forme, y^e blocke, & a pillowe for hir to kneele upon. There did sitt upon y^e skaffolde y^e two Earles, y^e Sherife stode there, & y^e two executioners. When they were sett, M^r Beale, Clerke of y^e Cowncell did reade hir Ma^{ties} Commission for hir execution, under y^e broade Seale, after w^{ch} y^e Deane of Peterborowe beinge directed by y^e Lordes to speake unto hir, for y^e better p^rparation to dye a penitent Christian, in y^e true faythe of Christ, began at y^e motion of y^e Earle of Shrewsbury his exhortation, w^{ch} as sone as he had begonne, she sayde wth a lowd voice, peace M^r Deane, I will not heare you. I say nothinge sayde he, but y^e I will iustifie before y^e ma^{ties} of y^e most highest. So proceedinge, she cryed alowde agayne, peace M^r Deane, I will not heare you, you have nothinge to doe wth me, nor I wyth you. Then was he willed to silence, for any further molestinge hir mynde. She sayde, so it is best, for I am fully settled & resolved to dye in y^e Catholique Romishe faythe. W^{ch} when y^e Lordes hearde; the Earle of Kent sayde, albeit Madam, you refuse y^e offered mercies of y^e most highest, yet we will offer of prayers to God for you; hopinge he will heare us. And if it might stande wth his good will, he would vouchsafe to open your eies, & to lighten your hearte, w^{ch} y^e true knowledge of his will, & to dye therein. She sayde, doe, & I will pray. Then y^e Deane pronounced a prayer, w^{ch} y^e standers by folowed; all w^{ch} while she havinge a crucifixe betwene hir handes prayed much lowder in latin. The prayer beinge done, she kneeled downe, & prayed to this effect: for Christ his afflicted Church, & for an ende of their troubles, for hir Sonne y^e he might rule uprightly, & be converted to y^e Catholique Romishe Church. She prayed y^e Queenes Ma^{ties} might longe reigne peaceably, might prosper, & serve God. She confessed she hoped to be saved onely by y^e bloude of Christe, at y^e foote of whose picture presented on y^e crucifixe she woulde willingly shedd hir bloude. She prayed to all y^e Sayntes of heaven to pray for hir, & y^e y^e God of heaven woulde of his goodnes averte his plagues from this silly Ilande, & y^e God would geve hir life, & forgeve hir sinnes, & y^e he woulde receave hir Soule into his heavenly handes. And then she rose upp, & was by two of hir women, & y^e two executioners disrobed into hir petticoote. Then she sayde, she was not wont to be undressed before such a number, nor by such gromes. Then she kissed hir women, & one of them began to crye, to whom she sayde, peace, cry not, I haue promised y^e contrarie: Crye not for me, but reioice, & lifted upp hir

handes & blessed them, & likewise hir men not farre of. Then sodenly she kneeled downe most resolutely, & wth y^e least token of any feare of deathe y^e might be. And after y^e one of hir women had knitte a kertcher about hir eies, she spake alowde this psalme in latin — *In te Domine confido, ne confundar in aeternū*. Then lay she downe very quietly stretchinge out hir body, & layinge hir necke over y^e blocke, cryed, *in manus tuas Domine*, &c. One of y^e executioners helde downe hir two handes: & y^e other did at two strokes wth an axe cutt of hir heade, w^{ch} fallinge out of hir atyre appeared very graye, & neare powlde. So houldinge it upp, y^e people sayed, God save y^e Queene, & so perishe all hir enemies, & y^e enemies of the gospell. All things about hir, & belonging to hir, were taken from y^e executioners, & they were not suffered so muche as to haue their aprons before them till they were washed. The bloody clothes, y^e blocke, & whatsoever els bloody, was brent in y^e chymny fire. The body was carryed upp into y^e chamber, hir boweles taken out, embawmed, seared, & resteth to the buriall.

[Then follows in a different style of chirography, though by the same hand:]

Shee was first roiallie buried in the Cathedrall Church of Peterburrough. But afterwarde shee was brought from thence to Westminster, & buried in Kinge Henry the Seventhes chapple, where a princely tombe was made over her, by the Kinges ma^{tie} her Sonne in the yere of his reigne of Greate Britayne, &c.

The saide Queene of Scottes was the daughter & sole heire of James the 5. Kinge of Scotts, & was borne the 8 daye of December, 1542. beinge but 5. daies olde when her father died. Shee was first married to Francys the eldest sonne of Henry y^e Seconde, Kinge of France, who reigned 2 yeres after his father, by whom shee had no issue. Then shee retourned into Scotlande, & married Henry the lorde Darly, the eldest sonne unto Mathewe, Erle of Lenox, by whom shee had issue the Kinges ma^{tie} James the 6. who was but a yere olde when his father was slayne, & his mother fled into Englande, where shee remained p^rsoner till she died, w^{ch} was the 8 daie of February, 1586, in the 44 yere of her age, & in the 29 yere of the reigne of Queene Elizabeth.*

* The following letter from Queen Elizabeth to Sir Amias Paulet is also taken from the Common Place Book of Adam Winthrop (b. 1548, d. 1633). William Tytler, in his "Inquiry, Historical and Critical, into the Evidence against Mary, Queen of the Scots" (4th ed. 1790, vol. ii. pp. 320, 403), prints this letter from "a collection of remarkable trials published, London, 1715." In commenting on the letter, he says: "What a picture we have here of the heroine of England! Wooing a faithful servant to commit a clandestine murder, which she herself durst not avow!" Tytler feels that he is justified in giving this interpretation to the letter, by others which followed, from Walsingham and Davison, written by order of the Queen, in which the proposal is made in plain terms. Miss Aikin also prints the letter in her History of Queen Elizabeth; and so does Froude, from "MSS. Mary Q. of Scots." But the text in no two of these copies is alike; and the copy from which we now print varies from all these. Neither copy bears a date, but Froude refers the letter to "August, 1586," which was probably just before Queen Mary

DECEMBER MEETING, 1872.

A stated meeting was held on the 12th inst. in the room of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, in the Athenæum Building, on Beacon Street; the President in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the records of the two preceding meetings.

The Librarian read the list of donations to the Library.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter from Mr. Seth Reed, of Baltimore, enclosing a statement recently made at a meeting of the Maryland Historical Society; viz., that the burning of a vessel, the "Peggy Stewart," laden with tea, in Annapolis Harbor, occurred prior to the destruction of the tea in Boston Harbor. The Corresponding Secretary then gave the circumstances of the destruction of the "Peggy Stewart," it having been burnt by the owner himself to allay public excitement, after the duties on the tea had been paid. This occurred the year following the destruction of the tea in Boston Harbor.

The gift of two books to the Library by our associate Mr. Whitmore was noticed; viz., A Memoir of Edward A. Holyoke, M.D., LL.D., and the first volume of Lossing's "Life and Times of Philip Schuyler." Mr. Whitmore said that the concluding volume of the latter work might soon be expected.

left Chartley Manor for Fotheringay Castle, under the conduct of Sir Amias Paulet, one of her keepers. Sir Drue Drury, another of them, was a Suffolk man, not far off from Groton, and Adam Winthrop might have had the letter from him. She was executed on the 8th of February following.

A copie of y^e Q. Ma^{ties} Lr^e to Sir Amias Pawlett:

Amias, my most faythfull & carefull servaunt, God rewarde the treble folde for thy most troublesome charge so well discharged, if you knewe, my Amias, howe kindly my gratefull harte accepteth your speedie endeavours, faythfull actions, yo^r wise orders, & safe regarde, performed in so dangerous & craftie a charge, it would ease your travailes, & reioice your harte: In w^{ch} I charge you to carry this most iust thought, y^e I cannot ballance in any waight of my iudgment y^e value y^e I prise you att. And suppose y^e no treasure can countervayle so greate a fayth. And I shall condemne mysele in y^e faulte w^{ch} I never committed, if I rewarde not such desertes, yea, lett me lacke when I most neede, if I acknowledge not suche a meritt, w^{ch} a reward *non omnibus datū*. But lett yo^r wicked murtheresse knowe, howe w^{ch} hartie sorowe hir vile desertes compell these orders, & bidde hir from me aske God forgevenes, for hir treacherous dealinge towardes y^e saver of hir life many yeres: to y^e intollerable perill of hir owne: and yet not content w^{ch} so many forgevenesses, must fall agayne so horribly, farre passinge a womans thought, muche more a princes. In steade of excusinge[s] whereof not one can serve, it beinge so playnely confessed by y^e actours of my guiltlesse deathe, lett repentance take place, & lett not y^e fiende possesse hir so as hir better parte be loste, w^{ch} I pray wth handes lifted upp to him y^e may both save & spill, w^{ch} my most lovinge adieu, & pray[er] for thy longe life.

Your assured & lovinge Sovereigne

as therto by good desert endued,

ELIZA: REGINA.

To my faythfull AMIAS.

A letter was read from Prof. William B. Rogers, enclosing another from Mr. A. M. Foute, of New York, offering for sale a miniature of Patrick Henry, now belonging to some member of the family of this distinguished patriot, who was willing to part with it. The letter was read for information, and no formal action taken upon it.

The President read a letter from our associate Dr. J. G. Holland, dated New York, October 14th, saying that as he had now removed from the State of Massachusetts he had ceased to be a member of the Society.

He also read a letter from our associate R. B. Forbes, Esq., enclosing, as a gift to the Society, an original letter of General John Armstrong to his father, Ralph B. Forbes; also a copy of a note from Fouché to the General, with a note from the General's Secretary to Stephen Cathalon, commercial agent at Paris. Mr. Forbes detailed the circumstances under which these letters were written.

The President read a letter from the Hon. Mr. James W. Gerard, of New York, surviving executor of the estate of our late Resident Member, General William H. Sumner, relative to certain articles of historical interest bequeathed to the Society in the General's last will. The President said that the Standing Committee had sent for these memorials, and placed them in suitable repositories for safe keeping till the Society's Hall should be in readiness to receive them. A list and description of these articles here follow:—

General Sumner's library-chair and table; a drawing, by Mr. Somerby, of Bicester Church in England, where the ancestors of the General were baptized; the portrait of Colonel Samuel Shrimpton, the former proprietor of East Boston, and portraits of Simeon Stoddard and wife (widow of Colonel Shrimpton); a silver medal of General Taylor, originally presented to Chief-Justice Eustiss by the Legislature of Louisiana; a cannon-ball picked up by General Sumner on General Jackson's battle-ground, near New Orleans; a green chair which Governor Sumner used to sit in; a carved Dutch chair, formerly for many years in the family of Baron von Capellan; "the witch bureau, from the middle drawer of which one of the witches jumped out who was hung on Gallows Hill, in Salem"; an antique Fabens Bureau, bought in Salem; Governor Shute's parchment commission as Governor of New Hampshire, by George I.; parchment petition to Parliament of Isaac Royall, Edward Byam, and Robert Fuite, and two hundred and forty-five other planters of the Island of Antigua for the removal of the restrictions of trade between the Northern and Sugar Colonies of Great Britain; a French buhl cabinet of the time of Louis XIV., taken from the Palace of Versailles during the Revolution of 1793, and shipped to Boston by Daniel Parker, at the sale of whose effects

it was bought by Dr. Aaron Dexter, from whom it came into the possession of General Sumner in a dilapidated state, but since repaired by him at an expense of \$100; a pair of antique shoes made by Winthrop Gray, Boston, which belonged to General Sumner's aunt, daughter of Simeon Stoddard.

The President then noticed in the following language the decease of Mr. Charles Folsom, a Resident Member; of the Hon. Wm. H. Seward, an Honorary Member; and of Mr. H. G. Somerby, a Corresponding Member:—

It devolves upon me this morning, gentlemen, to announce to you officially, according to our custom, the recent deaths of one of our Resident Members, one of our Corresponding Members, and one of our Honorary Members.

You will pardon me, I am sure, for speaking of them more cursorily than I might have done, were I not assured that others, far better able than myself to do justice to the characters and services of those whom we have lost, are present and prepared for the purpose. It will be mine only to open the way for their more elaborate tributes.

Mr. Charles Folsom, a Resident Member of our Society, died at Cambridge, on the 8th of November last, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. Graduated at Harvard with the class of 1813, he had served the University faithfully as a tutor from 1821 to 1823, and as a librarian from 1823 to 1826. He was longer known to us all as the Librarian of the Boston Athenæum, to which he rendered most valuable services. He had edited and published several volumes of the Latin Classics,—the Select Orations of Cicero, and the Select Books of Livy, among others,—which were enriched by his learned annotations. During the nine or ten years of his association with our own Society, before illness and infirmities had deprived us of his presence at our meetings, he had made interesting and instructive communications, from time to time, on historical or literary subjects. The conjectural origin of our national motto, *E Pluribus Unum*, in the *Moretum* of Virgil; and an additional verse to the grand old Latin hymn, *Dies iræ, dies illa*, which he had somewhere discovered in the course of his diligent researches,—will be remembered by us all.

But no mere enumeration of the offices he had filled, or of the works or words which he had given to the public, can furnish any adequate impression of the man. He was a modest and retiring person; distrustful of himself, almost to a fault; and seemed hardly conscious of his own rich and rare accomplish-

ments. Few more accurate and learned linguists, bibliologists, or classical scholars, have lived in our day and land. And, certainly, there has been no one more ready and eager to devote all the ripe fruit of his careful and critical studies to the service of his friends, in utter disregard of his own fame. If Prescott and Sparks and Palfrey, not to name others of our most noted and valued historians, living or dead, were with us here to-day, they would unite in bearing the fullest testimony to the ever kind, assiduous, and generous aid which he had rendered them in the last corrections, if not in the earlier preparation, of their works. Indeed, the testimony of more than one of them is on record where it cannot be lost. Prescott, in the preface to his "Conquest of Peru," says: "I must not omit to mention my obligations to my friend Charles Folsom, Esq., the learned Librarian of the Athenæum, whose minute acquaintance with the grammatical structure and the true idiom of our English tongue has enabled me to correct many inaccuracies into which I had fallen in the composition both of this and of my former works." And again, in the preface to his History of Philip II., he records his obligations to Mr. Folsom, "who," he says, "has repeated the good offices he had before rendered me in revising my manuscript for the press."

The preface of Dr. Palfrey's admirable History of New England concludes as follows: "It only remains for me to avow my obligations to my almost life-long friend, Mr. Charles Folsom, for the very important favor of a careful revisal of the sheets of this volume as they passed through the press. At every step his critical sagacity and practised judgment have stood me greatly in stead."

Many more names might be added to the three I have mentioned, of those whom he had quietly and disinterestedly helped in winning the reputation they enjoyed. And any one who is in the way of feeling the sore need there is, in our printing establishments at this hour, of faithful, intelligent, accomplished, and learned proof-readers, will be able to appreciate how great was the help which Mr. Folsom afforded to all who were so fortunate as to secure for their writings his friendly and thorough supervision. I know not where we shall find his like again in this respect.

But I must not omit to lay one wreath on the grave of our worthy friend, which might well excite the envy of any man. It happened to me to be brought into frequent association, during the last years of his life, with the heroic and noble-hearted Farragut. He never met me without the most eager

and affectionate inquiries as to his cherished friend Mr. Folsom, and he never hesitated to say that he owed him the deepest debt of gratitude for his early and devoted care and instruction. "He made me almost all that I am," was the substance, if not the exact language, of his emphatic acknowledgment. And when we remember what Farragut was, and what he did and dared for his country, we can appreciate the full value of such a tribute. It might almost recall to us the acknowledged indebtedness of Alexander the Great to Aristotle.

I dare not trust my memory in an attempt to recount the precise circumstances of Mr. Folsom's relations to Farragut. I believe they met in the Mediterranean, when Farragut was a midshipman, and when our friend, soon after leaving college, may have held, as I believe he did, the position of Instructor in the Navy; or it may have been when he was accompanying the late Hon. Luther Bradish, of New York, in his semi-official tour to the East, about the year 1820, with a view of collecting information as to the trade of the Mediterranean, and of facilitating the establishment of commercial relations with the Sublime Porte. Mr. Folsom gave some reminiscences of this tour at our own Society meeting, on the announcement of Mr. Bradish's death in 1863; but with his habitual reserve he prepared no notes of what he had said for our printed Proceedings. And the same modest reserve deterred him from giving any account of his relations to Farragut. But the grand old Admiral's acknowledgments were uttered with all the frankness and simplicity of his noble nature; and if the facts of the case are not within the memory of any one present, as I doubt not they are, and as they ought to be within my own, they will be sure to be forthcoming in the Memoir of our friend, for which it will be our duty to provide.

Meantime it will be for others who may follow me to do ampler justice to his career and character.

In the death of Mr. Horatio Gates Somerby, our Society has lost a most useful and highly valued Corresponding Member. With no previous education or preparation for such pursuits, he was drawn, in mature manhood, by a sort of instinct or elective affinity, to antiquarian and genealogical researches, and soon became devoted to them. He made it his specialty to trace the links between families in New England and those of the same name or blood in Old England; and his occasional, and, of late years, continued residence in London, gave him peculiar facilities for the work. Sometimes for mere love, and sometimes for honorable remuneration, he unravelled the

intricacies of not a few Anglo-American pedigrees ; and proved that more or less of noble, or, it may have been, of ignoble, blood, from a remote ancestry, was running in the veins of some who had hardly pretended to any pedigree at all. His diligent investigations of this sort in the old English counties of Suffolk and Essex, from which so many of our Massachusetts families and founders emigrated, were well known to the antiquaries of that part of England, and Mr. Somerby has long been an Honorary Member of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology. In that relation, he gained the cordial regard and friendship of the late President of that Institute, Lord Arthur Hervey, now Bishop of Bath and Wells, whose name is also on our roll ; and not many years ago I had the good fortune to spend a day with him at Ickworth Priory, of which Lord Arthur was then curate.

Mr. Somerby, too, had early won the confidence and regard of our illustrious benefactor, the late George Peabody, and was appointed by him the Secretary and active agent of that distinguished Board of Trustees to which was committed the management of his noble foundation for improving the Lodging Houses of the Poor of London, — a Board of which the Earl of Derby and our own Mr. Adams, as American Minister, were long members. There is the best authority for saying that, in this capacity, Mr. Somerby's services were highly appreciated, not only by the Trustees, but by the London Poor, with whom he was brought into frequent communication and contact. The Annual Reports or Statements of the Board, for the seven years of its existence, have uniformly borne Mr. Somerby's signature ; and that signature alone can hardly fail to secure an enviable endurance for his name.

He had been a Corresponding Member of our Society for twelve or thirteen years, and had occasionally made welcome contributions to our collections. And not a few of us will cherish a grateful memory of the obliging readiness with which he responded to our individual inquiries about names and dates and facts, genealogical and historical, which often cost him long journeys from London, and laborious investigations into ancient wills and time-worn parish registers.

He died in London on the 14th of November last, at sixty-seven years of age, and his remains were interred, only a few days since, at Newburyport, his native place.

I turn lastly, gentlemen, to a name of wider celebrity. I believe that there have been but two instances, in our history as a Society, where all the prescribed rules relating to the

admission of members have been suspended by unanimous consent, and where names have been placed on our Honorary Roll by a sort of acclamation.

The first instance occurred at our November meeting, 1861, when Winfield Scott, after a brilliant military service of nearly fifty years, was obliged by his age and infirmities to resign his place as the Commander-in-chief of the Army of the United States.

The second instance occurred at the Annual Meeting in April, 1865, when tidings of the deepest horror had so recently reached us from Washington. On that occasion, after paying a tribute to the lamented President, who had fallen a victim to assassination, we placed upon our Honorary Roll the name of the Secretary of State who had so narrowly escaped death by the same base and abhorrent conspiracy.

Mr. Seward was not without high claims to a compliment of this kind, quite apart from the sympathy which was felt for him at that moment.

As a lawyer who had taken an active part in not a few celebrated cases; as Governor of the great State of New York, at a period when questions of the highest national concern, involving the immediate issues of peace or war with England, were dependent on his acts; as a Senator of the United States, who had been the recognized leader of the political party which finally prevailed throughout what were then called the Free States, and from whose policy, directly or indirectly, resulted the rendering of all States free States, and of all men free men, — in all these relations, he had acquired a name which could not fail to have a prominent place in the history of his times. He had, also, already contributed valuable materials to that history, by arguments in courts, by speeches in Congress, and by various more extended literary publications.

His *Life* of our own John Quincy Adams, whom Mr. Seward, I think, early took as his model and exemplar, and whom a little more of early training and fortunate surrounding, and a little more of intellectual and physical vigor, might have enabled him to approach more nearly, was published in 1849; and a collection of his own writings and speeches, in four volumes, was issued from the press not long afterwards.

Meantime, almost every year of his mature life had furnished its own evidence of his unwearied industry, professional, political, or literary.

It will be, however, as Secretary of State of the United States, during the whole period of the late Civil War, and for nearly four years after that war was closed, and while its

results were in daily progress of development, that Mr. Seward will be longest remembered. To him is primarily and principally due the successful administration of our foreign affairs during that eventful and critical period. Volume after volume of official correspondence attests his unceasing labors. And if, in the vast mass of his written or spoken words, in a time of so much anxiety and agitation, there be some which even his best friends would willingly obliterate; or if, amid the many responsibilities he was compelled to assume, there were some acts to be regretted by any of us; yet all such disparagements of his name and fame will be forgotten hereafter, in the grateful remembrance that through his leading intervention our peace with foreign nations was preserved, and our country left free to fight out the great battle of the Union to its final triumph.

Above all other acts of his, posterity will remember, or certainly ought to remember, with gratitude and admiration, that brave surrender of the two Southern Confederate ambassadors, of which our own Boston Harbor was the witness and the scene. For one, certainly, I have heartily concurred from the first in the judgment so recently and emphatically pronounced by our honored associate and Vice-President, Mr. Adams, whom we welcome here to-day, fresh from his inestimable services at Geneva, and whom we hope presently to hear bearing witness to the abilities and merits of his lamented friend.

In his address before the Historical Society of New York, in December, 1870, after alluding to Mr. Seward, then living, as "a statesman, calm in council, sagacious in action, and fearless of censure when an emergency was to be met," he added these memorable words in regard to the particular transaction to which I have referred; and we all know that they were the words of one who had been in a position to know more than almost any one else precisely what he was speaking of: "I do not feel," said he, "that I am exaggerating, when I claim for this courageous resistance to the infatuation of the hour, that it not only was correct in principle, but also that *it saved the unity of the nation.*"

I would quote more of Mr. Adams's language, were he not fortunately here in person to renew the expression of the same sentiment.

Since Mr. Seward's release from public service, he had been a wonderful traveller, as we all know; and a posthumous volume is on the point of publication, giving an account of the most remarkable tour — embracing almost the whole circle of the earth's surface — which was ever undertaken and accom-

plished by one of so many infirmities. But he happily returned to die at home at last in his beloved village of Auburn, New York, in the seventy-second year of his age.

Let me only add, that, though not always agreeing with him in political opinion, I had many pleasant personal associations with Mr. Seward, while I was in Congress with him and afterwards, and that I gladly bear witness to the amiability and kindness which marked his private life.

It has not been usual, gentlemen, for the Standing Committee to report resolutions in regard to the death of our Corresponding or Honorary Members; but they have instructed me to offer the following resolution in relation to our late Resident Member:—

Resolved, That we desire to record our deep sense of the accomplishments and learning of our late respected associate, Mr. Charles Folsom; and that the Hon Theophilus Parsons be charged with the preparation of a Memoir of him for our printed Proceedings.

Mr. ADAMS then said:—

Neither the time nor this place seems to me to admit of more than a very cursory notice of the character of our late associate and Honorary Member, one of the most eminent statesmen of the present century, certainly in America and probably in the civilized world.

Gifted by nature with a mind of much original force, and a turn even for abstract speculation, circumstances threw him into the struggles of active life too early to permit of its development through the more elaborate forms of instruction. Mr. Seward was not in the proper sense a scholar, nor one whose natural parts gain added strength from extensive reading and profound study. Like the greater part of our young men who have a living to make, he rushed into the busy world as soon as he had emerged from the walls of a college, which had yielded no more than the ordinary rudiments of what is called with us an education. Every thing that he acquired afterwards, and it was a good deal, was snatched during the intervals of his contention with his contemporaries in the arena of life.

As often happens, circumstances shaped his career. His marriage with a gifted woman, the daughter of a leading lawyer in his own State, attached him at first to the same profession. And in that, his intellectual vigor would unquestionably have led him to high distinction, had he not been early drawn off, by

his congenial temperament and his confidence in his aptitude for the duties, towards the more extensive field of public affairs. In this judgment of his own powers he was not mistaken. In many respects he was singularly fitted to shine as a statesman. His taste for broad generalization raised him at once above the common level of mere intriguing politics. Again circumstances favored him, by elevating him, still quite young, to the position of Governor of the State of New York. From that moment his career as a statesman was determined ; and for more than thirty years he wielded a steady and powerful influence over the movement of our national affairs.

In the exact proportion to the momentum given by such a power is the force of the resistance which it raises. A young politician naturally disturbs rivals, and brings on collisions of opinion honestly or artificially bred, which stir up combinations in opposition. No man of his time experienced more of the species of warfare which these causes originate than Mr. Seward. It pursued him to his hour of retirement. But I could never perceive that it had any essential effect upon his own action. Not insensible to many of the bitter and unjust attacks that were made upon him, he measured them at their proper extent, and no more, and then passed on in his own course, just as if they had never been made. In the passionate controversies which attended the great movement against the political influence growing out of the slaveholding system, especially in the Senate of the United States, where for a season that power was absolute, Mr. Seward bore himself with moderation and yet with a consistent courage, which extorted the respect of his opponents ; whilst he took care to avoid the pitfalls laid to entrap him, and paid no heed to the comminations abundantly scattered to deter him from perseverance.

It necessarily followed from a course like this that, in the policy of the party with which he associated himself, the force of his hand became soon perceptible. It may indeed be traced from the time he entered the Senate to the day he left it for a place in the Executive Department. Neither was this power the consequence merely of his public demonstrations. He was peculiarly fitted to apply his will in a way to harmonize the views of his associates. He possessed in an eminent degree the power of creating or devising a line of policy for them, in my estimation a rare faculty, always indicative of a true statesman. He likewise was gifted with a readiness at resource, which sooner or later impresses itself forcibly on the minds of persons less richly provided. Considering him strictly in the light of a partisan leader, never was there a career more

attended with singular and sudden reverses, at the moment of the highest success. And never was there less of appearance of discomfiture, or of hesitation in setting about the means of restoration.

Thus it happened that in due progress of time the friends of Mr. Seward grew more and more to rely upon his judgment and to appreciate his services. To them he became a guide through the critical struggles which involved a solution of the most difficult problems in our national affairs. As time passed on, and the prospects of a great change in the popular opinion favorable to his views became more and more promising, it was no more than natural that those friends should seek in some distinct shape to recognize their obligations to their great leader. A suitable occasion presented itself in 1860, when an election of a new President was about to involve in it the establishment of the policy which he had been long and steadily advocating. Public opinion pointed with the utmost distinctness to him as the person most suitable to symbolize that change. But owing to the facilities always at hand in the details of nominating assemblies, and to the fears of the timid who habitually dread the effects of the nomination of a character so positive as to provoke a danger of effective opposition, a majority of the body finally preferred to set aside their true leader, in favor of a person so happily obscure that his single experience of public life during two years' service in the federal House of Representatives could by no possibility furnish causes of crimination likely to break him down.

This important decision took place on the very day which marked the fifty-ninth year of the life of Mr. Seward. Not unreasonably had he looked forward to it as an anniversary when his long and arduous services might be recognized by his friends in opening a way to his elevation to the highest post the country had it in its power to bestow. He likewise knew perfectly well that if such an occasion be once missed it rarely recurs; hence that his failure then might be regarded as final. Mr. Seward was fully aware of all this, and his disappointment was naturally proportionate. Under such circumstances it would not have been surprising had he given vent to his feelings, and manifested not simply his disgust at this singular perversion of the ordinary principles of equity, but also his resentment against the factious combination through whose efforts his defeat had been ultimately secured.

A brave and experienced officer in the royal navy of Great Britain once incurred the popular displeasure for failing to gain a victory over the French, and was condemned to death

for the offence. The witty writer, Voltaire, afterwards commented on the fact by remarking that he was probably shot *pour encourager les autres*. So it may be said that the verdict of the convention depriving Mr. Seward of the highest honor the people can yield to faithful service was designed to stimulate the ambition of raw and inexperienced politicians, who might thenceforward expect to attain the honor without the trouble of trying to earn it. Be this as it may, it would have caused little wonder if Mr. Seward had given vent to his rage in open and direct hostility, as some others have done, or had quietly retired like Achilles to his tent, and left his party to carry on the battle as they might without his aid. What he actually did, it happened to me to know quite as early as any one. I now venture to mention it, because it serves remarkably to illustrate his character. At that time I was myself in the public service at Washington, residing in a house not very far from his own. In the proceedings at the convention of Chicago, my sympathies had been entirely on his side, and my mortification on the day I learned the news of his defeat correspondingly great. On the morning of that day and a little while before the customary hour of assembling the Houses of Congress to which we respectively belonged, Mr. Seward's carriage was drawn up to my door, and a message sent from him inviting me to get in and drive to the Capitol. He had never done this before; but I instantly made ready to accompany him. Of course there could be but one topic uppermost in the minds of us both, the news just received. We talked of it continuously, and on my side I did not attempt to disguise my emotions. I saw, too, how strongly he had been affected. But there came not a word of repining, nor of indignation. His talk was only of the future, and of what the emergency required us all to do. He spoke mainly of the issue presented to the country in the principles proclaimed at Chicago, and pointed out the necessity of immediately accommodating ourselves to the result. We were to brace ourselves to the great struggle that imperiled, whatever might be the difficulties interposed by the selection of a candidate never tried and very little known. The cause was not lost. It might even yet prevail, if we could act together.

This was the first time I recollect to have been admitted intimately to his confidence. He then laid open his heart. I could see in it not a speck of littleness or meanness. He had been deeply wounded. He clearly saw that the aspiration he had nursed for years was never to be gratified. But he "bated not a jot of heart or hope" merely for the disap-

pointment. His exhortation was to enter the more earnestly into the canvass, from the fact that there might be more necessary to be done to insure success. The great political revolution to which we looked for the establishment of a sounder system of politics was at stake. It was for all who felt its importance to remit no efforts to make it absolutely secure.

This conversation of perhaps half an hour revealed to me for the first time the full stature of the man. Down to that moment I had regarded him as able and wise, but perhaps a little infected with the leaven peculiar to the politics of the State in which he had been trained. I now saw him suddenly looming up with the Titanic proportions of a patriot statesman.

The adjournment of Congress took place in June, and the canvass occupied the whole of the recess. The importance of the struggle was fully appreciated by all parties, though few had any idea of the fearful consequences to which it would lead. I am sure Mr. Seward had no such anticipation, for he cheerfully assumed his full share of the burden. It was generally believed that success would in a measure depend upon the turn of opinion given to the people of the North-western States. Hence it was in that region that the greatest exertion was called for. Here was the quarter to which Mr. Seward agreed to direct his efforts. A series of meetings in the chief places was accordingly arranged for him, at which he might address the people. In this tour he spent several weeks. He had been pleased to ask me to form one of his party, which enabled me the more fully to witness the earnestness and the good faith with which he acquitted himself of his duty. I could also readily perceive the effect of his personal influence, particularly upon one class of citizens, originally emigrants from the East, and especially those from New York, who still felt something of the force of old associations. Many had been rather neutralized by the failure of Mr. Seward's nomination, and were quite ready to partake of his lukewarmness, had he shown any, in the support of his successful rival. But Mr. Seward left no shadow of doubt about his course. The issue was one far transcending in importance mere questions of preference between men, and he threw himself with all the force in his power on the side, in his view, most favorable to the principles of freedom.

Then came the popular decision, than which one more momentous to the condition of myriads of the human race was never made in any country. Scarcely was it announced, before dark clouds began to show themselves in the Southern horizon,

which, gathering force as they rose, ultimately covered every part of the sky. The session of Congress followed, pending which the measures made necessary by the choice of Mr. Lincoln, for the reorganization of the Executive Department, were to be matured, in the midst of portentous hints of violence to prevent it.

Of the action of Mr. Seward during this critical period, so far as it came to my knowledge, it is not possible for me to treat within the limits of this notice, even if I were fully prepared to do so. All that I can say of it is, that what I witnessed myself impressed me greatly with the readiness and the fertility of his resources. That there was danger, I had strong reason to believe from the representations of distinguished persons, wholly disconnected with the successful party, who appeared to me to have no motive to misrepresent the facts. It is enough for the present purpose to add that, if there was ground for alarm, the danger was successfully averted, or else it passed away.

Meanwhile the precise condition of the triumphant party at this time may be imagined, when it began to appreciate the fact that it had elected for its Chief Director, in the midst of difficulties the most appalling that had ever yet been experienced in America, a person whom nobody knew, and utterly without experience in public affairs, saving the little which even the most capable man can gain in two sessions of service in the federal House of Representatives.

Of course the first effect of this discovery was to excite the highest interest in the question what persons he would be likely to call into his counsels, to supply his deficiencies. And here it is proper to remark that these anxieties were not allayed so soon as they should have been, by reason of the peculiar manner in which Mr. Lincoln set about the work. Towards Mr. Seward, to whom large numbers naturally looked as an indispensable support, entitled to the very earliest consideration, the overtures came late, if not with absolute reluctance; and no advice whatever was asked. I cannot just now fix the absolute date; but I am sure it was well into the short session when Mr. Seward in confidence communicated to me the fact of his having then received the offer of the State Department. He was pleased to add a request that I would give him my opinion on the point of his acceptance. For he remarked that the circumstances attending it had been of so questionable a nature that some of his friends had expressed themselves unwilling that he should assume the hazard of a great responsibility under similar conditions. I trust I need not say much

of what I thought of the matter. Scruples of form in so grave an emergency seemed to be not of a feather's weight in the balance. The question in my eyes involved a responsibility like that of a good pilot, who should refuse his aid in navigating a vessel in extreme peril because the master had not shaken hands with him on boarding. The possible consequences of a refusal might indeed be far more likely to involve responsibility. But it was not necessary for me to do more than touch the point before I clearly saw that my labor was superfluous. I was but striving to confirm what already in his own mind he had decided to do.

But a few days intervened before Mr. Lincoln arrived at Washington. The remaining places in the Cabinet were filled, and the administration was duly organized. No one can exceed me in the sense of veneration I feel for the purity of purpose and the conscientious fidelity to duty which distinguished the course of that Chief Magistrate in the midst of unexampled embarrassments. No one will more readily do honor to the noble qualities of his mind and heart, hallowed as they are to all of us by his ultimate assumption of a martyr's crown. Nevertheless, in treating of the relative force of human action upon great events, I cannot overlook the peculiar obligations incumbent upon us, who have consented to become in a measure guardians of the records of American history, not to permit extrinsic considerations any influence in modifying our declarations of what we hold to be true. Probably no man had ever entered upon the duties of the highest position in the government so little prepared to undertake them as Mr. Lincoln. What he knew had been casually picked up, as it is by the greater part of our public men, in the observation only of movements in the circle of what may be called purely domestic politics. With the internal construction of our system of government, and the questions that have been agitated in connection with it, he had certainly become familiar, as every lawyer is. But beyond this line he had never had occasion to pass. Hence, in assuming the reins of government, his attention was at once absorbed in the sudden development of disaffection in the slaveholding States, which threatened the very foundations of the Union. Of the possible influence which might be brought to bear on this state of things from any forces outside of our limits, he had probably never thought. Yet the fact was certain, not only that all the great powers of Europe had had their attention for some time fixed on the phenomena of disintegration which had been rapidly passing before them, but that they were carefully considering in advance what course it would be

expedient for them ultimately to take in regard to them. Moreover it happened just at the same time, that the organization of the American diplomatic service, upon the tone held by which most of the impressions received of the political condition of the nation are regulated, had been so deeply tainted by its sympathies with the disaffected party at home as to render it not simply of no value to the new administration, but actually its most insidious and dangerous enemy.

Such was the position of the foreign department at Washington when Mr. Seward was called to the task of directing its policy. With a chief who did not appreciate its importance, and a ramification of subordinate agents the fidelity of few of whom could be trusted, the prospect of re-establishing it on a solid footing was not encouraging. His first task was to convince the President of the paramount importance of immediate action; the next and more difficult one, to make him sensible of the nature of the reform then indispensable in the agency through which his operations were to be conducted. The obstacles in the way of both measures were not trifling, and particularly the last. The President was too much inclined to deal out places with little regard to any consideration other than partisan service in the canvass at home, or perhaps the numerical force of signatures to general recommendations to office. But, independently of the President's inexperience, there were difficulties of the same kind with everybody else. Even Mr. Seward himself, though familiar with the foreign policy in his service as a senator, had never had the slightest practical acquaintance with diplomatic life in foreign countries, — a great advantage, seldom sufficiently appreciated in filling the position he occupied. Moreover, the class of persons from which he was constrained to recommend a selection for ministers and other agents consisted of men for the most part novices, and in no way presenting peculiar considerations of fitness to justify a choice. In view of the great difficulties with which he was surrounded, it is on the whole more surprising that he should have been so successful as he was, than that he should have failed in part. The favorable issue was mainly due to his own indomitable energy, which, overlooking all minor obstacles, infused his resolute spirit into most of the subordinates, at the same time that he clearly dictated the precise nature of their action.

What and how much he did, it is superfluous in me to attempt to review. He has left a monument on record in the archives of the nation which will last as long as any interest will be felt in the wonderful events of that great national crisis. It is

no part of my purpose to dwell upon the prodigious fertility of mind which produced such a variety of long and very able papers, further than to remark that, considering the rapidity with which he was constantly driven to write, and the inability ever to mature or correct the original draughts, it is far more astonishing that they are found to bear criticism so well, than that they should betray occasional imperfections. Taken as a grand whole, it may be confidently affirmed that so long as they remain the base of a marvellous record of a most perilous era in the national history, just so long will they perpetuate the fame of William Henry Seward as one of the boldest of all American statesmen.

I cannot prolong this imperfect notice of our late associate without too severely taxing your patience. Hence, in closing what I have to say of him, I shall confine myself to pointing out only two prominent features of his character as they were displayed in the later and most glorious part of his career.

The first was the spirit of entire abnegation of self from the day he subordinated his fortunes as a public man to that of his successful rival. Whatever might have been his aspirations for the Presidency before that time, when the troubles came he calmly and deliberately determined to sacrifice them to the greater object of trying to save the country. To that end his first step was to imbue the chief with a full conviction of his exclusive devotion to his interests. He did this with the single view of establishing so perfect a confidence between them that it would furnish security for a favorable hearing of his counsels in defiance of the machinations or intrigues of all outside influence. From this position he seems never to have swerved to the last day of Lincoln's life; and it won for him an opportunity usefully to guide the State, only second to that which he could have exercised in his own person. Neither did he vary from this policy even after the change took place which brought in a far less manageable successor. Voluntarily to sacrifice all ambitious hopes and to play second to those whom a very strong man cannot fail constantly to feel his inferiors, solely for the purpose of more firmly advancing the deeply imperilled fortunes of the nation, is one of the most heroic efforts which I can attribute to a human being. That Mr. Seward did this, or thought he did it, I have every reason to feel sure.

The second quality to which I referred was his indomitable will, budding upon every emergency into courage. It was this which through all the vicissitudes of the war imbued the current of his correspondence with foreign nations with his spirit, impressed all the country's representatives abroad with

his firmness, and led them to copy his example. I am not unaware that exception has been taken to the tone of some papers as savoring even of bravado, and calculated to provoke rather than to conciliate foreign powers at critical moments. It is not denied that occasionally his manner bordered on offensiveness; more so perhaps than might seem expedient to serve the immediate purpose. Conceding all that may be reasonable to this form of criticism, I am yet ready to pardon the error in view of the solid advantages accruing to the country from an habitually lofty tone. Coming as it did at first in a dangerous moment, when the powers of Europe had been led to believe that our ruin was complete, and nothing was left but to wait and see the shape of the fragments, it was like the sound of a trumpet consolidating the legions. The celebrated prediction of a restoration in ninety days has been ever appealed to as indicative of Mr. Seward's failure in sagacity. But to a sanguine temperament like his, full of confidence in the ultimate perseverance of the people and resolved to uphold it, what was the significance of a greater or less measure of time? It had become his duty to reassure the doubting world that the United States still continued to stand as one power, and designed to remain so. The day of perfect restoration he constantly averred to be at hand. Would it have been wiser for him in his situation to set that day at an indefinite distance? I respectfully affirm the negative. There were plenty of people, abroad as well as at home, very ready to catch up the sinister notes of despair, and find in them plausible reasons for abandoning the contest. I may say that in Europe this talk had become at one time very general with foreigners, who caught it from the lukewarm and the disaffected among ourselves. The labor of Mr. Seward was to counteract this malign influence, and inspire all within his circle of authority with his own confidence. Especially was this valuable to all the representatives abroad, who derived great support against the scoffers from the steady cheerfulness of his tone and the unequivocal manner in which he demanded respect. Admitting that this course might subject him to more or less derision whilst matters continued unpropitious, the disadvantage was far more than compensated for as the prospect of verification became more and more clear. And what was the effect upon all the official representation in Europe? It was just this. Never was a more thorough unity of tone established throughout the ramification of American agents around the globe. The evidence of this is found in every page of the published State documents. And when I contrast this state of things with the utter

demoralization which prevailed in almost every branch of that service at the outset, the purposes of the leading mind in command appear to me susceptible of adequate appreciation.

It was the same courageous spirit acting in a very different direction which prompted perhaps the very greatest act of his life. He had indeed no hopes left to nurse when he quietly resolved, in the face of a current of popular opinion so powerful that it had swept the President and Cabinet and nearly all the prominent men of the country in its train, to put himself singly in opposition. After cool reflection he arrived at the conclusion that justice and national consistency prompted the surrender of the two odious captives, Mason and Slidell, snatched by force out of a British vessel, even though the rather peremptory demand of the British Government had made the step needlessly difficult. This was an act of heroism far greater than facing an enemy in a battle-field. It was like braving an army of friends under one's own command, and could only be justified upon a conviction, not simply that it was expedient, but absolutely right. The condition to which the reputation of the government would have been reduced, if it had made a shipwreck of the Union on the maintenance of an indefensible pretension, may readily be conceived. Fortunately for Mr. Seward the sober sense of the majority came to his rescue, and saved him from censure or disgrace. In history, some men are noted as having been stoned to death for conduct not more intrepid and for fidelity to principles not more forgotten in the process. But, even down to the last day of his life, no popular recognition of any kind appeared to appreciate his conduct.

Considering the nature of the severe strain to which the powers of Mr. Seward were continually put for so many years, it is matter of surprise to me that they remained in so much vigor to the end. His physical strength likewise was sharply tested as well by an accidental fall from his carriage as by the more lamentable assault of an assassin, which followed and narrowly failed of entire success. He rallied from all these injuries, and with energies apparently unimpaired labored to complete, under the successor of Mr. Lincoln, the same general policy which he had advocated from the start. Thus he held on, bravely sharing the popular odium incurred by the errors of the chief whom he would not abandon, until he was released from public life in March, 1869. Then the reaction set in which had been resisted successfully to that time, and began to tell heavily upon his frame. Again he called his will into play. He determined to keep the enemy at bay by constant change of

air and place. He did so far succeed as to accomplish successfully, in defiance of gradually increasing infirmity, a journey completely around the globe. Had there been nothing else remarkable about him, this proceeding, at his age and in his condition, would have clearly proved the extraordinary resolution which made so prominent a feature of his character.

In private life Mr. Seward was noted for the purity of his deportment and his attachment to his family. To his wife, in many respects a remarkable woman, he often deferred as a counsellor and a guide even through the thorny paths of his public career. His speeches not seldom received modifications suggested by her calm judgment. His temperament was genial, though his manners were often rough. He sometimes tried to be humorous, when he proved only to be hilarious; and occasionally indulged in what the French call *mauvaises plaisanteries*, which were apt to be misunderstood by strangers and to breed unmerited prejudice against him. One instance of that kind came under my personal observation, which happened to have political consequences he could little have foreseen. He had been a great reader whenever the time permitted him to indulge the taste; but his life consisted of action, during which literature could be resorted to only as an occasional luxury. His conversation was seldom commonplace, and often instructive from the original manner in which he formed his deductions. During the period, not very extended, in which I had the honor of his confidence, although we often talked most unreservedly both of events and of persons, I never recollect to have noted an unworthy sentiment. I remarked his sagacity in penetrating the motives of others, especially some of those who distinguished themselves by their virulence against him; but I never knew him to indulge in recrimination of any similar kind.

Mr. Seward died at the age of seventy-one. Yet in the bustle of his prolonged activity he could find little chance to mature much which will go down to posterity as evidence of his best powers. His courageous defence of the negro Freeman has always been esteemed a remarkable specimen of his professional skill. His various speeches, made during his long service in the Senate, will stand as evidence of his capacity as a skilful debater. But, over and above all, so long as the memory of the conflict touching the unity of this great people shall endure, the prominent part which he acted in its support cannot fail to be indelibly graven on the pages of American history. I trust it may not be regarded as out of place if I ask to be permitted to add the expression of my individual opinion, that of all the able and patriotic crew who labored, each in his vocation, long

and well, to save the Ship of State, Mr. Seward merits the crowning glory as the veritable pilot who weathered the storm.

The President then read the following letter : —

To the Hon^{ble} R. C. Winthrop, President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, &c., &c., &c.

DEAR MR. WINTHROP, — It is very probable that my continuous acquaintance with our late friend, Mr. Folsom, began longer ago than that of any other person now living. It dates as far back as 1809, in the autumn of which year Mr. Sparks and I, on the same day, entered the Academy at Exeter, New Hampshire. There we found Mr. Folsom, who, a native of the town, was then fifteen or sixteen years old, and had been a pupil of the Academy two years.

We both presently contracted a friendship with him, which was never interrupted. He was already singularly like what you and his friends of later time have known him, — with the same perfect sweetness of temper, the same sunny cheerfulness, the same thirst for knowledge, and especially that delight in the amenities and curiosities and (if I may so say) *oddities* of learning, which, coming out in conversation as freely as it did, might have exposed him to be thought pedantic, had it not been perfectly apparent that he had not a particle of self-conceit, but on the contrary was as diffident of himself as he was remarkably knowing and accomplished for his years. As we were preparing for college, of course our studies were chiefly in Greek and Latin; and in classical knowledge it was that, throughout Mr. Folsom's life, he especially excelled. Among my old papers I have memorials of his school-boy days in copies of compositions in hexameter and Sapphic verse, and of a salutatory oration pronounced at the exhibition when he left the Academy, which I imagine would be allowed to compare well for pure and graceful Latinity with the best productions of the schools of the present day.

In 1810, Mr. Folsom came to college to join the Sophomore Class. In 1811, Mr. Sparks and I entered as Freshmen. But notwithstanding the barrier of a class between us and him, — a separation which counted for more in those days than now, — he renewed his intimacy with us, and again gave us occasion to prize it very highly. We found him unaltered, except as his quick and active mind had been stored with further fruits of study. His example was salutary, and his enthusiastic love of worthy pursuits was contagious. Every thing in the way of learning he had a keen craving for; whatever was rare and recondite he enjoyed with a peculiar relish. Such was the entire simplicity of his character, and the honest ardor of his love of letters, that I dare say the question of the rank for scholarship which he held among his comrades never so much as crossed his mind. From the part which was assigned to him in the programme of its Commencement

Day, it appears that he was reckoned among the foremost scholars of his class.

I believe that, after leaving college, he passed a year or two in teaching; but he was again in Cambridge, a student in theology, as early as the Commencement of 1815, for I remember that he showed me how to mend the Latin of my series of Theses prepared for that occasion. It must have been soon after this that he went to Europe, for an absence which, in an unexpected way, lasted some years. Commodore Bainbridge, about to sail in command of the Mediterranean fleet, desired President Kirkland to name to him some young man to be chaplain of his flag-ship, and teacher of his young officers; and Mr. Folsom was engaged accordingly.* In this new position he won a hearty confidence and esteem. I have heard Commodore Bainbridge, Commodore (then lieutenant) Shubrick, and other officers, speak in the strongest terms of the affectionate regard with which he inspired them. His bookish habits and scholarly tone of conversation presented to them a new and fresh phase of character and manners, which, joined as they were with a perfectly unassuming sincerity and frankness, made him a man of peculiar mark among his comrades. Such a companion, relieving by uniform good-nature and intelligent and learned converse the monotony of sea life, is likely to have his merits kindly appreciated and remembered.

While he was thus employed, and using the occasional facilities afforded by visits of his ship to the ports of Italy to make short journeys into the interior, and visit libraries and learned men, a circumstance occurred that drew him away to a quite different line of life. Mr. Shaler, who had been consul at Tunis, came home; and Commodore Bainbridge, who had been authorized to fill the office provisionally, invited Mr. Folsom to undertake it. The consuls to the Barbary powers were then, as now, invested with quasi-diplomatic functions. According to my recollection, Mr. Folsom must have represented the United States near the Bey of Tunis about three years. During part of his stay he enjoyed himself much in looking for relics of Carthage, and in other antiquarian researches; but for some such time as two years (if I remember rightly what he has told me) the plague raged in the dirty capital, and he and his suite were shut up in their dwelling, the isolation being so complete that from day to day they drew up provisions to their apartment in a basket.

But there was a more interesting incident of his consular service. Among the midshipmen who on ship-board had learned to value his society, his instructions, and his influence, one promising boy had become especially attached to him. By the intervention of Shubrick, the executive officer of the flag-ship, leave was obtained for him to go on shore with Mr. Folsom, and pursue his studies under the direction of

* The writer was subsequently informed that it was at Hallowell, in Maine, that Mr. Folsom was employed in teaching during the first year after he left college; and that it was under Commodore Chauncey that he went to sea, his relations having begun later with Commodore Bainbridge, who succeeded after a short time to the command of the Mediterranean Squadron.

his Mentor. Many years passed, and the newspapers told us that the lad, having come to the command of a squadron in the Pacific seas, said, in reply to a complimentary toast at the table of British officers, that if he was good for any thing he owed it in no small measure to the influence over his boyhood of a young Yankee parson. And when, years later still, he came home to us from the Mississippi and the Gulf, laden with his weight of glory, the first visit which Admiral Farragut paid, after the necessary ones of ceremony, was to the beloved guide of his youth; and among the first visits solicited and received at his own home was more than one from the friend whom to his death he delighted to acknowledge and to honor.

It was, I suppose, in the year 1820 or 1821, that Mr. Folsom returned to America. In the latter year he was appointed Tutor in Latin at the University, which office he exchanged, two years after, for the still more congenial one of Librarian. The latter part of the time that he had the Library in charge, he was also instructor in the Italian language. This was nearly fifty years ago; but I am sure that if this sketch should reach any old enough to have been then his pupils, they will cordially testify to the regard in which he was held for his learning, fidelity, and kindness.

In or about 1826 new domestic relations made it desirable to Mr. Folsom to acquire a larger income than was afforded by his offices in the college, and he connected himself with the printing-house called the "University Press." "The learned English printer," William Bowyer, has a distinguished name; but nothing is specifically recorded of him which is not matched by the typographical career of our late friend, except that, whether by reason of less scrupulosity in work, or more method in arrangements, the former was more prosperous as to fortune. In respect to the literary character of whatever was to bear the imprint of his house, Mr. Folsom was too punctilious for his pecuniary advantage. While he was only engaged and paid for typographical correctness, he would be using his valuable time without stint in making up the author's deficiencies and correcting his mistakes. One acquainted with his habits easily represents to himself what would be Mr. Folsom's way of proceeding in such a case as that of his receiving, for instance, the clumsily prepared copy of an edition of a minor classic to put into type. He would see at a glance that the text was ignorantly chosen, and he would substitute the results of the latest criticism; that the notes were all wrong, and he would make them over; and in the upshot a book would appear, attracting a reputation for scholarship to a name on the title-page, to which in only an imperfect sense it belonged. Mr. Folsom delighted in this sort of miscellaneous study, so profitable to his employers, so little lucrative to himself. His recorded comments, as he superintended the press, were curiously acute and brilliant. He printed the "North American Review" for me some years. I was in the habit of tearing off his annotations inscribed on the margin of the proof-sheets which came from him, and presume that I have now somewhere a parcel containing a considerable collection of these scraps. I used to tell him that, if I

should be the survivor, I might publish them under some such title as "Folsomiana, or Sparks of the Wit and Wisdom of a too Modest Scholar."

Not far from the year 1842 the partnership in the University Press was dissolved; and Mr. Folsom resumed one of his early occupations by setting up a school for young ladies in Boston, having for his pupils some of the women since and now most distinguished among us for cultivation and accomplishments. By and by the place of librarian at the Boston Athenæum, falling vacant, was offered to him, and was accepted with alacrity. To him a great library was a sort of natural home. The shelves of books were so many groups of familiar friends. One prominent qualification for such a place he possessed in an extraordinary degree. He knew what and where were the treasures of which he had the custody, and precisely how to bring them into use. Many a time a person desirous of pursuing a line of inquiry sets out without knowing well what books he should consult. That deficiency occasioned no embarrassment at the Athenæum when Mr. Folsom had charge of its stores. The inquirer had but to mention the subject of his curiosity, and immediately the best books upon it were spread before his eyes. The librarian could tell promptly where lay the results of all study, old and new, on all subjects; and not only was his courtesy patient and unfailing, but his sympathetic zeal in helping the labors of a student was as earnest as if the investigation were his own.

With such a variety of resources in his various talents, tastes, and attainments, Mr. Folsom was never at a loss for agreeable occupation. During the last years of his life, before illness disabled him, he gave much of his time to supervising, for their authors, works about to meet the public eye. He read the proof-sheets of a part of Worcester's Dictionary, as he had done, years before, of the Latin Dictionary of Leverett; and the mention of this reminds me of one of his characteristic perplexities and obstructions. The compositors stood waiting while he hunted over all the surfaces, and in all the philological depths, for the etymology of the word *etiolated*, a search which, as far as I know, was baffled to the last. Our best writers found his suggestions useful. Sparks's Washington, Franklin, American Biography, and other works, made their way to the public under his eye. Prescott relied much on his strictures through all his literary life, though, as he has told me, he sometimes would persist in his *dulcia vitia* in obstinate opposition to the severity of his friend's precise taste. Mr. Quincy, in the Preface to his History of the University, avows with graceful cordiality his sense of the value of Mr. Folsom's assistance. Even that most exact and fastidious of our scholars, Mr. Norton, was in the habit of subjecting his compositions to the same criticism, and felt more sure, for doing so, of having attained to the perfect accuracy at which he always aimed.

It is very seldom that a man so able and so learned dies without having erected some substantial and conspicuous monument to his own fame. It might be said that the bountiful contributions of our friend

to the cause of good letters, and of that public well-being which they so effectively promote, were anonymous. A singularly well-furnished scholar, an utterly unselfish man, he gave away from the treasury of his large endowments to all comers, taking no care to label the presents with the giver's name. In 1824 he was announced as joint editor with Mr. Bryant of the "United States Literary Gazette," and in 1833 as associated with Mr. Norton in conducting the "Select Journal of Foreign Periodical Literature." In 1811, while a college undergraduate, he published a school edition of Cicero's Select Orations, which was two or three times reprinted; and in 1829 a volume of excerpts from the History of Livy, both enriched with notes, excellent in conciseness, perspicuity, and taste, and in adaptation to the young learner's use. This is, perhaps, all that remains in print of palpable testimony to the qualities of a man distinguished by excellent natural gifts, a diligent use of them through a life of nearly fourscore years, and a solid and various erudition. The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the Historical and Antiquarian Societies, acknowledged his deserts by admitting him to their membership, and found him an interested and useful fellow-worker. The Catalogue of our College does not show him to have received the highest literary credential of that institution. It may be believed that a word of reminder to the authorities would have repaired the omission, but probably no thought of it ever passed through the fine mind that was overlooked. A total absence of any tendency to self-assertion belonged to the delicacy, modesty, and disinterestedness of our friend's gentle nature. And he was as kind-hearted for others as he was unambitious for himself. Even more than he loved his books, he loved to close them, to do a favor to friend or to stranger. It was not possible to him to be envious or jealous, to hold resentment, scarcely to take offence. He had the invariable generous confidence in others, which springs from the consciousness of wishing well to all. With quick sensibility he drew pleasure from all forms of beauty in nature and art, and took a happy interest in the simplest things. The public cares, which sooner or later have molested some of us, never disturbed his placid studies and contemplations; though he took his side on public questions with deliberation and manliness, and had a reason to give for the political faith that was in him. He did not live so long a life without experience of trouble, but, except under the present pressure of sorrow, he carried with him the buoyancy and gayety which are commonly only spring flowers; and, *under* that pressure, he was steadily self-collected and serene, as one who had a sustaining faith and hope, not to be shaken by earthly changes.

I am paying this slight tribute to the last survivor of those school-mates with whom I have had relations of intimacy in later years. If some of my reminiscences seem to be trifling, it is not for want of feeling with very serious tenderness the death of a very dear friend. But it should not be a mournful task to revive the events and the charm of a life lengthened out beyond the normal age of man, and privileged,

both as to the enjoyment and as to the communication of happiness, much beyond the common lot.

I am, dear Sir,

With high regard,

Faithfully yours,

JOHN G. PALFREY.

CAMBRIDGE, Dec. 11, 1872.

Dr. LOTHROP then said : —

MR. PRESIDENT, — After Dr. Palfrey's letter, to which we have just listened with so much satisfaction, and your own weighty words so justly delineating Mr. Folsom's character, his accurate scholarship, and his many varied and important services to the cause of sound learning, nothing can be added, nothing need be added, to present a just estimate of our late associate. But my heart prompts me to say a very few words. I have known Mr. Folsom from the time I entered college. He was appointed tutor in Latin that year, 1821; and I am confident that the members of my own class, as well as all who had the benefit of his instruction, would bear testimony to his singular ability, fidelity, and accuracy as an instructor in that language. From that time my relations with him have always been quite intimate, and I have had opportunity to observe something of all the varied literary services which he has rendered in this community. In 1865, when Admiral Farragut was for a few days the guest of the city, it was my privilege, from circumstances of my own position which I need not detail, to see much of the Admiral and Mr. Folsom together, and to notice what you, Mr. President, alluded to in your remarks, — the profound, grateful, and affectionate respect which the gallant Admiral cherished for his former instructor, to whom, I heard him distinctly say, he was indebted not less for his wholesome moral influence upon his character than for his thorough teaching in mathematics. But I rose, sir, chiefly to relate an incident illustrative of Mr. Folsom's character when a young man, to which I was personally a witness. Mr. Folsom entered upon his tutorship at Cambridge the same year that my class entered college, and the order of the Corporation was that the Freshmen should be examined by the tutor "in the construction of the Latin language;" in other words, "be made to parse." In the first week of the first term, the first division of the class went to Mr. Folsom in Latin; and the second division, to which I belonged, went to Mr. Walcott in Greek. In a day or two it was noised abroad through the class that "Mr. Folsom was

making the fellows of the first division 'parse;'" and it was thought to be an innovation and a gross indignity to which we ought not to submit; and many in the second division said they would make a row about it the next week when they went in to Latin. When the next week came, the second division went in with a pretty determined resolution not "to parse." The Monday morning recitation — the course of instruction at Cambridge not being quite so secular as it is now — was in "Grotius De Veritate," and, as it is not the most elegant and classic Latin, Mr. Folsom did not deem it necessary to examine us in its construction; but in the afternoon recitation in Livy, — one or two others having previously read and translated, — Huger, of South Carolina, having given a correct but rather rhetorical rendering of the passage he had read, Mr. Folsom selected a brief clause, and asked him to give the construction of that clause. Huger immediately said, "I shall not parse, sir," and sat down, amid the cries of the division, — "Good, Huger! don't parse." There was hissing and scraping for a few moments. After it had subsided, Mr. Folsom said very calmly and pleasantly: "I am surprised, young gentlemen, to witness this exhibition of feeling. I am under authority, as you are, and must obey the instructions given me by the Corporation to examine you in the construction of the Latin language. Huger, will you give me the construction of that clause?" Huger then rose, and said in a very blunt way: "No, sir: we didn't come to college to learn to parse: we learnt that at school. We came to college to read the Latin Classics, and get instruction in Latin Literature. Parsing in college is an innovation, and we don't mean to submit to it." And again the cry was, "Good, Huger! don't parse." Most young tutors would have stopped here, dismissed the division, reported us to the Faculty. Huger would probably have been expelled, the class thrown into rebellion, and its whole college course, and the whole life perhaps of many of its members, seriously affected. But Mr. Folsom's patience, forbearance, wisdom, and tenderness saved us. Waiting till we again became silent, he said: "Young gentlemen, I should be very sorry to get you into difficulty at the very beginning of your college course by reporting to the Faculty the scene that has just occurred. I should be exceedingly sorry, Mr. Huger, to bring you under censure. Your brother was my classmate, and is my intimate friend: I love and honor him. I know how anxious he is that your college career should be honorable and improving to you; and I should be sorry to be in any way instrumental in disappointing him. But I must do my duty.

Will you give me the construction of that clause?" Instantly Huger rose, his eyes glistening, and his lips quivering with emotion: "With all my heart, sir: I will do any thing you ask me to;" and throughout the division the cry then was, "Good, Huger! parse it. We will all parse, sir."

This incident seemed to me not unworthy of being recounted here. I have always felt that Mr. Folsom acted with noble patience and magnanimity on this occasion, and displayed qualities of mind and heart worthy of the most affectionate respect. The remembrance of it has always been gratefully cherished by the members of the class of 1825; and it was this remembrance that led me a few weeks ago, at considerable personal inconvenience, to attend his funeral at Mount Auburn, and to lay the tribute of reverence and gratitude on his grave.

Some interesting memoranda of Mr. Folsom's career were added by Mr. SIBLEY; and some characteristic incidents were related by Mr. GEORGE B. EMERSON.

JANUARY MEETING, 1873.

A stated meeting was held on the 9th of January, at 11 o'clock, A.M.; the President, Mr. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the records of the last meeting.

The Librarian read his monthly list of donors to the Library.

The President noticed the decease of the Rev. John Stetson Barry, a Resident Member; and of Mr. George Catlin, a Corresponding Member, as follows:—

Rev. John Stetson Barry, whose death has occurred since our last meeting, was elected a Resident Member of this Society in 1855. He had before that time written a History of the Town of Hanover, in the old county of Plymouth; while it had been in part through his fortunate discovery that the original of Bradford's History of Plymouth had been traced to the library of the Bishop of London at Fulham. He was at the time engaged in writing a History of Massachusetts, which was afterwards published in three large volumes, the last of them in 1857. Though, perhaps, not adding very greatly to

what was already known, it was a popular and successful work, and reflected no small credit on the diligence and capacity of the writer.

Mr. Barry had been but a rare attendant on our meetings of late, and had been constrained by the state of his health, and by other circumstances, to suspend his historical pursuits. But there are many who can bear witness to the patience and fortitude with which he endured the infirmities and misfortunes of his later years.

I am authorized by the Standing Committee to propose the customary Resolution of regret for his death, and to name our associate, Mr. Charles C. Smith, to prepare a suitable Memoir of him for our "Proceedings."

In the death of Mr. George Catlin, our Society has lost one of its oldest Corresponding Members. He was elected in 1838. Born in the valley of Wyoming, Penn., he practised at the Law, which he had studied under his father, for a few years, and then betook himself to the work of a portrait-painter. In this relation he made a specialty of illustrating the Aboriginal race of our country, and painted not less than two hundred heads of living Indians. His gallery was a very remarkable one, attracting great interest and attention everywhere; and he published several valuable volumes illustrating the lives and manners and habits of the tribes from which he had taken his subjects. Other works of his have been published both in America and in England; but he will be remembered principally by his writings and paintings and collections connected with the Indians, which were of the greatest importance and value, and which entitled him to a much higher appreciation and remuneration than he ever received. He died at Jersey City, near New York, on the 23d of December last, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

Hon. Mellen Chamberlain and Winslow Warren, Esq., were elected Resident Members.

The President read the following letter from Mr. Jonathan Mason relative to the Book of Records of the "South Boston Association":—

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP,

President of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

DEAR SIR,—I propose committing for safe keeping to the Historical Society the *Book of Records* of the South Boston Association, whose charter commenced in 1805 and expired in 1851, imagining

that it may possibly be a valuable book of reference to some future historian of Boston proper, when the accomplishment of the proposed filling up of the acres of flats with a continuous line of wharves and docks shall have been perfected by the State, City of Boston, and other parties. The Records contain the names of many of our early esteemed and respected fellow-citizens: the Hon. Harrison G. Otis, William Tudor, Gardiner Greene, Hon. Judge Hubbard, and others, as proprietors. It may be well for me here to state, that I have never during the past twenty-two years since the expiration of the charter had an application to show these Records; and am now under the belief that most of the proprietors, and all of the officers with exception of two, one eighty-eight and the other ninety-one, are dead, excepting myself. At your leisure and convenience, please notify me if it be accepted or declined.

With great respect,

I am very truly yours,

JON. MASON

JAN. 8, 1873.

HOTEL VENDOME, COMMONWEALTH AVENUE.

The volume was gratefully accepted.

The President read a letter from the Hon. James W. Gerard, executor and legatee of the late General William H. Sumner, offering to the Society a fine portrait of the General, said to have been painted by Wilson. The portrait was exhibited at the meeting, and the thanks of the Society ordered for the gift.

The President read the following communication from the proprietors of the Old South meeting-house in Boston:—

BOSTON, Dec. 20th, 1872.

At a meeting of the proprietors of pews in the Old South meeting-house in Boston, held this day, in the chapel in Freeman Place, the following vote was offered and adopted, to wit:—

Voted, That the Standing Committee are hereby authorized publicly to announce in behalf of the Society, and to enter into any agreement therefor, subject to the approval of the pew proprietors, that the Society will sell the Old South meeting-house to the Massachusetts Historical Society, to be kept as a historical building, and to be preserved in its present form and condition, subject only to the lease to the United States Government,—the price to be paid for the house to be the fair value to be determined by three disinterested persons; the sale to be on the condition that the same shall be kept for ever in substantially its present condition, to be used as a place for occasional divine worship and for other purposes, in accordance with the views of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

A true copy.

Attest:

MOSES MERRILL,

Clerk, pro tem., of the Old South Society

Mr. EDMUND QUINCY, Chairman of the Standing Committee, to whom the above communication had been submitted, made the following report: —

At a regular meeting of the Standing Committee held on Monday, Jan. 6, 1873, the President laid before it the annexed communication from the proprietors of the Old South Meeting-house. The committee propose to the Society the passage of the following resolutions in relation to it: —

Voted, That the Massachusetts Historical Society is profoundly sensible of the honor done to it by the Proprietors of the Old South Meeting-house in selecting it as the custodian of the venerable and historical edifice of which they have the charge, on the conditions named in the votes officially communicated to it.

Voted, That while the Society most sincerely shares the just wish of the Proprietors that the Old South Meeting-house should be preserved as an historical monument, it deeply regrets to say that its funds, could they all be properly devoted to this object, would be entirely inadequate to meet even the most moderate valuation that could be put upon the estate.

Voted, That should the interest in the preservation of this Building, which has been so widely expressed throughout New England and the nation at large, be strong enough to induce the contribution for that purpose of the sum at which the value of the building may be fixed, the Historical Society will cheerfully assume the responsibility of its custody; and will, for itself and its successors, engage that the conditions annexed to their offer by the Proprietors shall be faithfully observed.

Voted, That the Corresponding Secretary be instructed to communicate these votes of the Society to the Proprietors of the Old South Meeting-house.

All which is respectfully submitted by the Standing Committee.

EDMUND QUINCY, *Chairman*.

The report was accepted by the Society.

Mr. PARKMAN spoke of the great value of the historical collections of Pierre Margry, of Paris, and expressed a wish that measures might be taken to induce the Congress of the United States to aid in the publication of them. He submitted a petition to that effect, and offered the following Resolution, which was seconded by Mr. Adams, and unanimously adopted: —

Voted, That this Society earnestly recommend such action on the part of Congress as shall insure the speedy publication of the valuable historical collections of M. Pierre Margry, of

Paris, relating to Western Discovery; and that the officers be requested to sign a Memorial to Congress for that purpose.

Mr. PERKINS read the following Memoir of John Singleton Copley:—

John Singleton Copley was the son of Richard Copley and Mary Singleton, his wife; both of whom are thought to have emigrated to Boston from Limerick, in Ireland. The Copley family, of Yorkshire, has long been seated in that county; and it is supposed that Richard Copley was a descendant of some member who emigrated to Ireland. The present representative of the Yorkshire family is Sir Joseph William Copley, Baronet. The Singletons, from whom came Mrs. Copley, according to Burke,* are a family of importance and station in county Clare, descended from the Singletons, of Lancashire. Mrs. Copley was the younger daughter of John Singleton, Esq., the great-grandfather of the present John Singleton, Esq., of Quinville Abbey, county Clare.

All who write at the present time on subjects like the one before us should and do receive family traditions with extreme caution, although it is often useful to record them.

The story current in the Copley family is, that Mr. Richard Copley, although endowed with a good name and a handsome person, was not rich. Squire Singleton perhaps could not, and certainly did not, so largely endow his daughter as to allow her husband and herself to continue to reside in county Clare in the style to which she at least had been accustomed.

The young people, therefore, very wisely determined to seek a new home in America, where they could permit themselves more freedom from family influences and restraint.

The result was, that they not only sought, but found, in this country, a very fair amount of worldly prosperity, which has been continued in a remarkable manner to their numerous descendants.

John Singleton Copley, R. A., was born in Boston, July 3, 1737. By the records of Trinity Church, it appears that his mother, Mrs. Mary Singleton, widow of Richard Copley, married Peter Pelham, May 22, 1748, when her son, John Singleton, was nearly eleven years of age.

Mr. Pelham was a widower, and had by his first wife three sons, Peter, Charles, and William; by his second wife he had but one son, Henry, whose portrait as the "Boy with the

* See Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 4th ed. p. 1379.

Squirrel" is in the possession of his great-niece, Mrs. James Sullivan Amory.

The marriage of Copley's mother to Mr. Pelham was probably of the utmost advantage to the future artist. Besides being a man of unusually good education for the times, — a land surveyor and a mathematician, — Mr. Pelham was certainly a passable painter of portraits, and a mezzotint engraver of more than ordinary merit. He preceded Smibert the painter, and Harrison the architect, who came to this country in the train of Bishop Berkeley, by at least three years. Whitmore, — always most excellent authority on such points, — speaking of him in connection with his painting and engraving, says, "He was the founder, indeed, of these arts in New England."

Mr. Pelham painted portraits of the Rev. Cotton Mather, the Rev. John Moorhead, the Rev. Timothy Cutler, and the Rev. Mather Byles. He also engraved these four portraits, placing upon each the inscription of "pinxit," as well as "fecit," or "excudit."

Besides these, Pelham engraved a portrait of the Rev. Benjamin Coleman, in 1734, taken from a picture by Smibert; also one, in 1743, of the Rev. William Cooper; in 1747, one of Governor Shirley, one of the Rev. Joseph Sewall; and, in 1750, one of the Rev. Thomas Prince.

The original picture of Rev. Cotton Mather is now in the American Antiquarian Society's rooms at Worcester. A portrait of Deacon Barnard, of Mather's church, dated in 1728, was exhibited in Boston last year, and may be ascribed confidently to Pelham. It is owned by Dr. J. B. S. Jackson, of Boston.

There are some reasons for thinking that Pelham was the instructor of several of the engravers who succeeded him. He most probably taught his step-son, Copley, the rudiments of his art, whilst his example must have been of timely service in fostering such tastes as the child may have shown. The household of Peter Pelham was, perhaps, the only place in New England where painting and engraving were the predominant pursuits.

In this family Copley lived from his eleventh to his fourteenth year, and became greatly attached to his new relatives.

It is a well-founded tradition that he was as quiet and studious in his boyhood as he was conscientious and painstaking in his later years.

His letters show that he had been carefully educated in his early youth, — a lack of which advantage can be with difficulty

concealed in middle age. He knew enough of Mythology to paint, when quite young, two allegorical pictures, in which the arrangement of the figures prove that he had considerable familiarity with that subject.

When Copley was about fifteen years of age, he painted a portrait of his step-brother, Charles Pelham. This picture is now in the possession of Charles Pelham Curtis, a great-grandson, and shows some promise of what it was possible for Copley, to accomplish in after years. The background of the picture is out of drawing; but the figure, although stiff, is not badly rendered.

That he advanced rapidly in his art, appears from the fact that, when he was sixteen years old, he published an engraving of the Rev. William Welsted, from a painting which he made himself.

The inscription on this engraving is: "Rev. William Welsted, of Boston, New England, æt. 58. 1753, J. S. Copley pinxit et fecit." As this engraving was published soon after the death of Mr. Pelham, — which occurred in 1751, — it may be fairly inferred that it was commenced under his supervision, and advanced to a certain point under his instruction. In the same year he painted a portrait, which is signed J. S. Copley, and dated 1753, of Dr. De Mountfort, then a child. This very interesting picture is well drawn and quite good in color, and is owned by Mrs. C. D. Farlean, of Detroit, Mich.

In 1754 was painted the allegorical picture of Mars, Venus, and Vulcan. This picture is thirty inches long by twenty-five wide: Vulcan, with his anvil and forge, seems engaged in making darts; one of which Venus throws at Mars, who is approaching. The picture is signed and dated, 1754, and is in the possession of Mrs. H. B. Chapman, of Bridgewater, Mass.

In 1755, Major George Washington, late aide-de-camp to General Braddock, visited Boston for the sake of relating to Governor Shirley the circumstances attending the death of that gentleman's gallant son, at the fatal battle of Monongahela.* It was then well known that the courage and experience of Major Washington, and the steadfastness of the Colonial troops, had saved the remnant of the British army on that day; and the young Virginian was, naturally, the observed of all observers. Mr. Copley painted his portrait in

* "Colonel Washington left Alexandria, on his journey to Boston, Feb. 4th. . . . He returned on the 23d of March. . . . He was well received and much noticed by General Shirley, with whom he continued ten days, mixing constantly in the society of the town. . . . He also visited Castle William, and other objects worthy of a stranger's notice." — *Spark's Washington*, vol. ii. p. 133.

miniature; which, after remaining in the Washington family for many years, came into the possession of Washington Irving, and from him to Mr. George P. Putnam, of New York, the well-known publisher.

In 1756, he painted a three-fourths length portrait of General William Brattle, life-size, which, although somewhat hard, shows a decided advance in manner. This picture is signed and dated, and is owned by Mr. William Sumner Appleton, of Boston.

In 1758, Copley drew in crayon a fine head of Hugh Hall, which is signed with a monogram and dated. It is in possession of his great-granddaughter, Miss Baury.

From this period he improved rapidly; and in 1762 he painted exceedingly well. In 1763, he drew in crayon a portrait of the beautiful Rebecca Gardiner, afterwards the wife of Captain Philip Dumaresq, of the British army. This portrait, although somewhat injured by an accident, manifests quite an improvement in ease and grace. About 1766, he painted a portrait of Mrs. Edmund Perkins, the great-great-grandmother of this writer, wherein he displayed his extraordinary powers in the delineation of old age. The countenance is remarkable for the thoughtful charm of its expression, wonderfully rendered, and its fine intellectual character, time as yet not having destroyed the original regularity of the features, which in youth are said to have been of very great beauty.

In 1767, he painted a fine picture, which is signed in monogram and dated, of Rebecca Boylston, who was the second wife of Governor Gill. In 1768, Mr. C. W. Peale, afterwards a well-known artist, entered his atelier as a student.

In 1769, he painted those two most beautiful pictures of Colonel and Mrs. Lee, which are signed with a monogram and dated. In his later years, Mr. Copley frequently spoke of these pictures, declaring that, for the manner in which they were painted, he could not surpass them. They are in the possession of a grandson, — General William Raymond Lee.

At this time, 1769, Boston contained a population of about eighteen thousand souls. The Hancock mansion, the De Blois house, the residences of Faneuil, Vassal, Governor Bowdoin, Governor Hutchinson, and Sir Henry Frankland, all stately buildings, standing in extensive gardens, decorated the city. The surrounding country was beautiful and well cultivated, and the fine harbor was ploughed by the cut-waters of numerous vessels from all parts of the world.

The houses of the gentry were ornamented with many very good portraits. There exist in Boston at the present time

eleven portraits, painted by Smibert, of no little merit; while there are known to be at least eighteen by Blackburn, some of which are really excellent. Besides these, there were a considerable number of good pictures painted in England, that had found their way to this country by one accident or another, — such as the portrait of Governor Belcher, said to be painted by Liopoldt; that of Lord Stafford and Mr. Wentworth, said to be by Vandyck; Winthrop, by Vandyck; and a picture of one of the Dudleys, by Sir Godfrey Kneller. All these pictures Copley must have seen, since, says Dr. Gardiner, "his genial disposition and his courtly manners make him a welcome guest everywhere." We may easily believe that so careful a student did not pass such pictures by without thorough study, and from them gained much knowledge, both in drawing and in coloring.

Besides this, Boston was at that time the seat of a learned, refined, and cultivated society. Among the eminent divines were Dr. Holyoke, President of the University, Dr. Chauncy, and Dr. Cooper. Of great judges and lawyers were Chief Justice Oliver, Judge Andrew Oliver, Judge Chambers Russell, Judge James Otis, Judge Marston, Judge Saltonstall, Councilor Dana, and Solicitor-General Quincy.

Among the distinguished women of the time were Mercy Otis Warren, the historian; the beautiful Lady Wentworth, Mrs. Barrell, Elizabeth De Blois, Mrs. Colonel John Murray, Anna and Rebecca Gardiner, Mrs. Barrett, Mrs. Henry Hill; Susan and Mary, the daughters of Richard Clarke; Mrs. Henshaw, Mrs. Inches, Mrs. Watson, Mary Turner, Dorothy Quincy, Lady Temple, Mrs. Sargent, Mrs. Amory, and Mrs. James Perkins, — all noted in their time for unusual attractions.

Of statesmen and politicians, there were Sir John Temple, Samuel Adams, Governor Hutchinson, John Hancock, Colonel Sparhawk, and Harrison Gray; while James Allen, Dr. Byles, and Joseph Green were men of excellent wit and most rare humor.

Of great merchants, there were Thomas Hancock, John Barrett, Colonel Watson, Josiah Quincy, Benjamin Greene, William Phillips, John Wendell, Richard Clarke, John Erving, Edward Payne, and Epes Sargent; and, finally, to show that Copley, since his early youth, could not have been without sympathizers of his own turn of mind, we may mention, besides his step-father Mr. Pelham, a number of resident artists. John Smibert, who came to America from England with Bishop Berkeley, married Mary Williams, of Boston, and left

four sons and a considerable property. He was known to be intimate with Mr. Pelham; and as Copley painted so early as 1752, it may be fairly inferred that he had every opportunity of studying the works of the older artist. There was Harrison, also, the architect who came over with Smibert, and designed the King's Chapel and the Episcopal Church at Cambridge. He went back to England to assist in the decoration of Blenheim Castle, but returned to Boston, married, and died here. There was Paul Revere, always a friend of Copley: when he returned from Fort Edward and resigned his commission as a Lieutenant of Artillery, he established himself as an engraver. He made an engraving on copper from a portrait of the Rev. Dr. Mayhew, and was celebrated for his political caricatures. He certainly designed almost all the solid wooden frames that surround Copley's pictures at the present time.

Nathaniel Hurd, whose portrait was painted by Copley, as was Revere's, was an excellent artist, and probably a pupil of Pelham. He engraved a miniature of the Rev. Dr. Sewall; and was exceedingly graceful in designing coats-of-arms and book-plates.

Nathaniel, son of John Smibert, gave promise of considerable abilities as a painter, but died young, in 1756.

John Greenwood, born in 1726, has left a very fair specimen of his skill, in a picture of John Cutler, in the possession of Mr. William Appleton. And, among the painters and engravers of lesser note, we may mention Richard Jennys, Jr., Thomas Johnson, Robert Turner, Francis Dewing, George Searle, and Francis Garden.

The last artist on the list is J. B. Blackburn; whose pictures, to a certain degree, Copley, in his early manner, imitated and surpassed. It would seem, from seeing the pictures of these painters side by side, that Copley must have studied with Blackburn. Both frequently used, either as the lining of a dress or as a drapery, a certain shade of mauve pink. Blackburn uses this shade feebly, while Copley dashes it on with the hand of a master. Some of Blackburn's drapery is as good as Copley's, particularly his white satins; but many of his heads, especially those of women, are feeble. This is never so with Copley. He may be hard and angular, but he is almost always vigorous. The fine pictures of Joseph Allen and his wife, in the possession of Miss Andrews; and of the Cunningham family, in the possession of Mrs. Porter, show conclusively how good an artist Blackburn was.

On Nov. 16, 1769, when he was about thirty-two years of

age, Copley married Susan, the daughter of Mr. Richard Clarke, a distinguished merchant of Boston. One of Mr. Clarke's sons was at that time Commissary-General of the British army in Boston; and a daughter, Mary, married Judge Samuel Barrett, LL.D.

In 1771, Colonel Trumbull relates that he visited Copley, in Boston, and found him living in a beautiful house, fronting on a fine open common. Trumbull, then a young man at Harvard College, seems to have been struck with the elegance of the artist's dress and appearance.

He describes him as attired in a crimson velvet suit, laced with gold, and as having every thing about him in very handsome style. Indeed, Copley writes about this time that, considering the size of the place, he is making a very comfortable income.

In 1772, Copley painted a fine picture of Eleazer Tyng, which is signed John Singleton Copley, Boston, 1772.

In 1773, says the late eminent conveyancer, Nathaniel Ingersoll Bowditch, "Copley owned all the land bounded on the west by the Charles River, thence by Beacon Street to Walnut Street, thence by Walnut Street to Mt. Vernon Street, thence by Mt. Vernon Street to Louisburg Square, thence by Louisburg Square to Pinckney Street, thence by Pinckney Street to the water; containing about eleven acres of land."

About this time Copley painted his picture of "The Boy with the Squirrel;" which he selected to send to England for exhibition at Somerset House. Benjamin West, to whom the picture was consigned, received and examined it. He knew it to be the work of an American artist, from the wood upon which it was stretched, and also from the fact that the flying squirrel belonged to New England. No letter came with this portrait; but so excellent was it considered, that the rule that no picture without the artist's name could be exhibited was dispensed with. In consequence of the favor with which this work was received, Copley was advised to go to England; and he quitted America in the early part of 1774, never to return.*

From England he crossed to the Continent, and studied assiduously, — particularly at Parma and at Rome. He travelled in Italy as far south as Naples, and visited in company with his friends, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Izard, of South Carolina, the wonderful temples of Pæstum, "which," as he says, "were antiquities in the time of Augustus Cæsar."

* John Singleton Copley sailed as a passenger from Boston with Captain Robson in 1774. (*Mr. James M. Robbins, M. H. S.*)

It was with difficulty that he was persuaded to take two portraits in Rome, so precious did he find every moment of his time.

In 1775, he travelled and studied in Germany, in Holland, and France, and soon afterwards was joined in England by his family, consisting of his father-in-law, Mr. Richard Clarke (whose tea had so lately been mixed with the waters of Boston Harbor), his wife, his son John Singleton, afterwards Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst, his daughter Elizabeth, afterwards married to Gardiner Greene, of Boston, and his other daughter, Miss Mary Copley.* There was still another child, a boy, whose portrait is painted in the family picture, but who died an infant. Mr. Copley soon distinguished himself, and in 1777 he was made an Associate of the Academy.

The celebrated Elkanah Watson was in London in 1782. He had a full-length portrait of himself taken by Copley, for which he paid one hundred guineas. Mr. Watson, in his journal, thus speaks of the picture and of the artist: "The painting was finished in most exquisite style in every part except the background, which Copley and I designed to represent a ship, bearing to America the acknowledgments of our independence. The sun was just rising upon the stripes of the Union streaming from her gaff. All was complete save the flag, which Copley did not deem proper to hoist under the present circumstances, as his gallery was the constant resort of the Royal family and of the nobility. I dined with the artist on the glorious 5th of December, 1782. After listening with him to the speech of the King, formally recognizing the United States of America as in the rank of nations, previous to dinner, and immediately after our return from the House of Lords, he invited me into his studio; and there, with a bold hand, a master's touch, and I believe an American heart, he attached to the ship the stars and stripes. This was, I imagine, the first American flag hoisted in Old England."

In 1783, Copley was elected a Royal Academician, and was offered five hundred guineas to paint a family group of six persons.

From this period, Copley was borne along by the full tide of success. He purchased from Lord Fauconberg the mansion-house in George Street, long afterwards famous as the residence of the great Chancellor Lyndhurst.

He painted a portrait of Lord Mansfield, whose house was

* Mrs. John Singleton Copley and three children sailed in the "Minerva," Captain Calahan, from Marblehead for London, May 27, 1775. (*Mr. James M. Robbins, M. H. S.*)

near his own. Mrs. Greene well remembered the burning of Lord Mansfield's residence, by the mob, during the riots incited by the enthusiast, Lord George Gordon.

He painted three of the children of George III., — a very graceful picture, now at Buckingham Palace. At the time that he painted the picture of Charles I. demanding the five members, for which a number of the gentlemen of Boston paid fifteen hundred pounds, Mrs. Greene recollects that she and her father were driven in a post-chaise over a considerable part of England, visiting every house in which there was a portrait of a member of the Long Parliament, and always received as honored guests.

It is said that every face in this great picture was taken from a portrait which, in Copley's time, was extant.

Besides his many graces of mind and person, John Singleton Copley was endowed to a remarkable degree with the great gift of sound common sense, and was enabled to impart his convictions to those seeking his advice in a manner that made them always acceptable.

Mr. Richard Frothingham, a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, tells us, on the authority of the Hutchinson Papers, that this trait was evinced in a most notable manner at the time when the public mind in Boston was greatly excited in regard to the cargoes of tea which had lately arrived in that port.

Mr. Copley appeared before and addressed the town meeting at that time, making certain suggestions looking to a compromise on the subject, which were received with great attention and respect, and which tended, for a while at least, to allay the bitterness of party strife.

On the whole, Copley's life was one of great success. He had the advantage of the acquaintance of many of the most eminent men of his time, both in England and America.

In his domestic life he was unusually fortunate. His wife was a charming, cultivated woman; his son, one of the most distinguished men of the day; and his daughters, remarkable both for beauty and intelligence.

The author of these sketches had the pleasure, some years since, of conversing with Miss Mary Copley, — at that time a resident of Hampton Court Palace. This lady was a woman of remarkable intellect and force of character; the intimate friend and counsellor of her distinguished brother through his long and eventful life. Her familiarity with and interest in the politics of Europe and America were astonishing; and on the day of her death, at the age of ninety-four years, it is said

she had read to her the leading article in the "Times," which treated of some political matter in which she was interested.

"I remember my father distinctly, in 1785," said Miss Copley. "Many fine gentlemen came to our house in George Street, and I have seen many since; but I do not remember ever to have observed one who surpassed my father in elegance of manner or in the dignity of his deportment." "He was fond of handsome things, exceedingly particular in his dress, and much given to hospitality; but his first pleasure was in painting, and his second was in reading the English classics, especially the poets." "His favorite book was Milton's 'Paradise Lost'; and he dearly loved flowers, which he painted beautifully." "In his disposition he was exceedingly generous and kindly; and he always praised and admired his brother artists, with whom he was ever on the most intimate terms."

Mr. Cutting, writing from London in 1788, says: "I have visited Mr. Copley, the famous historical painter. I was highly gratified while viewing his representation of the death of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham. It is a most excellent performance, and proves a fortunate one. If he sells it for the price he demands, and which I think will be readily obtained, the picture and the engraving of it now subscribed for will have produced about eleven thousand pounds. Mr. Copley gave me a rough sketch, a key to the painting."

This letter and the sketch are in the possession of Mr. W. G. Brooks, a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Copley was a stanch Churchman, and a man of strong religious feelings. This latter trait is shown by his treatment of the subjects of many of his later works,—such as his Adoration of the Magi, and his Samuel and Eli and Saul.

His last picture was on the subject of the Resurrection. His last portrait, says Dunlap, was the likeness of his son. It is possible, however, that Dunlap mistook a portrait that Copley made of himself, for the purpose of having it engraved, for one of his son, as there exists no picture that is known of Lord Lyndhurst taken by his father at that time. This last portrait was burned in the great fire of 1872, together with many valuable sketches and letters of the artist.

John Singleton Copley died in 1815, full of years and of honors; leaving, as a monument in America, two hundred and sixty-nine oil paintings, thirty-five crayons, and fourteen miniatures, that are known, and perhaps many more. Thus, in a certain way, these persons, who were many of them friends, almost all acquaintances, will be reunited in a contemplated list of these pictures, now in preparation, to be pub-

lished hereafter. Portraits of husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, many of whom have been parted for nearly a hundred years, will be brought together in close companionship.

There being none extant containing more than thirty pictures, the desire has often been expressed during the last few years that a list of Copley's works should be made. The author of this sketch, being connected with the family by marriage, was thought by certain members of our Society to be best fitted for the work,—which was commenced more than five years since, and has been prosecuted with the most diligent inquiry and voluminous correspondence.

Copley, it is said, had a partial list of his works ; but Miss Copley assured this writer that, although diligent search had been made for it, not only by her brother, but by the family, the list could never be found.

The author of these sketches has not attempted to make a complete list of Copley's pictures in England. It may well be that there are almost as many there as in America. He has noted, however, all those that are known to him.

It is proposed at some future time, when the present work has been criticised and corrected, to issue another and more perfect edition. From the manner in which the present sketch has, of necessity, been prepared, it is impossible but that many and grave errors have been made.

The writer therefore most earnestly requests all persons who are interested in the subject to forward to him any additions or corrections they may be anxious to have inserted ; and, in conclusion, begs to offer his acknowledgments and thanks to Mr. W. H. Whitmore, Mr. J. W. Dean, Miss Elder, Mr. Drake, Miss Kennedy, Mr. Colburn, and Mr. W. S. Appleton ; and also to all the owners of the Copley pictures, generally, for the kindness with which they have borne, and the patience with which they have responded to, his perhaps too persistent inquiries.

Mr. MASON, from the Committee on the Society's Building, reported that the City on the first of this month took possession of the rooms leased to them by the Society ; and that the rooms designed for the Society's use would probably be ready for occupancy in March.

Mr. HAVEN was appointed to prepare the Memoir of the late Dr. Joseph Palmer, in place of Mr. Sibley, whose engagements would not permit him to perform the service.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1873.

A stated meeting was held this day, Thursday, Feb. 13th, at 11 o'clock, A.M., in the room of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Athenæum Building, Beacon Street; the President, Mr. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the last meeting.

The Librarian read the list of donors for the last month.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter of acceptance from the Rev. William Barry, now in Europe, who had been elected a Corresponding Member.

The President noticed the decease of J. Francis Fisher, Esq., a Corresponding Member, as follows:—

Joshua Francis Fisher, Esq., of Philadelphia, was elected to this Society in October, 1836; and he had become the second in order of seniority of our living domestic Corresponding Members. He was a graduate of Harvard in the Class of 1825, with Dr. Lothrop, Mr. Adams, Dr. Hedge, Judge Ames, and Mr. Sibley, of our resident associates; and I might safely leave it to any one of them to say all that should be said on the announcement of his death. But the pleasant associations I had with him even during those college days, though three years below him, and the friendly intercourse and correspondence I have had with him ever since, make me unwilling to forego a few words of my own.

No one who knew him in his earlier or later days could fail to bear witness to his amiability, his intelligence, his love of literature, and his genial and gentlemanly bearing. There was a rare vein of humor in his conversation, for which he found subjects at every turn; yet always without malice or ill-will. He had much to try him in later years, owing to the divided sympathies which he could not but feel with his Northern and Southern relations and friends, during the progress of our Civil War. A Philadelphian himself, closely connected with New England by blood, he had married one of the daughters of the late Hon. Henry Middleton, of South Carolina, who was United States Minister to Russia from 1820 to 1830. Strongly attached to the Union, as he was, he could hardly be insensible to the disasters which were falling on so many of those near and dear to him at the South. He made repeated visits to Boston during this dark period, and found consolation in renewing his social intercourse with Dr. Sparks

and Mr. Ticknor, and other younger friends, who were always glad to welcome him. But before the war was ended, his constitution was seriously shattered and his spirits broken; and it has been no surprise to his friends or to himself that the end has come at last.

Mr. Fisher had a strong taste for antiquarian and historical pursuits. As early as 1836, he delivered an elaborate Discourse before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, on the private life and domestic habits of William Penn; and, during the same year, he was associated with the eminent Peter S. Du Ponceau in the preparation and publication of a brief History of the Treaty made by William Penn with the Indians, in 1682.

To our own Society, in 1837, he communicated a careful description of thirty-one Medals relating to Washington or to America, which was printed in the sixth volume of our Third Series of Collections; and an interesting Memorial of Colonel Robert Quarry to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, on the State of the American Colonies, in 1708, which is found in the seventh volume of the same series. It was in a considerable part from his treasures that the "Loyalist Poetry of the Revolution" was procured and edited by his friend, the late lamented Winthrop Sargent, in a little volume, of which so few copies were printed that it is now sought for at a seemingly fabulous price. Our own library has a copy presented jointly by Mr. Fisher and Mr. Sargent. To him, also, our Society was partly indebted for a collection of "Barrell Papers," including the Letters of John Andrews, of Boston, from 1772 to 1776; edited, also, by Mr. Winthrop Sargent for our published "Proceedings" of 1864 and 1865, and occupying a hundred pages of that volume.

In 1863, Mr. Fisher published an Essay on the Degradation of the Representative System and its Reform, founded on the work of Mr. Thomas Hare, of England, as recommended by Mr. Stuart Mill. The pamphlet attracted a good deal of attention in literary and political circles, and probably conduced to the trial of the Hare experiment in the election of Overseers of Harvard University. Mr. Fisher may have published one or more anonymous pamphlets since this. I believe he did at least one; but Representative Reform was the latest subject to which he gave his attention and his name, while his health was spared to him.

He died in Philadelphia on the 22d of January last.

Mr. HILLARD then said:—

MR. PRESIDENT,—My acquaintance with Mr. Fisher began when we were both in college. He was, as you have said, a Senior when you and I were Freshmen; and I looked up to him as a boy naturally looks up to a young man. He was kind to me then; and I need not say to you how much a Freshman values kindness from a Senior. We met long afterwards, when we were both in declining life; but the remembrance of our former relations drew me towards him, and a warm friendship grew up between us.

He was a man of excellent natural powers, but he was born under conditions which made it unnecessary for him to adopt any profession; and thus he missed that valuable kind of mental training which is the unconscious result of the assiduous and enforced application of the mind in one direction. There are but few men who, like our late associate, Mr. Ticknor, can lay out a long course of consecutive study, and resolutely adhere to it, resisting all temptation to diverge from it.

Mr. Fisher's tastes and habits were intellectual. He was a lover of knowledge and a lover of the arts. His mind was enriched by various reading and extensive foreign travel. He had collected an ample library and a valuable gallery of pictures; and his books, his family, and the exercise of a generous and graceful hospitality filled up his time agreeably and profitably. He was a believer in "the strength of backward-looking thoughts," and his favorite reading lay among the great English writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. With more modern authors he was less familiar.

Although never a candidate for public office, he was always interested in political and constitutional questions, and was entirely familiar with the political history of his own country. The pamphlet which you have mentioned, on minority representation, is the production of an acute and philosophical mind. Brought up in the faith of that great party of which Washington was the head, he never saw cause to depart from his early creed. Indeed, he carried conservative opinions and apprehensions to an extreme. This was owing in part to a temperament naturally the reverse of hopeful, and to the fact that of late years he suffered much from ill health.

His personal character was in the highest degree estimable and amiable. His religious convictions were strong, and his religious faith colored and controlled his life. His spirit was reverent; and he recoiled with alarm and aversion from the daring spirit of speculation and inquiry which marks our times.

His domestic and social affections were warm. He was a faithful friend, and he was dear to his friends and his kindred. In the latter years of his life, his political opinions, and his frank avowal of them, made him unpopular; but they lost him no man's respect. The war and its results made large claims upon his bounty, but they were most faithfully and tenderly met. A graduate of Harvard, he always retained a warm affection for his college. He showed this practically by sending both of his sons to be educated here. He came to Boston occasionally, and never came here without, as he said, being brightened and cheered by meeting and talking with his old friends; and I need not say to you, Mr. President, how cordially he was welcomed by them, and how glad we should have been had he given us the pleasure of seeing him more frequently.

He took a lively interest in our Society. In one of his last letters to me, in reference to a contemplated visit which, by reason of increasing ill health, was never paid, he made particular inquiry as to our times of meeting, saying that one of his attractions toward Boston was the wish to be with us once more.

The President then read the following letter from the Rev. Dr. Lothrop:—

MY DEAR MR. WINTHROP,— I greatly regret that I am called to a professional duty at North Cambridge this morning, and so cannot be present at the meeting of the Historical Society to say a few words, as I promised you I would, in relation to our late Corresponding Member, Mr. Joshua Francis Fisher, of Philadelphia, a gentleman for whom I have entertained an unqualified respect and regard from the time that we were at Cambridge as classmates; whose published historical papers indicate great thoroughness of investigation and accuracy of statement; whose intellectual and moral character made him worthy of the warm attachment cherished towards him by his friends; and whose domestic life, were it proper to unfold it, beautifully presents the nobleness and purity of his heart.

I regret my necessary absence the less, as I am confident your intimate acquaintance and thorough knowledge of him will enable and prompt you to do full justice to his honored memory.

Very truly yours,

S. K. LOTHROP.

FEB. 13, 1873.

General Francis W. Palfrey and Charles W. Tuttle, Esq., were elected Resident Members.

Professor J. Lewis Diman, of Providence, R.I., and Colonel

Joseph L. Chester, of London, were elected Corresponding Members.

The President read the following letters on the origin of names prevailing on Vineyard Sound:—

88 MOUNT VERNON STREET, JAN. 25, 1873.

DEAR SIR,— So far as my limited knowledge of Massachusetts history goes, I am not aware that the origin of the names prevailing on Vineyard Sound, including that of the Sound itself, is known or recorded. As the common name of *Hole* now existing and having no significance, and to those unfamiliar with the locality bringing up forbidding ideas, is likely to pass away (the name of *Holmes's Hole* already having been changed to *Vineyard Haven*), it seems desirable to arrest this tendency to erase the time-honored names of old landmarks. Now if it can be made to appear that the name of "*Holl*" or *Hill* is the true appellation of the bluffs and headlands and gentle hills of the Elizabeth Islands, Martha's Vineyard, and the South Side of the Cape, instead of the repulsive one of *Hole*, they might still be retained to keep up familiar association, and to give a *correct* significance instead of the present meaningless one. I used to have a theory that the name *Hole* signified *harbor*, and was adopted from similar local characteristics on the English coast; but I could not maintain it to my own satisfaction, because I could not find that there *were* any such appellatives there. Then with us, while "*Holmes's Hole*" and "*Powder Hole*" were *harbors* or *havens*, "*Quick's Hole*" and "*Robinson's Hole*" were *passages* between the Elizabeth Islands; and *Wood's Hole* was both a harbor and a passage.

But it is certain that at *each* locality there are prominent hills or bluffs or headlands. Perhaps I should have named this among my reasons for thinking *Hole* should be *Holl*, because the latter appellation has a *general* significance and application, which the former has not. You can, however, supplement this for me, should you think it worth while to submit my enclosed "monograph" to your Society. It is not often that I think my ideas worth communicating, but in this case it seemed to me that the suggestions might be worth pursuing.

With great respect, I am

Yours very truly, &c.

JOS. S. FAY,
of *Wood's Hole, Mass.*

HON. R. C. WINTHROP.

BOSTON, JAN. 25, 1873.

DEAR SIR,— In the perusal of an interesting work entitled "*Words and Places*" by the Rev. Isaac Taylor, M.A., published in England by Macmillan & Co. in 1865, the reader will be struck with the remarks in the introductory chapter as to the tenacity with which the names of places adhere to them, and "survive the catastrophes which overthrow empires," throwing light upon history where other records are in doubt. He says, "They may always be regarded as records of the past, inviting and rewarding a careful historical interpretation."

In speaking further (page 10) of names in the Western World, he says (notwithstanding his assertions as to the durability of names), "The name of GREENLAND is the only one which is left to remind us of the Scandinavian settlements which were made in America in the tenth century." And again he says (page 36), "The knowledge of the history and migrations of such tribes must be recovered from the study of the names of the places which they once inhabited, but which now know them no more, — from the names of the hills which they fortified, of the rivers by which they dwelt, of the distant mountains upon which they gazed." He then shows the progress and extent of Celtic, Norwegian, and Saxon migrations over Europe, by the names and terminals that still exist even in the Mediterranean. On the 170th page the writer says: "In the Shetlands every local name, without exception, is Norwegian. The names of the farms end in *seter* or *ster*, and the hills are called *how*, *hoy*, and *holl*." This last word at once arrested my attention, for I am a resident of Wood's *Hole*, and have often wondered whence it, and other spots along Vineyard Sound, such as "Powder *Hole*," "Holmes's *Hole*," "Quick's *Hole*," and "Robinson's *Hole*," all differing in their marine position, derived their appellatives. Referring to the dictionary, I found that the Icelandic of *hill* was *holl*; and then considering the geographic conformation of the shores of Vineyard Sound, I concluded that the name of "*Holl*" was given by the Norsemen in their frequent voyages through those waters to Naragansett Bay, to the various hills and headlands which mark the several localities now called "*Holes*," and that they became thus known by transmission through the Indians to the first English voyagers frequenting those shores, who added the several patronymics, so to speak, of "Holmes," "Wood," "Robinson," and "Quick." It seems to me that this idea is strengthened by the consideration that, so far as I know, this nomenclature of *Holl* or *Hole* does not exist in any other place or locality on this continent that was settled by the English, and that it is confined to the sheltered waters of Vineyard Sound, through and with which the Norsemen passed and doubtless familiarized themselves when they anchored there from time to time. Again, by the scanty records which are left us, we learn that the Norsemen called the southern part of Massachusetts *Vineland*, and the abundance of wild grapes in the woods of Falmouth and on Naushon Island still bears this name out. Why, then, may not the name of Martha's *Vineyard* be one of the landmarks or traces left by these enterprising voyagers?

I take the liberty of submitting these matters to your consideration, thinking them possibly worthy of investigation by the illustrious and learned Society of which you are the very worthy President. Some light may be yet thrown upon that distant and obscure part of our country's history, even from the humble *Holls* of Vineyard Sound.

With great respect, I am

Your obedient servant,

JOS. S. FAY.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, President, &c.

If your Society does not possess a copy of Mr. Taylor's work, "Words and Places," I shall be happy to place one at their disposal.

The President read the following letter from the Rev. Thomas R. Pynchon, of Hartford, Conn. : —

TRINITY COLLEGE, HARTFORD, JAN. 16, 1873.

HON. R. C. WINTHROP.

MY DEAR SIR, — While on a visit not long since at the house of Mrs. W. W. Parkin, in New York, I met with a volume of Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, containing letters from different persons to your great ancestor. It has occurred to me to inquire whether there are in your possession any letters to him from William Pynchon, the founder of Springfield, from whom all of our name in this country are descended? There is a remnant of a letter from him to his son John, written at Wraysbury, Bucks, after his return to England. With this exception I have never seen any thing in his hand, except annotations in his book, "The Meritorious Price of Man's Redemption," which brought him into trouble in New England. As he was on very intimate terms with your ancestor, it has occurred to me that possibly in the Winthrop Collection there may be some letters from him. I have taken a deep interest in him, not only as my direct progenitor, but as having been deeply engaged in the settlement of Massachusetts, more particularly of the Connecticut River, and as the chief medium of communication between the Massachusetts Government and the Western Indians. On his return to England he settled at Wraysbury, about four miles from Windsor, on the Thames, just opposite Magna Charta Island, and the field of Runnymede. He was drawn to that vicinity by its proximity to Bulstrode Park, which was then the property of that family, — his near kinsmen. I have been at the place, and in the house in which he lived and died, — a lovely spot, commanding a western view not unlike that from the eastern bank of the Connecticut at Springfield towards the Berkshire Hills, and including also a glimpse of the towers of Windsor Castle. He was buried in the church, November, 1662. The living is in the gift of the dean and canons of Windsor, and is at the present moment enjoyed by one of the Nevilles, a relative of the present Lord Braybrooke. There is no doubt that he was thankful to return actually into the bosom of his dear mother, the Church of England. . . .

I have ventured upon these details, knowing what a deep interest you take in all the old New England families. Pray let me hear from you at your convenience, and believe me to be ever

Very respectfully yours,

THOS. R. PYNCHON.

HON. R. C. WINTHROP.

The President said that he had been happy to reply to Dr. Pynchon that there were at least nine original letters of William Pynchon, his ancestor, among the Winthrop Papers, published in Vol. VI. of our Fourth Series of Collections.

The President read the following letter from the Earl of Warwick to Hugh Peter, the copy being in the handwriting of John Winthrop, the son of Wait-Still : —

Mr. PEETER, — I was this Morning wth my L^d Bishop who I found not up, so I went againe this Afternoone. He Objected against you that w^{ch} you were never Gilty of; in Saying that the Queene was damned in yo^r prayer, w^{ch} I hope I Satisfy'd him in, and did assure him that yo^r preaching on fryday was at my desire only, and that w^{ch} I grieve is most carpet at is that men kept a fast that day; he hath promised me to send for you in the morning, he took it ill you came at that time of a night, I told him I had imploy'd you that day and you were so carefull as to attend him before you Slept w^{ch} I had hoped he would have taken it the better: I hope all will goe well. Give mild Answers and let me hear w^h is done, and I shall come to you. Thus in hast I rest
Yo^r asshured friend & Patron, WARWICKE.

This Sunday Night

To my Loving friend Mr. PETERS these.

The President then said that, from time to time, he had found among his family papers fragmentary manuscripts of Governor Winthrop, the elder, evidently rough drafts, and some of them on interesting and important subjects. A few of these he had published in the "Life and Letters" of the Governor. Others had been already printed in the Collections or Proceedings of this Society. He had recently discovered two fragments, which were thought to be of more than common interest in throwing light on at least one of the controversies which agitated the infant Colony of Massachusetts Bay. He had copied them from the original autograph drafts of his ancestor, — not without difficulty, as the Governor's chirography, more particularly in these rough drafts, was very hard to be deciphered, — and had submitted them to the best judge of their value, Mr. Deane. With his concurrence, he now laid them before the Society, to be submitted to the Committee on Publication.

One of them was a Memorandum, indorsed for Governor Endicott, on the subject of the charges against Roger Williams in 1633, and is dated 3 Jan. of that year. The other was a discussion about the origin and validity of church organizations, with some special reference to the Ordinance of Baptism, and probably originated in the alleged refusal of Roger Williams "to join with the congregation at Boston, because they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the Churches of England while they lived there."

The papers were both of them fragmentary and incomplete, with many abbreviations and *fcs.*; and the rough drafts may have been improved by the Governor in copying them for their destination. But Mr. Deane had considered them too important

to be lost. He had prepared some comments on one of the papers, which he would introduce in the course of his remarks. The other was as follows:—

Reasons to prove a necessity of reformation from the corruptions of Ante Christ which hath defiled the Christian Churches, & yet without an absolute separation from them, as if they were no Churches of Christ.

1. And first a Q: would be demanded, whether Antechriste or the Antechristian Church hath utterly nullified the Chrⁿ Churches: or whether it hath onely polluted them: for g^t consequences will followe upon either side.

And first of the 1: viz: if Antechrist hath nullified & quite destroyed the Chrⁿ Churches then is it needful that we knowe the tyme when they were thus destroyed & nullified: & how longe Chrⁿ Churches did remaine.

2. If Chrⁿ Churches were utterly nullified then how these Script^{rs} &c can be fulfilled: Dan^l 7: 14. there was given him dominion &c: that all people &c: an everlasting Dominion &c. Math: 16. 18— and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Heb: 12: 28— we receiving a kingdom wth cannot be moved.— & divers others that doe promise the continuation of Chrⁿ Churches to the worldes ende.

On the other side, how shall these Scriptures be fulfilled 2: Thes: 2: 4. where that Antech^{rist} is called that man of Sinne, that doth sitt in the Temple of God: but these & such Scriptures will be more properly brought in, when I shall shewe the consequences on the other side.

3. If Chrⁿ Churches were utterly nullified, & quite destroyed, then I demande when they beganne againe & where? Who beganne them? that we may knowe, by what right & power they did beginne them: for we haue not heard of any new John Baptist, nor of any other newe waye from heaven, by which they haue begunne the Churches anewe.

4. If the Churches were quite nullified & destroyed: & that there haue none been erected since with newe Authoritye from heauen, then either our outward, visible, & externall badge of our profession, viz: our Baptisme, is not right, or else there is another power, besides the Churches' power, that hath the Authoritye to Baptize; but we knowe no suche power since the tyme of the Apostles & Evangelistes did cease: ergo, if the Churches were destroyed, our Baptisme is not right.

But before I goe any further, I must answer some object^{ions} against the 2^d: position: viz. concerning the Scriptures that were cited for continuation. Ob: The Scriptures are to prove the continuation of the invisible Church, & that indeed must continue. Answ: that it is not the invisible but the visible Churches that are meant by these places is certaine & cleere, & that by this Argument: That Church that hath the Keyes committed to it, that is the Church that is meant by these Scriptures: but the visible Church &c: ergo.

The proposition is cleare. Math: 16: 18.

The Assumptⁿ is thus proued: That Church only that hathe the Keyes, must be able to meet together, & be able to heare a Complaint, & to giue an Answer: but the visible Church is onely able &c: ergo: The proposition is cleere, Math: 18. 17. 1: Cor: 14. 23.

The Assumptⁿ no wise man will question I thinke: seeinge the invisible Church neuer did, nor can come together untill the laste daye.

Ob: against the 4th position viz. Concerninge our Baptisme.

1. Ob: that man that can preache (which is the greater worke) he may also baptize (which is the lesse): but we see, that many a man can preache by vertue of a Gifte that he hathe attained unto — ergo — all suche may baptize.

Ans: preachinge is to be understood diversely: but I will speake of it but these 2: wayes at this tyme: & so take it either as it is a gifte or grace, which men by endeavor may attaine unto, & as the Apostle commanded the Cor: Churches (& in them all other Churches) to covet after, as that 1: Cor: 14: 1, & drives at the same in the whole chapter. Or else I will take it according unto that preachinge spoken of Rom: 10: 14. 15. where sendinge enables them to an Office of preachinge: & so take preachinge in the 1: sense, & then I denye that either such p^rchinge is greater than Baptizinge, or that suche a man, though he p^reach, may therefore baptize. But take preaching as it is meant in the 2: consideration (that is as it is tyed to an office) then I grant their sayinge, that he that may or can doe the greater, may doe the lesse, preferringe preachinge to baptizinge: but this latter no man takes to him selfe, but he that is called of God as Aron was. Heb: 5. 4.

2: Ob: Baptisme is Baptisme by whomsoever it is performed: & therefore where water is layd on in the name of the Father, Sonne & Holy Ghost, there is true Baptisme.

Ans: 1: it is meet to understande what they meane by Baptisme, seeinge the worde signifies washinge, & so take it in the largest sense, then we must grant that which they saye, &c: But take Baptisme as it is God's ordinance, to be that washinge that signifies our washinge awaye of Sinnes by Christ's blood & dothe [torn] sonne to everye true believer, & then I saye, that Baptisme is not rightly & truly to be called Baptisme, if it want any of these 4: thinges: viz: a true objecte, & a true subjecte, a true power, & a true & right Element: nay, I suppose, I might prove it a nullitye if it wante a 5: thinge.

Other obj: are made, as namely, they will haue Baptisme to be a concept of their owne braines, that is, they will understande Baptisme in their mindes, viz: Water & wordes used without any subject: but that & suche other are so vaine, that suche obj: are not worthe the answer.

5: As the consequence of denyall of Ho: Script^r is verye dangerous, so is another foule assertion verye offensive. The Script^r before are denyed & falsified, that doe promise the continuation of Chrst Churches: as that of Matt. Thes. Heb. & others: & that foule assertion, that dothe denye the people of God in England or else where to be visib^le Chst Christians, & the societyes of them to be visib^le

Churches, is very offensive to all childlike & tender-hearted Christians.

I am not unacquainted with their Offensue Ob: that we make whores & drunkards visible Christians: I answer 1: to terme the people in gen^l whores & drunkards is evill; for althoughe the most parte are ignorante (the more is their sinne & our grieffe) yet whores & drunkards they are not: Weake Christians they are indeed, & the weaker for want of that tender care, that should be had of them: 1: by those that are sett over them to feede them: & next for that spirituall pride that Sathan rooted into the hearts of their brethren, who when they are converted, doe not, nor will not strengthen them, but doe censure them to be none of God's people, nor any visible Christians: nay they of the Separation haue gone farther, & denyed them to be visible Christians, whose knowledge in religion is not inferior to theirs, & their walkinge in religion answerable to their knowledge: affirminge suche to be worse than the other sorte, viz. of the ignorant. This is the charitye of these harshe spiritts, & that because they will not sinne with them in the point of Separation: abusinge those Script^r that doe call us out of Babell, viz. the Church of Rome, & all other consociated Church estates, whether nationall, or diocesan; & applye suche Script^r to their separation from the particular Congregations, because they partake of a mixed multitude; & either pride, malice, or ignorance, in the most of these censurers, will not give them leaue to distinguish betweene corrupte Churches & false Churches, as they doe terme the Congregations: neither will they putt any difference betweene the Churches as they are technically appointed by man, & as they are particular congregations, & appointed by Christ; for so they are, as they remaine particular Congregations, euen Churches of Christ's owne appointinge, althoughe now they be corrupted.

Ob: Can the sounde of a Trumpett by K: Edw: or by Q. Eliz: make the Churches true that were false in the dayes of H: 8: & of Ma: his daughter, who did maintaine Popery & did force the Churches thereto? Ans: no: but the particular Congregations were as true Churches in the dayes of Q: Ma: as they were in the dayes of Q: Eliz: onely they did differ in doctrine, & were more corrupt in Ma: dayes than in Eliz: althoughe too much corrupt then & nowe too. But the corruption of a thinge doth not nullifye a thinge, so longe as the thinge hath a beinge in the same nature that it had when it was in the best beinge: so is it with the particular Congregations.

Ob: The Churches in England were never true, for they did want a right Constitution at the first, for they were constituted by Augustine his worke.

Ans: that is more than they doe knowe that did saye so, for some are of the minde, that Jos: of Arim^{as} brought hither the Gospell so newe into England & so was a meanes to plant Churches, but these may be lefte to records: & so I answer further that whether Aug. or Jos: or any other that God made his Instruments to conveye the Gospell into England or into other lands, yet blessed be the name of the Lord, it tooke effecte, that Churches were gathered.

Obj: but they were never rightly constituted.

Ans: how knowe you that? : 1: how doe you knowe, how & in what forme (I meane) of wordes, the Churches were, & are to be constituted, to make them right, or else they are not true? 2: If you could laye downe a forme of wordes unto which all Churches must be tyed, or else they be no true Churches (as I doubt you cannot yet) how doe you knowe but that they might have that forme when they beganne, although it be not recorded? It may fall out in this countrie where we nowe live that Records of euerye Church's beginnings are not kept, neither yet any records who was the first founder of the Gospell heere: I do wonder now, if this be a good consequence of those that shall succede us heere in future tymes, if differences of opinion shall arise, the Churches that were planted heere had no right Constitution, for such an one brought the Gospell hither. Even so deale these men with us in their reasoning: but wisdom will rather reason thus, we see the Churches are in the particular & Congregationall forme, although now corrupted, ergo — sure they were so at the first.

Againe, consider one poore defence, to make their owne Baptisme good, by a wronge meanes: they reason thus: Israell in the tyme of Apostacie were none of the Church of God, yet were they circumcised, & their circumcision was good, so is our Baptisme true, saye they, though doone in a false Church. I could wish these men to take better heed, & not to be so bould to runne into one error to boulder out another, I meane, that to shame that foule offense of denyinge the Churches now remaininge to be true, & yet will holde their Baptisme — they will also call Israell a false Church, with whom the Lord made a Covenante, & helde the same, unto the Captivitye, if not to Christ's cominge in the fleshe, as appeareth plainly by holy Script^r. Againe they ob: Zipporah did circumcise, who might not doe it, yet it stood in force, ergo, their Bapt^m is in force, by whom so ever it was doone. I answ. 1: they doe but begge the Question, when they saye she might not doe it, for it is more than they can tell, seeinge that no Script^r doe forbidde either expressly or by consequence, that euer yet they could shewe: but if it were

[Here ends this sheet, which has no indorsement.]

Mr. DEANE then introduced the second fragment presented by the President by reading the following communication: —

It is well known to readers of our early history that Roger Williams, during his residence at Plymouth, — between August, 1631, and August, 1633, — drew up a "treatise," for the private satisfaction, as he says, of the governor and council there, in which he called in question the authority of the king's patent for these parts, and gave expression to other opinions in connection therewith, which were regarded as unsound and dangerous. What Governor Bradford thought of this treatise we

are not distinctly told; but what he thought of Roger Williams himself he has told us, in a passage in his History, as admirable for its sound judgment and insight as for its language. And John Cotton tells us that "the godly-wise and vigilant Ruling-Elder of Plymouth (aged Mr. Bruister) had warned the whole church of the danger of his spirit, which moved the better part of the church to be glad of his removal from them into the Bay," and intimating that one ground of their dislike to him was his vehement opposition to the king's patent. (*App. to the Bloudy Tenent, washed, &c.*, p. 4.)

Williams's opinions could not be confined to the narrow circle at Plymouth, and so, ere long, rumors of the novel doctrines broached there reached the ever-watchful ear of the Governor of the Massachusetts; and, after the return of Williams to Salem, Winthrop requested the privilege of reading the book, and the author sent him a copy of it. It will be understood that the treatise was in manuscript.

The earliest account we have of this matter is in Winthrop's History, i. 122, under date of Dec. 27, 1633, some three or four months after Williams had returned to Salem from Plymouth. It is in these words:—

"The governour and his assistants met at Boston, and took into consideration a treatise, which Mr. Williams (then of Salem) had sent to them, and which he had formerly written to the governour and council of Plimouth, wherein, among other things, he disputes their right to the lands they possessed here, and concluded that, claiming by the King's grant, they could have no title: nor otherwise except they compounded with the natives. For this, taking advice with some of the most judicious ministers, (who much condemned Mr. Williams's error and presumption,) they gave order, that he should be convented at the next court, to be censured, &c. There were three passages chiefly whereat they were much offended: 1, for that he chargeth King James to have told a solemn publick lie, because in his patent he blessed God that he was the first Christian prince that had discovered this land: 2, for that he chargeth him and others with blasphemy for calling Europe Christendom, or the Christian world: 3, for that he did personally apply to our present king, Charles, these three places in the Revelations, viz. [blank.]

"Mr. Endicott being absent, the governour wrote to him to let him know what was done, and withal added divers arguments to confute the said errours, wishing him to deal with Mr. Williams to retract the same, &c. Whereto he returned a very modest and discreet answer. Mr. Williams also wrote to the governour, and also to him and the rest of the council, very submissively, professing his intent to have been only to have written for the private satisfaction of the governour, &c. of Plimouth, without any purpose to have stirred any further in it, if

the governour here had not required a copy of him; withal offering his book, or any part of it, to be burnt.

"At the next court he appeared penitently, and gave satisfaction of his intention and loyalty. So it was left, and nothing done in it."

Whether Governor Winthrop subsequently availed himself of the liberty which Williams gave him to burn the copy of the offensive treatise sent to him we are not told, and nothing further as to its contents has hitherto been known to us; unless we may suppose that John Cotton's subsequent account of what Williams had held and publicly taught in Massachusetts respecting the patent was a repetition of what he had embodied in this treatise, — not forgetting also Williams's later admissions as to these opinions. Neither do we know what became of the original manuscript. William Coddington, in a letter published at the end of Fox and Burnyeat's "New England Fire-Brand Quenched," 1678, pt. 2, p. 246, says that Williams's book "against the King's Patent and Authority" was "a large Book in Quarto."

A few months since, our President placed in my hands a copy of a paper of Governor Winthrop, in which the governor has commented on what seemed to him the objectionable features of this treatise of Williams; and thus we are furnished with some farther insight into its character and some knowledge of the general drift of his opinions. The paper is undoubtedly a copy or draft of what the governor wrote to Mr. Endicott after the treatise had been examined by the magistrates at their meeting in Boston, 27 December, 1633, "adding," he says, "divers arguments to confute the said errors." It is dated Jan. 3, 1633-34, and is as follows: —

[Gov. Winthrop's letter to Mr. Endicott about Roger Williams.]

The things which will chiefly be layd to his charge are these: 1: Rev: 16: 13. 14. that he chargeth Kinge James with a solemn public lye. 2: that he chargeth both Kinges & others with blasphemye for callinge Europe Christendom or the Christian world &c. 3: for personal application of 3: places in Rev. to our present Kinge Charles. 4: for concluding us all heere to lye under a sinne of unjust usurpation upon others possessions: & all these to be maintayned & published by a private person &c.

For the first: it was no lye of Kinge James, but the Trueth: for his people were the first that discovered these parts: but admitt he had been mistaken: was it ever knowne, that a true Christⁿ did give his naturall Prince the lye? Was he not the Lorde's anointed?

For the 2: that it should be Blasphemye to saye Christendom or the Chrⁿ Worlde: & for a subjecte heerupon to charge his Prince with

Rev: 16: 13. 14.
17: 19. 13.
18: 19.

Blasphemye is too great presumption: Were not thinges often named from the better parte, as the Electe are called the Worlde in 8: places at least, as God loved the Worlde, reconciled the Worlde &c. Againe all Israell (good & badd) were called the Circumcision & the people of God &c: to distinguishe them from the Heathen: So may all baptized ones be called Christians to distinguishe them from the Turks &c, in which respectes to be baptized & Christened were all one: because Baptisme was the first public badge whereby a Christian was distinguished from a Pagan: & so in the Dayes of Constantine & Iovinian & other Godly emperors, the Arians, Manichees & other Hereticks were called Christians & yet without Offence to the most Orthodoxe: who tooke it in no other sense than as baptized ones, to distinguishe them onely from the Pagans, who were the common opposites to them all: therefore I am perswaded it is no Blasphemye (when I would distinguishe a nation that professethe the faith of Jesus Christ (be it in trueth or not) from other nations which professe him not) to saye they are Chr^m: neither is it any more contradictorie (as he would make it) to saye a Chr^m worlde, or a heauenly earthe, than to saye an heauen upon earthe or a worldly sanctuarye: Heb: 9: 2. for if he allowe not allegories, he must condemn his owne writings & speeches, seeinge no man useth them more than himselfe: & that verie treatise of his, exceeds all that euer I haue read (of so serious an Argument) in figures & flourishes. For the 3: the firste place which he applies to our Kinge is Rev: 16. 14. The Spiritts of Devills goinge forth to the Kinges of the earthe, which is all one as if he had sayde, that the Devill had seduced him to take up armes with Antechrist against the Lorde Jesus Christ. The next is Rev: 17: 12. where settinge downe onely the first words of the 10: Kinges who should give their power & strengthe to the beast, to make warre with the Lambe (not addinge any more nor so muche as we doe) he makes our Kinge a friend of the Beast, & an enemye of Jesus Christ. The 3: is Rev. 18: 19. by which he makes our Kinge one of those who haue committed ffornication with the Whore, & shall bewayle her destruction. Nowe for him to give this sentence of his Sovereigne, who professethe & maintaines the Faithe of Jesus Christ, & dothe not professedlye holde any communion with the whore of Rome or publickly maintaine the Religion of AnteChrist or the power of the Beast, if it be not Treason, yet I dare saye, it is strange boldnesse & beyond the limitts of his callinge. For I would gladly knowe to what good ende, & for what use of Edification, he should publishe these thinges in this lande, (if they were as he supposethe them) — doth he see any pronenesse in this people to joyne with the Beast or the Whore? or dothe he feare least our Kinge beinge upon such a designe, would sende for our Assistance? It should seeme the Apostle Paule wanted courage when he shunneth to name the Emperor, otherwise than by general implication: he which withholdeth &c. must be taken away. Mr. W^m would haue spoken [?] downe right, the Roman empire must be taken away; but if he had loued the peace of these Churches as Paul did those, he would not (for smale or no occasion) haue provoked our Kinge against us, & putt a sworde into his hande to destroye us.

Now for the 4th: viz. our title to what we possesse: it is not Religious (as he supposethe) neither dothe our Kinge challenge any right heer by his Christianitie: for admitt the grande Patent were as he alledgeth (for my parte I neuer sawe it, & I doubt whether he did or not) yet dothe not any such conclusion necessariye followe. for what if Kinge Ja: had sayd that, he was the first of all the Princes of Europe &c: would it therefore haue followed that he had claymed it as belonginge to the Princes of Europe? & for the other clause, *provided* it be not actually possessed by the subjects of any other Christian Prince: this is onely to shewe that he would not contende with any suche of his neighbors: & it plainly proves that he accounted possession the better title. But to cleere all this, it is well knowne, that these Patents are not drawne by any direction from the Kinge or State, but by some Counsellor at Lawe whom the Patentee employes, & allowed by the Attorney Gen^l. Yet let the case be as stronge on his parte as he pretends, the example of the Jews takinge the benefit of Kinge Cyrus proclamⁿ notwithstanding that proude & false groundes which he lays for it: viz: that God had giuen him all the Kingdoms of the earthe* &c.: will be sufficient to confute his error. But if our title be not good, neither by Patent, nor possession of these parts as *vacuum Domicilium*, nor by good liking of the natives, I mervayle by what title Mr. Williams himselfe holdes.† & if God were not pleased with our inheritinge these partes, why did he drive out the natives before us? & why dothe he still make roome for us, by diminishinge them as we increase? Why hath he planted his Churches heere? Why dothe he declare his favourable presence amonge us, by makinge his Ordinances effectually to the savinge of many soules? If we had no right to this lande, yet our God hath right to it, & if he be pleased to give it us (takinge it from a people who had so longe usurped upon him, & abused his creatures) who shall controll him or his terms? But this point will require a particular treatise.‡

To Mr. Endicott abt Mr. Williams

Jan^y 8^d 1633.

* The reference here is to that passage in Jewish history recorded in the Book of Ezra, chap. 1.

† Mr. Williams owned a house at Salem, which he mortgaged about the time of his removal from the Colony.

‡ The principal value of this fragment of Governor Winthrop is the light which it throws on the temper of Williams, and the views he held on the subject of the king's patent. We have but the heads of Winthrop's reply, and can only wish that he had handed down to us a more full exposition of his own opinions on the main subject. He must have understood the principle of public law on which the grants were made. That he also recognized the obligation which the relation of the colonists to the natives drew upon the former, is clearly manifest. Their right also by the law of nature to take possession of vacant places where no claim of possession was made, he did not question. In a paper of "General Considerations for the Plantation of New England," written in 1639, before he came over to the Colony, he says: . . . "The whole earth is the Lord's garden, and he hath given it to the sons of Adam to be tilled and improved by them, why then should we stand starving [striving] here for places of habitation, . . . and in the mean time suffer whole countries as profitable for the use of man, to lie waste without any improvement. . . . That which is common to all is proper to none. This savage

The authorities were disposed to deal gently with Williams. Winthrop tells us, under date of 24th January, 1634, that "the governor and council met again at Boston to consider of Mr. Williams's letter, &c., when, with the advice of Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilson, and weighing his letter, and further considering of the aforesaid offensive passages in his book (which, being written in very obscure and implicative phrases, might well admit of doubtful interpretation), they found the matters not to be so evil as at first they seemed. Whereupon they agreed, that, upon his retraction, &c., or taking an oath of allegiance to the king, &c., it should be passed over."

Williams, however, did not long remain quiet, whatever he may have promised the authorities at Boston. We soon find him inveighing against the sin of the patent, no longer using language of doubtful import. Winthrop, under date of November of the same year, records: "It was likewise informed, that Mr. Williams of Salem had broken his promise to us, in teaching publicly against the king's patent, and our great sin in claiming right thereby to this country, &c., and for usual terming the churches of England antichristian. We granted summons to him for his appearance at the next court."

It would be foreign from my present purpose to trace further the history of Williams's discipline by the authorities of Massachusetts, and of his ultimate banishment from the jurisdiction, my object now being to examine his objections to the patent. He seems to have included in his denunciations the grand patent of King James, of Nov. 3, 1620, and that of Charles I., to Massachusetts. The hard names out of Revelations which he applies to King Charles are of little significance in the argument. Such language only shows his factious spirit, and was properly regarded by Governor Winthrop as of dangerous consequence. The same may be said of the charge of blasphemy against both kings for calling Europe Christendom or the Christian World, the folly of which Governor Winthrop so forcibly exposes in the paper I have just read.

Williams charges that King James told a solemn public lie in saying that he was the first Christian prince that discovered this land. It seems to me that Williams clearly misinterprets

people ruleth over many lands without title or property; for they enclose no ground, neither have they cattle to maintain it, but remove their dwellings as they have occasion, or as they can prevail against their neighbors. And why may not Christians have liberty to go and dwell amongst them in their waste lands and woods (leaving them such places as they have manured for their corn) as lawfully as Abraham did among the Sodomites. . . . There is more than enough for them and us. God hath consumed the natives with a miraculous plague, whereby the greater part of the country is left void of inhabitants. We shall come in with good leave of the natives." (Hutchinson Papers, pp. 27, 28, 30, 31.)

the language of the patent. In the paragraph in which occurs the passage referred to, after reciting the occurrence of the wonderful plague and other causes which had destroyed so many of the native inhabitants, thereby making a favorable opening for settlement by his own subjects and people, the king renders "thanks to his Divine Majesty for his gracious favor in laying open and revealing the same to us before any other Christian prince or state." This is a simple recital of the prior claims of the English Crown to this territory as against those of any other Christian prince. There is surely nothing here to justify the language of Williams. Governor Winthrop tells us he had never seen the patent of King James; therefore he could not cite its language to show how Williams had perverted its meaning. The same excuse cannot be offered for writers of our own day.

But Williams's most serious objection to the patents was the pretended grant by the sovereigns of land here, to which they had no claim, and which belonged exclusively to the natives. His objection has been stated in different forms of language; as well by Winthrop, in the paper now for the first time brought to light, and in the extract from his History, above cited, as by John Cotton in his writings against Williams. But there is little disagreement as to substance. Both these eminent men had read Williams's "treatise," and they were in a position to know what opinions he attempted to spread in Massachusetts respecting the patents. We have also Williams's own admissions as to these views, subsequently expressed in his controversy with Cotton. He admits having held "that we have not our land by patent from the king, but that the natives are the true owners of it; and that we ought to repent of such a receiving it by patent." (Mr. Cotton's Letter Answered, 1644, pp. 40, 41.) And later, in 1652, in his "Bloody Tenent yet More Bloody," he says:—

"I know those thoughts have deeply possessed not a few, considering also the *sinne* of the *Pattents*, wherein *Christian Kings* (so called) are invested with Right by virtue of their *Christianitie* to take and give away the *Lands* and *Countries* of other men; As also considering the *unchristian Oaths* swallowed downe, at their coming forth from *old England*, especially in superstitious Laud his time and domineering.

"And I know these thoughts so afflicted the Soule and Conscience of the Discusser in the time of his Walking in the Way of *New Englands Worship*, that at last he came to a perswasion, that such sinnes could not be *Expiated* without returning againe into *England*: or a publike acknowledgement and Confession of the Evill of so and so

departing: To this purpose, before his *Troubles* and *Banishment*, he drew up a Letter (not without the *Approbation* of some of the *Chiefe of New-England*, then tender also upon this point before God) directed unto the *King* himselfe, humbly acknowledging the *Evill* of that part of the *Patent* which respects *Donation of Land*, &c.

"This *Letter* and other *Endeavours* (tending to wash off *public sinnes*, to give warning to others, and above all, to *pacifie* and give *Glory* unto God) it may be that *Counsells* from *Flesh* and *Bloud* suppress, and *Worldly policie* at last prevailed, for this very cause, (amongst others afterwards re-examined) to banish the *Discusser* from such their *Coasts* and *Territories*." — *Pub. Narr. Club*, iv. 461, 462.*

The objections of Williams to the patents seem to have been merely theoretical. He did not charge that the Massachusetts patentees had in any way wronged the natives by taking the lands they claimed without an equivalent; but simply that the king, who did not own the land, had pretended to give a title to the patentees, while the propriety was vested in the natives, and that thus they were all "concluded to lie under a sin of unjust usurpation upon others' possessions." He held it as "a National duty," says Cotton, "to renounce the Patent: which to have done would have subverted the fundamental State and Government of the Country."

The truth is, Williams flew in the face of the public law of Europe at that day, — a law (we may call it a "fiction of law") which had existed from the earliest period of the discovery of America, viz., that the right of ultimate dominion over these lands, discovered by the subjects or authority of any Christian prince or state, became vested in that state, or in the crown. He held that such was vested in the natives. It could not exist in both at the same time. In whatever form he may have put his objection, it amounted practically to this; and he urged it as a duty upon the colonists to return their patent back to the king, and to humble themselves for having received it. He must have known that the Massachusetts grantees interpreted their grant as conveying to them a title subject to the Indian right of occupancy; and although in compliance with the forms of law, and in assertion of the principle of ultimate dominion in the Crown, the grants were absolute, yet it was well understood by both parties that the rights of the natives were to be respected. Indeed, in the grand patent of King James, as well as in that of Charles I., the civilizing and christianizing of the

* Can the "letter" he here speaks of, directed to King Charles, be the treatise "written for the private satisfaction of the governor and council of Plymouth," in which he charges the king's father with falsehood, and applies to the king himself those passages in Revelations? The editor of the book above cited, as published by the Narr. Club, is of this opinion. I cannot agree with him.

natives is recited as one of the objects of colonization. In the latter the corporation are directed so to dispose of all matters as that "our said people inhabiting there may be so religiously, peaceably, and civilly governed, as their good life and orderly conversation may win and invite the natives of that country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind, and the Christian faith, *which in our royal intention, and the adventurers' free profession, is the principal end of this plantation.*"*

The settlement of Europeans upon this continent was hardly practicable upon any other principle of public law than this. In accordance with this theory the thirteen colonies of the United States were settled. I need only refer, for a clear exposition and affirmation of this principle of public law which has prevailed from the earliest period of the settlements on this continent down to our own day, to the opinion of Chief Justice Marshall in 1823 in the celebrated case of *Johnson and Graham, lessees v. McIntosh*.† "This opinion," he says, "conforms to

* The government in London, in their instructions to the colony at Salem, 17 April, 1629, before the removal of the charter here, say: "If any of the salvages pretend right of inheritance to all or any part of the land granted in our patent, we pray you endeavor to purchase their title, that we may avoid the least scruple of intrusion." And Higginson, writing home from Salem, three months later, says: "The Indians are not able to make use of the one-fourth part of the land; neither have they any settled places, as towns, to dwell in; nor any ground as they challenge for their own possession, but change their habitation from place to place. . . . They do generally profess to like well of our coming and planting here; partly because there is abundance of ground that they cannot possess nor make use of, and partly because our being here will be a means both of relief to them when they want, and also a defence from their enemies, wherewith (I say) before this plantation began they were often endangered."—*Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts*, 159, 256, 257.

Forty-seven years after these letters were written, Governor Josiah Winslow, of Plymouth Colony, in a letter to Increase Mather, dated May 1, 1676, in the time of Philip's war, writes: "I think I can clearly say, that before these present troubles broke out, the English did not possess one foot of land in this colony, but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indian proprietors. Nay, because some of our people are of a covetous disposition, and the Indians are in their straits easily prevailed with to part with their lands, we first made a law that none should purchase or receive of gift any land of the Indians, without the knowledge and allowance of our Court."—*Increase Mather's Brief History*, postscript, pp. 1, 2.

† "On the discovery of this immense continent, the great nations of Europe were eager to appropriate to themselves so much of it as they could respectively acquire. Its vast extent offered an ample field to the ambition and enterprise of all; and the character and religion of its inhabitants afforded an apology for considering them as a people over whom the superior genius of Europe might claim an ascendancy. The potentates of the Old World found no difficulty in convincing themselves that they made ample compensation to the inhabitants of the New by bestowing on them civilization and Christianity, in exchange for unlimited independence. But, as they were all in pursuit of nearly the same object, it was necessary, in order to avoid conflicting settlements, and consequent war with each other, to establish a principle which all should acknowledge as the law, by which the right of acquisition, which they all asserted, should be regulated as between themselves. This principle was, that discovery gave title to the government by whose subjects or by whose authority it was made, against all other European governments, which title might be consummated by possession.

"The exclusion of all other Europeans necessarily gave to the nation making the discovery the sole right of acquiring the soil from the natives, and establishing settlements

the principle which has been supposed to be recognized by all European governments from the first settlement of America. The absolute, ultimate title has been considered as acquired by discovery, subject only to the Indian title of occupancy, which title the discoverers possessed the exclusive right of acquiring." 8 *Wheaton's Reports*, 543-605.

As men, the colonists certainly had rights here as well as the Indians. For reasons in their own judgment sufficiently imperative, they had left their native realm, and had settled on vacant soil in this wilderness. By the law of nature they

upon it. It was a right with which no Europeans could interfere. It was a right which all asserted for themselves, and to the assertion of which by others all assented.

"Those relations which were to exist between the discoverer and the natives were to be regulated by themselves. The rights thus acquired being exclusive, no other power could interpose between them.

"In the establishment of these relations, the rights of the original inhabitants were in no instance entirely disregarded; but were necessarily, to a considerable extent, impaired. They were admitted to be the rightful occupants of the soil, with a legal as well as just claim to retain possession of it, and to use it according to their own discretion; but their rights to complete sovereignty, as independent nations, were necessarily diminished; and their power to dispose of the soil, at their own will, to whomsoever they pleased, was denied by the original fundamental principle that discovery gave exclusive title to those who made it.

"While the different nations of Europe respected the right of the natives as occupants, they asserted the ultimate dominion to be in themselves; and claimed and exercised, as a consequence of this ultimate dominion, a power to grant the soil, while yet in possession of the natives. These grants have been understood by all to convey a title to the grantees, subject only to the Indian right of occupancy.

"The history of America, from its discovery to the present day, proves, we think, the universal recognition of these principles.

"Spain did not rest her title solely on the grant of the Pope. Her discussions, respecting boundary, with France, with Great Britain, with the United States, all show that she placed it on the rights given by discovery. Portugal sustained her claim to the Brazils by the same title. . . .

"No one of the powers of Europe gave its full assent to this principle more unequivocally than England. The documents upon this subject are ample and complete. So early as the year 1496, her monarch granted a commission to the Cabots to discover countries then unknown to Christian people, and to take possession of them in the name of the King of England. Two years afterwards Cabot proceeded on this voyage, and discovered the continent of North America, along which he sailed as far south as Virginia. To this discovery the English trace their title." — *Judge Marshall's Opinion*, cited above.

See this subject fully discussed in Kent's *Commentaries*, iii. 377-401. In a note at page 390 of this volume, the author, quoting Bancroft, says that Williams "wrote an essay, in which he maintained that an English patent could not invalidate the rights of the native inhabitants of this country; and it was at first condemned by the government in Massachusetts, in 1634, as sounding like treason against the cherished charter of the colony." In a later edition of his *History* (i. 369), Bancroft alters his language here, and says "that Williams held that a grant from an English king could not be perfect, except the grantees 'compounded with the natives;'" adding, that "the opinion sounded like treason against the charter of the colony." That is, he infers that the spreading of such an opinion must have been so regarded. But in this rewritten passage Mr. Bancroft is equally unfortunate in stating the grounds of this controversy with Williams. He evidently had his eye on the following passage in Winthrop's *History* (i. 122), in which the governor, briefly summing up Williams's opinions about the patent, says that "he disputes their right to the lands they possessed here, and concluded that claiming by the king's grant they could have no title: nor otherwise except they compounded with the natives." The italics are mine.

The subject of Indian titles is discussed in John Bulkley's treatise, prefixed to Roger Wolcott's "Poetical Meditations," New London, 1725.

had a right to take any land which the necessities of their condition required and which was not needed by the natives, without paying an equivalent. But they always satisfied the claimants. This much may be said, irrespective of their municipal rights as Englishmen, — as citizens of a great civilized community, whose laws threw their protection over them.*

A pretty full exposition of the views of the Massachusetts patentees as to their title to the land by patent, and as to the privileges generally conferred by that instrument, including also a further account of Williams's opposition to the patent, is given by John Cotton in his answer to one of Williams's books. He is reciting one of the causes of Williams's banishment; viz., "his violent and tumultuous carriage against the patent."

"By the Patent it is, that we received allowance from the King to depart his Kingdome, to carry our goods with us, without offence to his Officers, and without paying custome to himselfe.

"By the Patent, certain select men (as Magistrates and Freemen) have power to make Laws, and the Magistrates to execute Justice, and Judgement amongst the People, according to such Laws.

"By the Patent we have Power to erect such a Government of the Church, as is most agreeable to the Word, to the estate of the People, and to the gaining of Natives (in Gods time) first to Civility, and then to Christianity.

"To this Authority established by the Patent, *English-men* doe readily submit themselves: and foraine Plantations (the *French*, the *Dutch*, and *Swedish*) doe willingly transact their Negotiations with us, as with a Colony established by the Royal Authority of the State of *England*.

"This Patent, Mr. *Williams* publickly and vehemently preached against, as containing matter of falshood, and injustice: Falshood, in making the King the first Christian Prince who had discovered these parts: and injustice, in giving the Country to his *English* Subjects, which belonged to the Native *Indians*. This therefore he pressed upon the Magistrates and People, to be humbled for from time to time in dayes of solemne Humiliation, and to returne the Patent back againe to the King. It was answered to him, first, That it was neither the

* The ground taken by Williams, whether he knew it or not, involved the proposition that the Indians in this part of the country were in a state of civil society, free and independent States, with constitutions of government regulating the tenure of land, and investing it with the attributes of property, &c., than which nothing could be farther from the truth. They were essentially in a state of nature, though in some instances slightly emerged from it. Whatever their condition in this respect was, they had their rights: they were certainly entitled to the lands they occupied or used, or which were necessary for their subsistence. But the authorities of Plymouth and Massachusetts, in their intercourse with the natives, made treaties of peace and good neighborhood with them, and such tracts of land as they claimed, which were required for settlement, were freely purchased of them.

Kings intendment, nor the *English* Planters to take possession of the Country by murder of the Natives, or by robbery: but either to take possession of the voyd places of the Countrey by the Law of Nature, (for *Vacuum Domicilium cedit occupanti*;) or if we tooke any Lands from the Natives, it was by way of purchase, and free consent.

"A little before our coming, God had by pestilence, and other contagious diseases, swept away many thousands of the Natives who had inhabited the Bay of *Massachusetts*, for which the Patent was granted. Such few of them as survived were glad of the coming of the *English*, who might preserve them from the oppression of the *Nahargansets*. For it is the manner of the Natives, the stronger Nations to oppress the weaker."*—*Answer to Williams, App. to Bloudy Tenent*, pp. 27, 28.

A little farther on Cotton sums up the views of the patentees in the following language, referring also to Mr. Williams's opposition to them:—

"We wnesse that it is lawfull for the King of *England* to give a Patent to a certain number of his Subjects, to transplant themselves out of *England* into *America*, and to possess such Lands as the Providence of God layeth open before them, between such and such Degrees of the Horizon. Provided that his Subjects adventure not upon such acts as the Patent never intended, as to murder the Natives, or to dispossesse them by violence or fraud of their lawful Possessions: but either to plant themselves in a *vacuum Domicilium*, or if they sit downe upon the Possession of the Natives, to receive the same from them by a reasonable Purchase, or free Assignment."

"The Examiner [Williams] witnesseth against all such Patents, & Preacheth it to be unlawfull for Magistrates to execute Justice upon the *English* by them, & that it is necessary to repent of receiving such

* "This answer did not satisfie Mr. Williams, who pleaded, the Natives, though they did not, nor could subdue the Countrey, (but left it *vacuum Domicilium*) yet they hunted all the Countrey over, and for the expedition of their hunting voyages they burnt up all the underwoods in the Countrey, once or twice a year, and therefore as Noble men in *England* possessed great Parks, and the King, great Forrests in *England* onely for their game, and no man might lawfully invade their Propriety: So might the Natives challenge the like Propriety of the Countrey here.

"It was replied unto him, 1. That the King and Noble men in *England*, as they possessed greater Territories then other men, so they did greater service to Church and Common-wealth.*

"2. That they employed their Parkes and Forrests, not for hunting onely, but for Timber, and for the nourishment of tame beasts, as well as wild, and also for habitations to sundry Tenants.

"3. That our Townes here did not disturb the huntings of the Natives, but did rather keepe their Game fitter for their taking; for they take their Deere by Traps, and not by Hounds.

"4. That if they complained of any straites wee put upon them, we gave satisfaction in some payments, or other, to their content.

"5. We did not conceive that it is a just Title to so vast a Continent, to make no other improvement of millions of Acres in it, but onely to burne it up for pastime.

"But these Answers not satisfying him, this was still pressed by him as a National sinne, to hold to the Patent, yea, and a National duty to renounce the Patent: which to have done, had subverted the fundamentall State and Government of the Countrey."

* This reply (No. 1) will hardly impress the reader as being sound or satisfactory.

Patents, & to return them back againe into the hands of those Princes, or of their Successors, from whom they received them."—*Ibid.*, pp. 54, 55.

It would not be easy to defend Williams's consistency, or to acquit him of acting an unwise if not an ungenerous part, during his residence in Massachusetts. He must have known the public law which controlled this territory, and that the colony charter had been drawn in conformity thereto, before he came over here to live under its protection. He knew that the whole structure of the settlement rested on this law as its basis; and that the colonists could no more change it than they could change the Common Law of England,—their only alternative being, in accordance with his advice, to send the parchment back again to the king. Under these circumstances, it may not unreasonably be asked, why did he come at all within the jurisdiction of a government whose chartered privileges it were a sin to acknowledge, and purchase a house and settle down as an inhabitant? And why did he finally regard a banishment from the place as a punishment grievous to be borne?

But, it may be asked, was not the colony of Rhode Island settled on a different principle from that of the other New England colonies as regards the title acquired to its soil? When Williams and his few followers settled in Providence (or in anticipation of their settlement), he obtained the free consent of the Narragansett chiefs, who claimed jurisdiction there, to plant upon certain tracts of land of considerable extent. He sometimes says he purchased the land, but usually calls it a free gift from the Sachems for services rendered, and for presents from time to time made to them. He afterward made an awkward attempt to embody this purchase or gift in a form of deed from the Sachems. There is no reason to doubt that every thing was done in good faith on both sides.*

* I introduce below from 4 Mass. Hist. Coll. vi. 186-188, an extract from an interesting letter of Williams to Governor Winthrop, written not long after Williams and his few companions had taken up their residence at Providence. The letter was first printed ten years ago, from the Winthrop Papers. It bears no date. It is addressed to Winthrop as *Deputy Governor*, which office he held from May 25, 1638, to May 17, 1637, on which day he was again elected Governor. This letter contains, I believe, the earliest extant account of the civil affairs of the little colony at Providence; and the only draft of the "agreement" of the householders, the earlier of the two instruments of civil incorporation. The form of the second "agreement," with some change of phraseology, is preserved on the records of the town of Providence, but bears no date. It will be seen that neither of the forms sent to Winthrop, on which his "loving council" is sought, has the phrase, "only in civil things." It seems, at the time Williams is now writing, that the "young men, single persons, of whom we had much need," who had been admitted to "freedom of inhabitation," and had promised "to be subject to the orders made by consent of the householders," had shown some discon-

Subsequently other distinct settlements were made upon the Island of Rhode Island, which, with certain rights in other

tent, and claimed the freedom "of vote also, and equality." This Williams proposed to guard against by confirming the power in the hands of the householders, and having their power acknowledged under the hands of all — not householders — who should be admitted to "inhabitation." For this purpose the second agreement was framed. Its significance has not hitherto been understood. It has been regarded as the basis of a "pure democracy," whereas it was framed to guard against a democracy. Again, there was another point on which Williams desired the advice of his friend. For the reasons given, he asks whether he may not lawfully desire this of his neighbors; viz., "that as I freely subject myself to common consent, and shall not bring in any person into the town without their consent: so also that against my consent no person be violently brought in and received." That is to say, he suggests, on the ground that he originally bought the land, that he ought to have the privilege himself now of denying habitation to any person to whom he objected. This will hardly be regarded as "democratical." It certainly would have been equitable in Williams before entering into any covenants with his neighbors, owning the land himself, to stipulate the terms on which he would enter into civil engagements with them. But it seems that, up to the time he is now seeking Winthrop's advice, there had been some practical forms of association. The masters of families ordinarily met once a fortnight and consulted about their common peace, watch, and planting, and made "orders" for the government of the little community. They had an "officer" to call the meeting at the appointed time, &c. Few if any records of these early proceedings are extant. Williams also intimates that he had made some engagements with his neighbors about the land, and it was agreed (probably by an order made) that the inhabitants should pay "30s. apiece as they come till my charge be out for their particular lot." Under these circumstances Williams might well seek the advice of his friend, as to whether he could now "lawfully" ask that the right of excluding any from civil fellowship be vested in him alone. His associates, of course, could confer upon him any power they might choose to; but he was hardly in a situation now to demand it. It would be interesting to know what Governor Winthrop's reply was to this letter; but none of his letters to Williams are preserved.

The loose and informal manner in which Williams transacted the business relating to this early settlement impresses the reader of its annals. His deed from the Sachems, so imperfectly drawn, was not executed till a year and nine months after the settlement of himself and companions at Providence, though he says he agreed for it some years before; and his conveyance to his associates of the "initial deed" (so called) was about four months after that. There is no date to the only copy extant in 1666 of the latter; so that Williams then made a new copy and supplied the date, and filled out the names, "as near as we could guess." The wonder is that his "neighbors" were content to have things go on in this way.

The clause about the purchase, to which reference has been made, is interesting for another reason: it contains a declaration of Williams, made thus early, long before the date of the deed from the Sachems, — that he had himself purchased the land from the natives, and at his "own charge and engagements." In the controversies which subsequently arose about these lands, particularly those at Pawtuxet, some of his ungrateful and unscrupulous associates contended that the purchase was made by Williams as "agent" for the whole company. This Williams always denied, and said, the lands "were mine own, as truly as any man's coat upon his back"; with other language equally emphatic. — See *Staples's Annals of Providence*, 21-45, 562-591; *Arnold's Hist. of R.I.*, i. 100-103; *Bartlett's Records of the Colony of R.I.*, &c., i. 14, 18, 19.

"[torn] much honoured Mr. [torn] Wintrop Deputie Govr, these."

"MUCH HONOURED SIR, — The frequent experience of your loving care, ready & open towards me (in what your conscience hath permitted) as also of that excellent spirit of wisdom & prudence wherewith the Father of Lights hath endued you, embolden me to request a word of private advise with the soonest convenience; if it may be, by this messenger.

"The condition of my self & those few families here planting with me, you know full well: we have no Patent; nor doth the face of Magistracie suite with our present condition. Hitherto, the masters of families have ordinarily mett once a fortnight & consulted about our common peace, watch, & planting, & mutuall consent hath finished all matters with speede & peace.

"Now of late some young men, single persons (of whome we had much neede) being

islands in the bay, was purchased of these Sachems. In 1643 Williams went to England, and procured from the *de facto* government, through the Commissioners of Plantations,—the king being practically dethroned,—a charter of government for “Providence Plantations,” over a territory which included lands purchased from the natives, or compounded for, and including also the Narragansett country at the south and west still in possession of the Indians. This charter, obtained through the influence of the younger Vane, dated the fourteenth of the following March, contained no grant of land; but the government established under it claimed the exclusive right to extinguish the Indian title within its boundaries. It was an irregular and defective instrument, and was so regarded subsequently. But the Indian title was always

admitted to freedom of inhabitation, & promising to [be] subject to the orders made by the consent of the householders, are discontented with their estate, & seeks the freedom of vote also, & equality, &c.

“Beside, our dangers (in the midst of these dens of Lyons) now especially, call upon us to be compact in a civil way & power.

“I have therefore had thoughts of propounding to my neighbours a double subscription, concerning which I shall humbly crave your helpe.

“The first, concerning our selves, the master of families, thus :

“We whose names are under written, late inhabitants of the Massachusetts (upon occasion of some difference of conscience,) being permitted to depart from the limits of that Patent, under the which we came over unto these parts, & being cast by the Providence of the God of Heaven, remote from others of our countie men amongst the barbarous in this town of New-Providence, doe with free & joynt consent promise each unto other, that for our common peace & welfare (untill we heare further of the Kings royal pleasure concerning our selves) we will from time to time subject our selves in active or passive obedience to such orders & agreements, as shall be made by the greater number of the present householders, & such as shall be hereafter admitted by their consent into the same privilege & covenant in our ordinarie meeting. In witness whereof we hereunto subscribe, &c.

“Concerning those few young men, & any who shall here after (by your favourable connivence) desire to plant with us, this,—

“We whose names are here under written being desirous to inhabite in this Towne of New Providence doe promise to subject our selves, in active or passive obedience, to such orders & agreements as shall be made from time to time, by the greater number of the present householders of this Towne, & such whome they shall admit into the same fellowship & privilege. In witness whereof, &c.

“Hitherto we chose one, (named the officer) to call the meeting at the appointed time; now it is desired by some of us that the householders by course performe that worcke, as also gather votes & see the watch goe on, &c.

“I have not yet mentioned these things to my neighbours, but shall as I see cause upon your loving counsell.

“As also, [1st] since the place I have purchased, 2ly, at mine owne charge & engagements, the inhabitants paying (by consent) 30s. apiece as they come untill my charge be out for their particular lots; & 3rdly, that I never made any other covenant with any person, but that if I got a place he should plant there with me: my quere is this,—

“Whither I may not lawfully desire this of my neighbours, that as I freely subject my self to common consent, & shall not bring in any person into the towne without their consent: so also that against my consent no person be violently brought in & received.

“I desire not to sleepe in security & dreame of a nest which no hand can reach. I cannot but expect changes, & the change of the last enemy death, yet dare I not despise a libertie, which the Lord seemeth to offer me, if for mine owne or others peace: & therefore have I bene thus bold to present my thoughts unto you. . . .

“ROGER WILLIAMS.”

respected, although in Williams's case it was not acquired according to authorized forms of law; yet while there were no adverse claimants to assert rightfully the superior title of the Crown or supreme state he might feel safe in his possession. It certainly would have been a peculiar hardship to Williams and his associates, under the circumstances of their situation, to have sanctioned any interference with their claims to the lands on which they had settled.

It would probably be no departure from the truth to say that the government of "Providence Plantations" under this charter, and indeed the government of Providence before the charter went into operation, was a failure. There seemed to be no authority for the settlement of disputes which constantly arose. Perhaps fit materials for a government were wanting. These disputes related largely to their lands. Williams is responsible for much of this disorder. The careless and indefinite manner in which the original conveyances of Providence and Pawtuxet were drawn, as well as those subsequently made by him to his companions, was the source of a bitter and prolonged controversy, not finally settled till the next century. It shows that Williams, however able a dialectician, was a poor man of business.

These Indian deeds at best, and however carefully drawn, were often a source of perplexity and litigation in all the colonies. The same claimants sometimes sold the same tract to several different purchasers. The Indians themselves did not always know the boundaries of the tracts intended to be conveyed. Frequently sub-claimants or *terre-tenants* appeared, whose claims had also to be satisfied. How important therefore that the government of the colony in which these disputes were liable to arise should have had sufficient authority and vigor to settle them according to well-established principles of municipal law.*

On the Restoration, the government hastened to acknowledge the authority of the new king, and to solicit a new charter, in which they were successful. This was drawn up under the

* These deeds amounted to nothing more than quit-claims, or an agreement that the purchaser should enter upon possession unmolested by the grantor. Judge Sullivan, in his History of Maine, remarks that "the Indian conveyances clearly amounted to nothing more than a contract, made by the chief, on consent of his tribe, that the savages should not make war on the white people for taking lands to a certain extent into possession. In this way we may account for one Sachem's selling the same tract to several different purchasers; for if the deed was only an agreement upon peace and friendship, there could, in the Indian's view, be no immorality in making the contract with as many as might appear to demand it." (pp. 135, 136.) Such loose notions concerning Indian conveyances could not have prevailed universally. Certainly the colonists receiving these deeds usually placed a different construction upon them.

inspection of John Clarke, and was not only a charter of incorporation, but a grant of land as absolute as that in the Massachusetts charter and much in the same language. The king in the assertion of his royal prerogative speaks of "our Island of Rhode Island," and of "all that part of our dominions in New England, in America," and proceeds, out "of our more abundant grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion," to give, grant, and confirm all the land described in the boundaries of the patent. The instrument recites, but not as a condition of the grant, that some of the lands had been acquired by purchase and consent of the natives; while large tracts included in the royal gift were yet in the possession of the aborigines. Of course it was understood that the claims of the latter were inviolate. The formal surrender of the Narragansett chiefs to the Crown in 1644 was never held to operate as dispossessing them of their lands. The right of possession in the natives to the lands they occupied was not questioned. They were protected equally in Massachusetts as in Rhode Island. But the assertion in the Rhode Island charter of 1663, of ultimate dominion in the Crown, was regarded as necessary for the perfection of the title to what land had already been acquired and to that which the colony might in future acquire; and it gave them the exclusive right to extinguish the Indian title within their boundaries. It not only constituted the grantees a colony under the protection of England, but it gave them an absolute title to the soil as against any foreign state or its subjects.

It has been said that the reason for petitioning for a new charter on the Restoration was that, the Acts of the Long Parliament having been abrogated, the old charter of 1644 fell likewise. But if the old charter had not been regarded as defective in securing a title to their territory, if the Indian title alone had been considered as ultimate and sufficient, why was the clause referred to above inserted and accepted? The colonists might reply, that in their opinion, in reason and in equity, the Indian title should be so regarded, but that the public law of Europe and the claims of their sovereign were opposed to these views; and as they now wanted a charter to protect them in accordance with English law, they had yielded to the royal prerogative. In like manner the patentees of Massachusetts might have reasoned with Williams, when he told them "that we have not our land by patent from the king, but that the natives are the true owners of it; and that we ought to repent of such a receiving it by patent." This charter was a "healing act" to the distracted settlements, and by its adoption Rhode Island wheeled into line with her sister colonies.

Williams was a patentee and magistrate named in this new grant, and I never heard that he objected to receiving it. This charter has been the foundation of the government of Rhode Island from that day down to 1843. Dr. Palfrey (i. 423), near the close of a long notice of Williams, says: "Roger Williams was not the first man, nor the last, to discover that it is one thing to conduct an opposition, and another thing to carry on a government."

Governor CLIFFORD, from the Committee on the Hutchinson Papers, said that the Attorney-General of the State had objected to all the names presented by the committee from which to select an umpire, and the committee had finally agreed to a name suggested by the Attorney-General; viz., that of Mr. Robert S. Rantoul.

Dr. ELLIS communicated some letters from the Letter Books of Judge Sewall, in possession of the Society, with some notes he had made on them, for publication in the "Proceedings":—

SELECTIONS FROM THE LETTER-BOOK OF SAMUEL SEWALL.

While the Committee on "The Sewall Papers" have still under consideration the time and method of the editing and publishing the whole or portions of the Judge's very valuable and interesting Journals, one volume in manuscript from his pen may afford materials for engaging the present attention of the Society.

This is a substantial folio volume, which contains copies of his Letters, and occasionally those of his correspondents. There is a very great variety of matter in these relics. The Letters relate to his personal, domestic, religious, and official concerns: they give evidence of his warm and tender relations with his kindred and friends; of his literary and scholarly tastes and acquisitions; of his tenacious Puritan spirit and attachment to the forms, usages, and, it must be added, the prejudices of his style of piety; of his scrupulous fidelity in the smaller as well as the more serious affairs of life, in matters of thrift and business; and of his awful sincerity in administering the word of rebuke when he thought the consciences of others needed to be pricked into sympathy with his own.

Judge Sewall has already the honored repute among us, as the author of "The Selling of Joseph," of being one of the first, if not the very first, of our eminent men in station and

influence for protesting against the holding of Africans in slavery, and for pleading earnestly in their behalf. As a commissioner of the Society in England for aiding in the conversion of the Aborigines, he was very zealously interested in that work. His letters contain much information about the men and the means employed in it.

The following selections are made mainly in a chronological order. I do not know what were the relations between the parties which justified the writing of the following rebuke, but its directness and force make it worthy of a perusal:—

*To Goodman James Barber, Taylor at Dorchester in the way to Milton,
February 20, 1689-90.*

GOODMAN BARBER,—I perceive your aged Father is dissatisfied with some carriage of yours towards him, in withholding from him the price of his Labour, & not performing for him that which he expected upon his being invited to your house, as he alleges. Now being desirous that a good Understanding may be recovered & maintained between Father & Son, I would have you come to my house, next Tuesday morning by half an hour after Eight precisely; that so you may have opportunity to hear your Father, & make answer face to face. Only prepare yourself to do it calmly, & with all dutiful Respect to him who by God's Providence gave you a being fitted with suitable Organs to move & speak.

Your loving friend,

S. SEWALL.

The following letter has been copied as giving evidence of the efforts of Judge Sewall, after his visit to England, to discover, what has not since been disclosed, something of the personal history of the first white inhabitant of Boston, whom the Judge calls *John*, instead of *William*, Blackston.

To Mr. Burbank.

BOSTON, N. E., June 6, 1694.

SIR,—I am obliged by yours of the 24th of Nov. 1690. A neighbour of mine, Mr. Saunders, intending to go to Rumsey, please to accept of this (though late) return. I was at Oxford, in company of Mr. Mather, and were favoured by Dr. Gilbert & Mr. Dawson of Abington, who had been formerly Fellow of Maudlin College, as I take it, with a sight of the Colledges, Halls, Schools, & Theatre. At New Colledge, & everywhere met with a candid Reception. One of the great things wherein Oxford seems to excell Cambridge is the public Library. And then Cambridge situation is so flat that the River looks almost as much like a pond or lake, as like a River. But the Revenues are the life of all; for what signify good Rooms, without good Tutors, Books & Bread? The next Lord's day after the Coronation,

I heard a sermon at St. Mary's. The Preacher seemed to be a person of sense, but not for King William. I am a lover of Musick to a fault; yet I was uneasy there; & the justling out the Institution of singing Psalms by the boisterous Organ is that can never be answered to the great Master of Religious Ceremonies. Twere a kindness if he that stands up like a Scare Crow to mock the Psalm, would spare his pains. We are here pretty well at quiet by land; but infested with Robbers by sea. The inclosed gives you an account of the murder, or martyrdom shall I say, of a very worthy Minister [Mr. Shubael Dummer, York] my Mother's cousin German, & many Christians, men, women, & children. I would intreat you to examine your records for one Mr. John (*sic*) Blackston, who is said to be a master of Arts in your university; send me word if you find it so, his Colledge, & years of taking his Degree, & whether one Rogers were not contemporary. You may look before the year 1628, & need not look after. Said Blackston was the first Englishman that ever dwelt upon our Boston Peninsula, which I am a little fond of.

Another letter to "Mr. Burbank the Son," dated July 22, 1695, adds to the foregoing: —

We are grievously oppressed by our French & Pagan enemies by Land & Sea. Our Blood & Estates are running out apace. As several Captives escaped inform us, our Heads are set at a certain Rate by the Governour of Quebec, as foreskins of the Philistines were of old. God will in his time confound all the worshippers of graven Images. [Repeats the request about Blackston, and adds:] If there be any Charge I will reimburse you.

It would seem from the following that a Fellow and President of Harvard College in the olden time was, *not dunned*, but asked more than once to repay some borrowed money: —

To Mr. John Leverett, Fellow of Harvard College, in Cambridge.
[1695.]

SIR, — Duning is heterogeneous to my Temper, & therefore would not have it expected of me. I owe Money, & must receive in order to pay. The last of your Bonds became due the 20th of October last. I want you to adjust the Balance & hope you will at the same time clear the score. Your Tenement flourishes, & I am of Opinion will not be convenient to delay any longer upon the prospect of a fitter season.

These further letters must certainly refer to a later debt: —

To Mr. Leverett.

Dec: 4, 1718.

REV'D SIR, — I have a very considerable Account to make up with Mr. Simon Stoddard, Treasurer of the Trustees, [of the Society for

Evangelizing the Indians] & he calls upon me to do it. For this end I greatly want the Hundred pounds I lent you Aug^t 12, 1715, which you promised to pay by the Ninth of December next following. I pray you therefore that it may be paid at or before the Ninth of this inst. December without fail. Whatsoever may be due to you from the Trustees, there is more than enough in the Treasury to discharge it. I am, Sir, your friend & most
humble Serv^t S. S.

REVEREND SIR, — I have heard nothing from you since my sending to you the above written. Pray Sir, let the Answer now be in a speedy performance of your Promise, which I have under your hand. I find it too burdensome to me to have great Accounts ly open & unsettled. It is Necessary that they be finished in order to my obtaining an Acquittance. *Non respondere est contemnere.* Sir, your real friend & most humble
Serv^t S. S.

Boston; Feby. 17, 1718-19.

Gave this to Col. Spencer Phips, Monday, Feb. 23 to give to the President.

The Nestor of our Society, its late venerable Ex-President, Mr. Savage, once said, in the earnestness of his filial gratitude as an alumnus of Harvard, that he would give a guinea for each single word of information — what we have being so meagre — about the personal history of the honored and revered founder of the College. It would seem by the following extract from Judge Sewall's Journal under date, that he shared the same venerating love. If the house referred to were standing at the time of the Revolution, it of course was consumed when Charlestown was burned by the shells thrown from Copp's Hill by Burgoyne and Clinton. Perhaps local antiquaries may be able to identify the site of the dwelling.

January 26, 1696-97. — I lodged at Charlestown at Mrs. Shepards, who tells me Mr. Harvard built that house. I lay in the Chamber next the Street. As I lay awake past midnight, in my Meditation, I was affected to consider how long agoe God had made provision for my comfortable Lodging that night: seeing that was Mr. Harvard's house. And that led me to think of Heaven, the House not made with hands, which God for many Thousands of years had been storing with the richest furniture (Saints that are from time to time placed there) & that I had some hopes of being entertained in this Magnificent, Convenient Palace, every way fitted & furnished. These Thoughts were very refreshing to me.

The parental wisdom and affection which dictated the following letter had an effect of securing for the Judge, as a son-in-law, Mr. Grove Hirst, married Oct. 18, 1700.

BOSTON, October 26, 1699.

ELIZABETH, — Mr. Hirst waits on you once more to see if you can bid him welcom. It ought to be seriously considered, that your drawing back from him after all that has passed between you, will be to your Prejudice; & will tend to discourage persons of worth from making their Court to you. And you had need well to consider whether you be able to bear his final Leaving of you, howsoever it may seem gratefull to you at present. When persons come towards us, we are apt to look upon the Undesirable Circumstances mostly, and thereupon to shun them. But when persons retire from us for good & all, we are in danger of looking only on that which is desirable in them, to our wofull Disquiet. Whereas tis the property of a good Balance to turn where the most weight is, though there be some also in the other scale. I do not see but the Match is well liked by judicious persons, & such as are your cordial friends, & mine also.

Yet notwithstanding, if you find in yourself, an immoveable, incurable Aversion from him, & cannot love & honour & obey him, I shall say no more, nor give you any further trouble in this matter. It had better be off than on. So, praying God to pardon us, & pity our Undeserving, & to direct & strengthen & settle you in making a right Judgement, I take leave, who am, Dear Child,

Your loving FATHER.

Your mother remembers to you.

There is much matter in this brief epistle to his son's Pastor: —

To Mr. Nehemiah Walter [of Roxbury].

Decr 16, 1703.

SIR, — I thank you for coming to Town yesterday to follow my little Grandson to his Long Home. I thank you for bearing me company as far as you can in the fashion of your Head Dress. The Truth is, a Great Person has furnished me with Perukes, gratis, these Two & Fifty Years, & I cant yet find in my heart to go to another. I look upon you now as the Pastor of my Son & Daughter, & pray you to buy yourself & Mrs. Walter a pair of Gloves with the enclosed Arabian piece of Gold. Desiring your Prayers for me & mine, I take Leave, &c.

S. S.

The reference to Hugh Peter in the following has interest: —

To Mr. Joseph Thomson [of Salem].

Jan'y 18, 1703-4.

SIR, — I have yours of the 9th June in behalf of Mrs. Barker. My dear & only surviving Brother, Major Stephen Sewall, served his Time at Salem, & is well acquainted with the Affairs of that place; & is Clerk of the Inferiour Court. The last time he was in Town, he discoursed with me about Mrs. Barker's Demands: and seemed Confident that if Pleas that may be made from the Attainder of Mr. Hugh

Peters be provided against, she must obtain. If it please God to continue me in the Station I am in at present, as there is Opportunity, I hope I shall maintain a vigorous Impartiality in the Case, & your Lines will help to awaken me thereunto. The Memory of Mr. Peters is still set by in Salem. Mr. Jonathan Corwin, one of the Council, tells me he was baptized by him.

I am, Sir, your obliged Friend, & humble Servant

S. S.

In the preceding letter to Mr. Burbank, the Judge describes himself as "a lover of music to a fault." The discomfiture referred to in the following must have been painful to him:—

1705. Sixth day, Dec^r 28.— (At a Thanksgiving at Mr. Belcher's house for the preservation of his Son,) Mr. Pemberton prays excellently, & Mr. Willard preaches from Ps. 66, 20, very excellently. Spake to me to set the Tune; I intended Windsor, & fell into High Dutch, & then essaying to set another Tune, went into a Key much too high. So I prayed Mr. White to set it, which he did well, Litchf. Tune. The Lord humble me & Instruct me that I should be occasion of any Interruption in the Worship of God. Had a very good Dinner at three Tables. Had the Meeting, & few else except Relations in Town, & me. The Lord accept his Thank-Offering.

Notwithstanding his failure on this occasion, the Judge was generally ready to exercise his gift in setting the tune, or starting the pitch for a Psalm. The exercise formed a part of the frequent meetings additional to those of the sanctuary, held at his own house, and at the houses of his friends and kinsfolk, on the occurrence of days of Fast and Thanksgiving, Births, Weddings, and Funerals. References to these are thickly spread over his Journals. They give evidence of the earnest devoutness, and of the habitual piety, of a layman who fell not one whit behind the honored and learned ministers around him, in the Puritan thoroughness of his religious and Scriptural culture. The poverty and rudeness of the appliances for sacred melody in his day, the paucity of the tunes, and the harshness of the metrical versions which they accompanied, made the fervor of spirit in which they were sung an all-essential condition for the tolerance of this part of divine worship. If organs, "boisterous," as the Judge declared those to be which he had heard in England, were capable of consciousness, they would no doubt have fully reciprocated the Puritan antipathy at being used in their service.

The following beautiful letter is self-explanatory:—

To the Rev^d. and Aged Mr. John Higginson [of Salem].

April 13, 1706.

SIR,—I account it a great Favour of God, that I have been privileged with the Acquaintance & Friendship of many of the first Planters in New-England: & the Friendship of yourself as such, has particularly obliged me. It is now near six years agoe since I printed a sheet in defence of Liberty. The next year after, Mr. Saffin set forth a printed Answer. I forbore troubling the Province with any Reply, untill I saw a very severe Act passing against Indians & Negros, & then I reprinted that Question, as I found it stated & answered in the Athenian Oracle: which I knew nothing of before last Autumn was twelve moneths, when I accidentally cast my Eye upon it. Amidst the Frowns & hard Words I have met with for this Undertaking, it is no small refreshment to me that I have the Learned, Reverend & Aged Mr. Higginson for my Abettor. By the interposition of this Brest-Work, I hope to carry on & manage this enterprise with Safety & Success. I have enclosed the Prints.

I could be glad of your Answer to one Case much in agitation among us at this day; viz, Whether it be not for the Honor of God & of N. E. to reserve entire & untouch'd the Indian Plantation of Natick & other Lands under the same Circumstances? that the lying of those Lands unoccupied by the English, may be a valid & lasting Evidence, that we desire the Conversion & Welfare of the Natives, & would by no means extirpate them as the Spaniards did? There is one thing more I would mention, & that is: I am verily persuaded that the set time for the drying up of the Apocalyptical Euphrates is very nigh, if not come, & I earnestly beseech the Assistance of your Prayers in that momentous Concern; which I do with the more Confidence, because you were listed in that Service above fifty years ago. Pray Sir! Come afresh into the Confederation. Let me also entreat your Prayers for me, & my family, that the Blessing of God may rest upon the head of every one in it, by reason of the good Will of Him who dwell'd in the Bush. My Service to Madam Higginson.

I am, Sir, your humble Serv^t

S. S.

I have selected the following from the Journal of the Judge, mainly because of the touching disclosure made in it of his veneration of the ever-honored school-master, Ezekiel Cheever:—

Aug^t 18, 1708. — Yesterday the Gover^r committed Mr. Holyoke's Almanack to me; & looking it over this morning I blotted out against Feb. 14th *Valentine*: March 25th *Annunciation of the B. Virgin*; April 24th *Easter*: Sept^r. 29 *Michaelmas*; Dec^r. 25th *Christmass*: & no more: [*K. C. Mart*] was lined out, before I saw it; I touched it not.

Aug^t 12. — Mr. Chiever is abroad & hears Mr. Cotton Mather preach; This is the last of his going abroad. Was taken very sick,

like to die with a Flux. Aug^t 13. I go to see him, went in with his son Thomas & Mr. Lewis. His son spake to him, & he knew him not. I spake to him, & he bid me speak again. Then he said, Now I know you, & speaking cheerily mentioned my Name. I asked his Blessing for me & my family. He said I was Blessed, & it could not be Reversed. Yet at my going away he prayed for a Blessing for me.

Aug^t 19.—I visited Mr. Chiever again, just before Lecture; Thanked him for his Kindness to me & mine; desired his prayers for me, my family, Boston, Salem, the Province. He received me with abundance of Affection, taking me by the Hand several times. He said the Afflictions of God's people, God by them did as a Goldsmith, Knock, knock, knock; knock, knock, Knock, to finish the plate: It was to perfect them not to punish them. I went & told Mr. Pemberton, who preached.

Aug. 20th—I visited Mr. Chiever, who was now grown much weaker, & his Speech very low. He called, Daughter! When his daughter Russel came, He asked if the family were composed. They apprehended He was uneasy because there had not been Prayer that morn; & solicited me to Pray. I was loth, & advised them to send for Mr. Williams, as most natural; homogeneous. They declined it, & I went to Prayer. After, I told him, the last Enemy was Death; & God hath made that a friend too. He put his hand out of the Bed, & held it up, to signify his Assent. Observing he sucked a piece of an Orange, put it orderly into his mouth & chewed it, & then took out the Core. After dinner I carried a few of the best Figs I could get, & a dish Marmalet. I spake not to him now.

Aug^t 21.—Mr. Edward Oakes tells me Mr. Chiever died this last night. He was born January 25, 1614. Came over to N. E. 1637, to Boston. To New Haven, 1638. Married in the Fall, & began to teach School: which Work he was constant in till now. First, at New Haven; then at Ipswich; then at Charlestown; then at Boston, whither he came 1670. So that he has Laboured in that Calling, Skillfully, diligently, constantly, Religiously, Seventy years. A rare Instance of Piety, Health, Strength, Serviceableness. The Wellfare of the Province was much upon his Spirit. He abominated Perriwiggs.

Aug^t 23, 1708.—Mr. Chiever was buried from the Schoolhouse. The Gov^t Councillors, Ministers, Justices, Gentlemen there. Mr. Williams made a handsome Latin Oration in his Honour. Elder Bridgham, Copp, Jackson, Dyer, Griggs, Hubbard, &c Bearers. After the Funeral, Elder Bridgham, Mr. Jackson, Hubbard, Dyer, Tim. Wadsworth, Edw. Procter, Griggs, & two more came to me & earnestly solicited me to speak to a place of Scripture, at the private Quarter Meeting in the room of Mr. Chiever. I said, 'twas a great Surprise to me, pleaded my inability for want of memory, Invention. Said doubted not of my ability; would pray for me. I pleaded the Unsuitableness, because I was not of that Meeting. They almost took a denial. But said one would come to me next night. Time is near. Lord's day se'nnight. Argued much, because thereby a Contribution for poor Widows would be forwarded.

The emphatic encomium which Judge Sewall meant to convey in closing his tribute to "Mr. Chiever," — "He abominated Perriwiggs," — is in keeping with very many references in his papers to his own religious abhorrence of that ornament. His rebukes to many of his friends who wore it were frank and decided. Indeed he took pains to copy into one of his books a piece of more than six closely written folio pages, "Transcribed out of the original Manuscript of the Rev^d Mr. Nicholas Noyes (of Salem), written with his own Hand, Jan'y 15th, 1702-3, by S. S., — 'Reasons against wearing of Periwigs: Especially Against Mens wearing of Periwigs made of Womens hair, as the Custom now is, deduced from Scripture & Reason.'"

The original portrait of the Judge, preserved among his descendants, represents him in a black skullcap crowning his whitened locks. His first use of this is thus referred to in his Journal: —

"Dec^r 21, 1699. — Went to Lecture, wearing my black cap."

He had just recovered from a severe ague.

A generous feeling towards the Institution rising in rivalry with Harvard, was a token of liberality which it pleases us to find in Judge Sewall, as manifested in this letter: —

To Mr. Thomas Buckingham.

8: 7, 1707, AT SAYBROOK.

SIR, — I have sent the five volumes of Poli Synopsis Criticorum per Mr. Simon Smith, for the use of your Collegiate School. They have been transported from Boston to Woodbury, & back again. If it please God they get well to Saybrook, I would have them rest there & move no more. My service to you & the Gen^l Trustees, desiring your Acceptance of this Token of my being a Well-wisher to the prosperity of your College, though possibly, it may import the less increase of our own. I hope the Interest of Christ's Kingdom in general will be promoted: which is that we should aim at.

I am, Sir, your humble Serv^t

S. S.

Sewall had found it difficult, with all his efforts, to maintain friendly relations with Dudley, a daughter of whom was the wife of Sewall's son.

To Sir Henry Ashurst.

Feb^r 25. 1707-8.

By the inclosed Paper you will have Some view of our Perplexities, & be disposed to help us. Sir, It is confidently reported here, that Col.

Dudley's Government is near its end. If he should indeed be removed, I apprehend you would do this Province Excellent Service if you could procure, that Mr. Nathaniel Higginson might be made our Governour. I should be humbly Thankfull for such an Obligation, & I hope you should not find the Province ingratefull. S. S.

Mr. Higginson, son of the venerable pastor of Salem, was born in October, 1652, and died of small-pox, in London, November, 1708, and was buried in Bow Church, in Cheapside.

Mr. Higginson had been a voyager round the globe, had resided at Fort St. George, near Ceylon, in Asia, and was a man of much culture and wide acquaintance with those in power in England. The Judge writes to him confidentially. He says in his Journal, as early as June, 1699, that he had tried to persuade Mr. Higginson to return to New England, and hoped to see him Governor of this Province.

To Mr. Nathaniel Higginson.

March 10, 1707-8.

SIR,—I have received yours of May 23, which was wellcome to me upon account of the good News it brought of the Attorney-General's Opinion in my favour; & of your readiness to undertake my vindication as there should be occasion: for which I am very thankful, & acknowledge myself obliged.

I now sympathize with my dear Native Country, in the disappointments of the last Summer, & especially respecting the loss of Sir Cl. Shovel & others, in their Return home, & by Abner & Joab's bloody play. When other ways are bar'd, Instruments foil'd, or cast away, Instead of being discouraged, it is good to Resolve

— at Cælum certe patet, ibimus illac.

As for the Excellent Things suggested by you July 15, 1707, I thank you for them. Probably Col. Higginson has fully informed you how unable we are to walk in that way, so highly Reasonable, so well marked out.

Upon Saturday, Nov. 1, about Noon (a time very hurrying with us) the Governour laid before the Council the Address to her Majesty for his Removal; that they might vote an Abhorrence. I prayed that it might be Considered of till Monday; which was denied, & the Secretary bidden to draw up a vote. Some objected to ["we are well assured"] & that was laid aside. I objected to ["firmly believe"], alleging it could be only an opinion in us. And just as 'twas to be voted, a Gent seconded me, and so both were put in. Those luxuriant words—"The Governour delayed their Prosecution, till the Ammunition with which he had furnished the Enemy was used by them, to the destruction of your Majesty's good Subjects, & that Colony thereby put to Thirty three Thousand pounds Charge"—was that that carried the Council; the vote being limited to that Article of the Trade.

After this I saw the printed Affidavits, which renewed my Uneasiness. When the Representatives had been long hammering our Vote, at last they passed it in the Negative: at which the Governour was much concerned; & a Conference between the Council & Deputies was moved for, & agreed to Nov^r 20. At which Conference the Governour was pleased to say, He heard it whispered as if the Members of the Council were not all of a mind, or had altered their minds, some of them. But, said he, They all of them steadily adhere to their vote of Nov^r 1, & every word of it. This stung me, & put me upon endeavouring to extricate myself, a copy whereof I sent by way of Lisbon. I writ it Nov. 25, & carried it with me to Council in the morning, & before the Council rose at night, I craved leave of the Governour to speak, & withdrew my Vote, praying that Mr. Secretary might be directed to enter it in the Minutes of the Council; & then delivered my Reasons under my hand, which were immediately read in Council & filed; a printed Copy whereof is enclosed. A great adoe was made about an Affidavit Mr. Borland had given, that would confute them. But finally, it was in Mr. Davenport's Office, & could not be produced for want of the Key. All this while Mr. Borland himself was never sent for, & nothing said of it next day. And I could never get a sight of it. By all that I can learn, the Affidavit only asserts that the Governour was not concerned as a partner in a proportionable charge of the Outfit & Cargo: which was not the thing in Question. Friday, Nov. 28, the Governour moved that the Votes might be printed. When Mr. Secretary asked me, I said I could not be for it, because I have withdrawn my Vote, & I doe withdraw it; at which the Governour expressed great Wrath. I then said to some, If they printed their Vote I would print my Withdrawing. Which I afterwards did, though I have distributed few, being advised by some friends not to add oil to our flames. This Vote for printing Clinched the Voters, & held them from withdrawing, if they had had a mind to it. And I heard one of them say, that being ignorant at first, he did not now desire to know.

I think I am one of the backwardest in believing what is generally & confidently Reported, that the Governour is or will be speedily Removed. I should much rejoice to see you succeed him. If you condescend in such a way to succour your Country labouring under distressing Perplexities, & Her Majesty of Her Sovereign Grace impower you, I am apt to Conjecture it may be the most Comprehensive Good you may ever have an Opportunity to doe while you Live. Craving pardon of this my very great Freedom with you, I rest,

Sir, your very humble Serv^t

S. S.

The Judge protests against April Fool's Day:—

To the Rev^d Mr. Ezekiel Cheever & Mr. Nathaniel Williams, Schoolmasters in Boston.

April 1, 1708, FERIA QUINTA.

GENTL^r.—If stated anniversary days for solemn Religious exercises are unwarrantable, without Controversy, anniversary days for sinfull

vanities are Damnable. If men are accountable for every idle Word, what a Reckoning will they have that keep up stated Times to promote Lying & Folly! What an abuse is it of precious Time; what a Profanation! What an Affront to the Divine Bestower of it! I have heard a child of six years old say within these 2 or 3 days, that one must tell a man his shoes are unbuckled, (when they were indeed buckled) & then he would stoop down to buckle them; & then he was an April Fool.

Pray Gentlemen, if you think it Convenient, as I hope you will, Insinuate into your Scholars, the defiling & provoking nature of such a Foolish practice, & take them off from it.

I am, Gent^l your Serv^t

S. S.

The Judge also protests against a deplorable error of the famous Harvard Tutor:—

To Mr. Henry Flint.

Aug^t 23, 1708.

SIR,—I thank you for your good Sermon yesterday. The Subject is excellent & always seasonable, & now peculiarly so. Continue to pray that I may have the Integrity & Uprightness exhorted to, & that I may grow therein.

Upon this Occasion you will allow me the freedom of speaking, what I have lately been often thinking. According to the Simplicity of the Gospel, the saying, *Saint Luke*, & *Saint James*, &c, has been disused in New England. And to take it up again, is distastefull to me; because it is a Change for the Worse. I have heard it from several, but to hear it from the Senior Fellow of Harvard College, is more surprising, lest by his Example he should seem to Countenance & Authorise Inconvenient Innovations. Thus I Reckon, but if, reckoning without my Host, I reckon wrong, your Adjusting the Account will gratify, Sir,

Your humble Serv^t

S. S.

In a reference to this, the Judge writes in his Journal, Aug. 26, 1708:—

“Mr. Henry Flint, in the way from Lecture, came to me & mentioned my Letter, & would have discoursed about it in the Street: I prevailed with him to come & dine with me, & after that I and he discoursed alone. He argued that saying *Saint Luke* was an indifferent thing; & ’twas commonly used, & therefore he might use it. Mr. Brattle used it. I argued that ’twas not Scriptural; that ’twas absurd & partial to say *Saint Matthew*, &c; & not to say *Saint Moses*, *Saint Samuel*, &c. And if we said *Saint*, we must goe thorough, & keep the Holy Days appointed for them, & turned to the Order in the Common Prayer Book.”

It would seem, from the following correspondence between President Mather and Judge Sewall, that the Town of Boston,

at its annual meeting in 1710, had chosen a sort of School Committee, of four or more visitors, from the citizens; Thomas Brattle, of the anti-Mather party, being one of them. This trespass upon what had heretofore been regarded as a clerical prerogative was resented by Mather.

Copy of Dr. Mather's Letter to me.

TO MY HONOURED FRIEND SAMUEL SEWALL, ESQ:

SIR, — I understand that there is a discourse about Visitors for the School, & that yourself intends to speak with me about that Affair, & to desire that I would be concerned. I therefore send this to prevent you from that trouble; for I am not willing to be concerned; for 2 Reasons.

1. I have no Call to that Service. I cannot but judge that the Ministers of the Town are the fittest persons in the World to be the Visitors of the School. But the Town (I hear) has left them out of their Vote; which has been a great disrespect & Contempt put upon (not me but) all the Ministers in Boston. They must be very fond of the Office (which I am sure I am not) who shall now run before they are called. A secondary call from T. B. &c, I esteem as none at all.

2. I am stricken in years. That which was a Recreation to me formerly, is now a Burden. I may not then concern myself with a new Office. It is this Summer (49) a Jubilee of years since I begun to serve the Town. I may now rationally expect Liberty & Rest. Nothing suiteth with my Age so much as Retirement & Rest.

Nevertheless, I purpose (If the Lord Will) to goe to the Schoolhouse, & preach a Sermon to the Children; but not as a Visitor. And therefore I am not willing that any one should goe with me (especially not any of the Visitors chosen by the Town.) For which cause I shall conceal the day of my doing that Service from every body untill the Work is over. The Lord prepare me for, & hasten my being among the Spirits of just men made perfect.

I remain, Yours to serve,

I. MATHER.

BOSTON, April 24, 1710.

To Dr. Increase Mather.

April 25, 1710. Third day.

REVEREND SIR, — I am favoured with yours of yesterday. The purpose therein mentioned I entreat you to Review, & alter; & that for these Reasons. The Town expends many Thousand pounds yearly, by Tax & Contribution; besides what they lay out upon the Account of Charity. And yet, notwithstanding, a very good fair new Schoolhouse is built, & a very good Dwelling house for the Master. Our late excellent Master, Mr. Ezekiel Chiever went to his heavenly Mansion from a very pleasant Earthly Situation. At the last Anniversary Meeting the Town augmented the Master's Salary to One Hundred pounds

per annum. What with that & some small perquisites, a humble Christian Man that loves Work more than Wages, needs not be discouraged; Considering likewise the Allowance of an Usher with a Salary of Fourty pounds. These provisions thus made during the long lasting War, in way of a Tax for one of their Schools, & by a full Vote, by a Town not eighty years old, must needs gratify you: & the rather, because there was some doubt whether it would have been so comfortably accomplished.

As for the business of the Visitation, the Town also came into that, with this Caution, that the Visitors should stand but one year. And I am confident they designed not to offend, much less Contemn, any of their honoured Pastors. But many times, you know, *In vitium ducit culpæ fuga* —. For which, in their behalf, I ask your Pardon. Four of this year's Visitors were bred & born in the Town, & bear a considerable part of its charges. Mr. Brattle is a good Scholar, & excels in Mathematical Learning, upon which Account Respect is due to him. As for any Exorbitances of his, the Town is far from liking them; & much further from abetting him in them.

And therefore I humbly entreat you to do what Service you shall chuse for the School; Only condescend to do it upon the Tenth of May, the Time appointed by the Visitors; your Work will therefore be much more Beautifull, much more Honorable, much more profitable. Boston of the Massachusetts invites you, calls you, Courts you. Rebekah has obtained Everlasting Honor by answering, I will goe, when 'twas at short warning.

Great Britain was not habitable to our Fathers because the Civil Government fell upon them unmercifully. How glad would Mr. Cotton have been to have had a Justice invite him to Preach, & defend him in preaching!

In New England, if the Civil Government can promote & Guard their Pastors, in their Evangelical Work, they are overjoyed. The Evangelical Pastors labour to perswade men to deny themselves & to take up their Cross, & follow Jesus Christ. I humbly pray, let the word be, Come! let us.

I was yesterday in doubt whether I should write or no; but no other way being so fairly open, my sincere Honor, & Love of you & your Family prompted me to it; which I pray you to take in good part. I congratulat the good Settlement of Mr. Samuel Mather in England; & Mrs. Jerusha here in Town; & the Arrival of the Salt Fleet; & now, at length, of Dennis from England.

I am Sir, your real friend & most humble Servant, S. S.

Notwithstanding the intimate relations of friendship and sympathy between the Judge and Cotton Mather, — of which, however, there were occasional breaches, — the former seems to have enjoyed the squib that follows enough to copy it: —

On C. M—r's Diploma.

The mad Enthusiast, thirsting after fame,
By endless Volumes thought to raise a name.

With undigested trash he throngs the Press :
 Thus striving to be greater, he's the less.
 But he, in spite of infamy, writes on,
 And draws new crellies [?] in, to be undone !
 Warmed with paternal vanity, he tries
 For new Subscriptions, while the embryo lies
 Neglected — Parkhurst says, *Satis fecisti* ;
 My belly's full of your Magnalia Christi.
 Your crude Divinity, and History
 Will not with a censorious Age agree.
 Daz'd with the stolen title of his Sire,
 To be a Doctor, he is all on fire ;
 Would, after him, the Sacrilege commit,
 But that the Keeper's [Leverett] care doth him affright.
 To Britain's Northern Clime in haste he sends,
 And begs an Independent boon from Presbyterian friends,
 Rather than be without, *he'd* beg it of the Fiends.
 Facetious George brought him this Libertie
 To write C. Mather first, and then D.D.

Given me by Dr I. Mather, Nov. 25, 1710, with license to copy it,
 which I did *dis predicto*.

We have here, in a letter to President Ashurst, an interesting
 reference to the perplexing difficulties attending the translation
 of the Bible into the Indian tongue : —

HONBLE SIR, — Your Stewards & Servants the Commissioners, to
 whom the honorable Corporation for propagating the Gospel among our
 Indians have committed a more immediat & subordinat management of
 that Affair, we hope do, & shall observe most exactly all your Direc-
 tions, & with all possible Conformity. Among your Directions you have
 been pleased to propose a New Edition of the Indian Bible in which your
 Orders, if they be continued, will be religiously complied withall. But
 because it can hardly be well entered upon before we may have some
 Answer to the Address we now make unto you, we improve the present
 Opportunity humbly to lay before you the Sentiments which your Com-
 missioners here generally have of the matter ; & not they only, but we
 suppose the Generality of the more Considerat Gentlemen through the
 Countrey. Indeed, the Considerations which we have already & almost
 unawares insinuated may be of some weight in the matter. For if the
 printing of the Psalter with the Gospel of John in so correct a manner
 as may be for satisfaction have taken up so long a time, as above a
 year ; how much time will necessarily go to so great a Work as that
 of the whole Bible ? For the doing of which also it will be necessary to
 take off those persons from their Ministry among the Indians who are
 of all men the most essential to the Indian Service. In the mean time
 'tis the Opinion of many, that as little Money as would be expended on
 a new Edition of the Bible (& not much more time) would go very far

towards bringing them to be a sort of *English* Generation. It is very sure, The best thing we can do for our Indians is to Anglicise them in all agreeable Instances, & in that of Language, as well as others. They can scarce retain their Language without a Tincture of other savage Inclinations which do but ill suit either with the Honor or with the design of Christianity. The Indians themselves are Divided in their Desires upon this Matter. Though some of their aged men are tenacious enough of Indianisme, (which is not at all to be wondered at) others of them as earnestly wish that their people may be made English as fast as they can. The Reasons they assign for it are very weighty ones; & this among the rest, That their Indian Tongue is a very penurious one (though the Words are long enough!) & the great things of our Holy Religion brought unto them in it unavoidably arrive in Terms that are scarcely more intelligible to them than if they were entirely English. But the English Tongue would presently give them a Key to all our Treasures, & make them the Masters of another sort of Library than any that ever will be seen in their Barbarous Linguo. And such of them as can speak English find themselves vastly accommodated for the entertaining & communicating of Knowledge beyond what they were before. And it is hoped, That by good English Schools among the Indians, & some other fit Methods, the grand intention of Anglicising them would be soon accomplished.

The Truth is, when we sit down & count the Cost, we much suspect our Ability to go through the cost of printing the Bible, & yet supporting the annual expenses which must be born on other Accounts, or else the Evangelical work among the Indians fall to the ground. That which adds a very great weight unto the Scale we are upon, is this. The Indians, though their number, & their distance be now so small, do considerably differ in their Dialect. The former Editions of the Bible were in the *Natick* Dialect. But if it be done in the *Noop* Dialect, which would best suit the most valuable body of our surviving Indians, those on the *Main* & at *Nantucket* would not understand it so well as they should. The Books written by two eminent Preachers in their Tongue, the Indians complain of a Difference in them that is considerable. Their Language is also continually changing: old words wearing out & new ones coming on. And a discreet person whom we lately employed in a Visitation of the Indian Villages inserts this as one article of his Report about this particular matter:

"There are many words of Mr. Elliott's forming, which they never understood. This they say is a grief to them. Such a knowledge in their Bibles, as our English ordinarily have in ours, they seldom any of them have: & there seems to be as much difficulty to bring them unto a competent knowledge of the Scriptures, as it would be to get a sensible acquaintance with the English Tongue."

Your Commissioners in general were not acquainted with the Letters that went from certain particular Gentlemen here which gave the Representation that has solicited your excellent Charity to run into that Channel of a New Edition for the Indian Bible. We therefore thought it our Duty to throw in our Representation on the other side, that so the

more Consummat Wisdom & Judgement of the Corporation, may weigh all things & proceed thereupon to their final Resolutions. When those are made known unto us, whatever they shall be, we shall think it our Duty to fall in with them & pursue them to their uttermost. Being always, your Honor's

(and the Company's)

most faithful, most sincere, & humble Serv^t

That none of the Ministers who belong to our number sign with us, is owing to their Indisposition upon weighty Reasons, to think it proper for them to declare themselves peremptorily one way or other on the Subject.

The foregoing Representation, the original was written by Mr. Cotton Mather, Mr. Bromfield had it of Mr. Fitch, who gave it him to show Mr. Sergeant, which he did in the Council Chamber 9th 11th 1710. I accidentally heard Mr. Sergeant & Foster talking upon it, ask'd it of them, & copied it out.

S. S.

To Sir William Ashurst.

9th 21, 1710.

By your Honor's Recommendation, my learned & worthy Kinsman, Mr. Jer. Duñer, Jun^r is made our Agent. I have heard of a Bow with a Steel Back: you will be that to Mr. Duñer, & steady & strengthen him in this weighty Undertaking; which will be very obliging to the Province, & particularly to

S. S.

To Mr. Jeremiah Duñer, Agent, &c.

9th 21, 1710.

I wish you joy resulting from a diligent, faithfull discharge of this Trust. It is expected that you much value yourself upon the Advice of Sir W^m. Ashurst. Barter away none, nothing of our Religious Privileges, tho' you might have Millions in lieu of them. Be watchfull & diligent for their preservation. I thank you for your frequent Letters, & Latine Verses; accept of my poor Essay on the Surrender of Port Royal.

Your Serv^t

S. S.

Judge Sewall, being, by inheritance, education, and sympathy, most devotedly attached to the religious ways of the Fathers of Massachusetts, was deeply grieved by being a witness in his time of the introduction of Episcopacy into the Province. He had seen with mortification a hall in the Town House in Boston used for the services of the Church of England. He had withstood the appropriation of the South Church, where he worshipped, for that purpose, and had protested in vain against its arbitrary occupancy for such services. He had peremptorily refused to sell a piece of his land for the site of a church, though earnestly solicited to do so by Mr. Randolph and Rector Ratcliffe.

But it must have been especially grievous to him, as the following letters testify, to learn of what was transpiring in his own beloved Town of Newbury. Coffin, the historian, gives an account of the beginnings of the Church of England there, as starting from a controversy about the location of a new Meeting-House.

To Col. Thomas Noyes.

March 3, 1711-12.

HONORED SIR,—The 29th Febr^y last I saw the certainty of what I could hardly believe before, namely Deacon Merrill, Deacon Brown, John Bartlett & others, 22 in all Presenting a Petition to the Governour by Joseph Bayly, one of the 22 Subscribers, Praying his Excellency's Protection of them, as being of the Episcopal Church of England; That they might not be oppressed with Rates, whereas they did not any longer continue in the Separation of their mistaken dissenting Brethren. This was done, Feb'y 27. But the Governour showed it to the Council the 29th

Now though 'tis well enough known what was the Spring of their motion; & notwithstanding their Aprons of Fig Leaves they walk naked, & their Neighbours see their Shame; yet I apprehend it will be most advisable for those of the West precinct Not to meddle with them, or forcibly take anything of them towards defraying any of the Charges of the Precinct. This seems to me best for the Precinct & best for Newbury, & for the Province. And most for the Interest of Religion: And we should stick at nothing for Christ. You will have opportunity, I hope, to argue these Things in the Time of the Sitting of the General Court, which now approaches.

I am Sir, your friend & humble Serv^t

S. SEWALL.

To Mr. John Webster, at Newbury.

March 12, 1711-12.

LOVING LANDLORD,—Formerly, when your neighbour, Joshua Brown gave you trouble with his Wiggling Whip-Bows, you used to Huff him & humble him at a game of Checkers. But now his awful Circumstances call you to a serious & solemn way of dealing with him. He has of late offended me, & I doubt not but he is in arrears with you. I therefore desire you to go to him, in your own name, & mine; but especially in the Name of God; Give him Mr. Higginson's Sermon; tell him I have sent it him as a Token of my Love. Demand of him, Whether that which Mr. Higginson & the New-England Worthies Accounted the Cause of God, he does advisedly to account it the Cause of the evil one, & to desert it accordingly? Ask him whether he be persuaded, that Mr. Bridger doth more earnestly desire & seek his God, than you doe, who have lived by him & loved him above these Fifty years? Enquire of your friend, Joshua Brown, whether what he is now about, be a justifiable keeping of the Fifth Commandment; &

whether he be now denying himself, and taking up his Cross & following JESUS CHRIST? Ask him whether it be Best to have the Apocrypha & the Canonical Scriptures yoked up together? Whether it be Best to have the Sign of the Cross in Baptisme? Whether it be best to have a great number of days in the year placed as high as the Lord's Day, if not above it? I shall not enlarge, hoping that by the good Spirit of God you will be assisted to Speak beyond what I can Write. I have sent you Mr. Flavell's Explanation of the Assembly's Catechisme, which please to accept. The Print is not so good as I could wish. If your own eyes do not serve you to read it, you must employ some that are younger to read it to you. We have many sudden Deaths. The Widow Sanders of Braintree went to Meeting the last Lord's Day, fell down out of her seat & dyed. Let us Remember to pray one for another, that we may be ready when our LORD shall call. With my service to my Land Lady, I take leave, who am,
Your friend & Serv^t S. S.

To Mr. Nathan! Coffin.

March 12, 1711-12.

SIR, — I have thought on your Words relating to the West Precinct in Newbury, mentioned in your Letter of the 22^d of January last. It came to my mind that my Landlord Webster was a near neighbour to Joshua Brown for many years. You are a younger Man, & a Deacon. I would have you goe to Mr. Webster, & accompany him to your brother, Deacon Brown, & speak to him with that Seriousness & Solemnity as the Case requires; & see if you can reclaim him & recover him. Be not discouraged with thinking that he will not hear you. Hereafter, possibly, he may complain that few, or none, dealt plainly & faithfully with him. However it be, if you in faithfulness & Meekness endeavour to restore your brother thus surprised, you will have peace & Comfort in it. Success belongs to GOD: it becomes us to do our Duty, & make a full Submission & entire Resignation of ourselves, & all our Endeavours to his Sovereign good pleasure as to the Event. Be not discouraged with having yourself & Ancestors Reproached with the Slander of being Mistaken dissenting brethren. The godly New England Planters pretended no Separation, but what the 2 Cor. 6. 17, 18 did Command & justify & Encourage. I take that portion of the Divine Oracles to be New England's Magna Charta. Let us keep to it, & we are safe. Solomon had an Excellent Mother; & yet for Solomon to have applauded or excused, or imitated all her Actions, would have been highly injurious to the Kingdom, himself & her. To imitate her Vertues; Acknowledge her as his dearest Mother, & at the same time to keep at the greatest Distance from her Lapses, was mutually their Truest Honor. The Boast that your neighbour Brown & others make of their Bettering themselves in their present change, is but Laodicean Talk, which they will shortly be ashamed of.

You had best quickly go to Mr. Webster, & make your Visit before your intentions be known. If it take Aer, you will be in danger of

being prevented, or much hindered. Accept of Mr. Vincent's Explanation of the Assembly's Catechisme; And present the Epistles to Mr. Ordway the father, in my name, with my service. I thank you for your kind Affection to my dear Kinsman. He was carried to Rest in his Grave Feby. 27, the day your neighbour Bayley was presenting the Petition to the Governour, signed by himself & 21 more, of which Abraham Merrill, & Joshua Brown were two. We had need pray mutually one for another, that we may not be led into Temptation. I am, Sir,

Your friend & Serv^t S. S.

Boston; 28 Febr. 1711-12.

I received yesterday an Address & Petition signed by 22 persons, Freeholders & Inhabitants of the Town of Newbury, setting forth that they were declared members of the Episcopal Church of England as by Law Established; & that they have raised a building for the Service of God, according to the manner of Worship prescribed in the said Church: Desiring Protection & Encouragement therein, accordingly: And that they have addressed the right Reverend the Bishop of London, to have a Minister sent to them; & that thereupon they may not be obliged to contribute to the subsistence of the other Ministers of any other profession; as at large is set forth in the said Petition.

I am also further informed by the Reverend Mr. Harris, one of the Ministers of the Church of England in this place, That at their desire he visited & preached to that new Congregation, & had a very considerable Auditory, & that he shall continue so to doe, untill their said Address to the Lord Bishop of London shall be considered & Order given therein.

I am thereupon of Opinion that the said petitioners, & others that join with them, ought to be peaceably allowed in their Lawfull proceedings therein for their good Establishment, & ought not to be Taxed or imposed upon for the Support & Maintenance of any other public Worship in the said Town: of which I desire all persons to take notice accordingly. Given under my hand,

J. DUDLEY.

To Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Essex Massachu^{ts} Bay.

(A true Copy.)

This seems to be a comment by Christopher Toppan on the above affairs: —

Perceiving that some of the Ceremonies were Camels too big for them at first to Swallow, told them that they should be left to their Liberty; as to kneeling at the Sacrament, Baptising with the Sign of the Cross, &c. This has been wonderfully taking with them, & a great means to encourage them in their factious proceedings.

His Excellency's Opinion in this point has strangely elated the Spirit & Courage of our Apostat Brethren; & by this means they expect their number will be greatly increased. Of which there would be little reason to be afraid if our Rulers had the Courage to stand by their own

Established Laws, in standing by which they may expect that GOD will own, bless, & prosper them. But if through a Spirit of Cowardice they shrink in their Shoulders, & are afraid to appear for Christ, & the Interest of Religion among us, then, ——— Why does he direct it to the Justices unless he meant his Opinion should be a Law to them? But is his Opinion the Law of the Province? GOD forbid that it should!

C. T.

To C. M: D. D.

The following letter presents to us the Judge's dismay and chagrin when he learned what was transpiring at New Haven in the falling off of the Rector of the College, Mr. Cutler, and some of his associates, to Episcopacy. Governor Saltonstall, like himself, had been educated for the ministry: —

To Gov. Saltonstall, 8^o 15, 1722, at New Haven.

Before the smoke of Yale College was discerned, I was shew'd a piece of Ground, [the site of Christ Church] bought to build an Episcopal Church on in Boston: & the same person whispered to me that Mr. Cutler, your Rector, was to preach in it. The Noise of Yale College came to us gradually; at first we heard some uncertain Rumbings; at last the plain & loud Thunder-Claps astonished us. The Colony, the Town, the Society from whence it came Accented every Sound. It quickly brought to my mind Rev. xvi. 15. I apprehend that in this extraordinary & unexpected Alarm, we have a Demonstration that the Drying up the Great River Euphrates is near at hand. Methinks he could not easily have lit upon a Subject so indefensible as that of the English Episcopacy, which seems to be absolutely *απογοητευτική*. For the Bishop is perfectly the King's Creature; the Chapter must choose the person named in the *conge d'elire*. I am fully of Mr. Cotton's mind, that Episcopacy is that upon which the Fifth Vial is poured out, & he will have hard work that shall endeavour to controll that Angel. 'Tis evident that the New England Planters were led by the Spirit of God when they followed the Lamb in the Chastity of his Ordinances. Dr. Goodwin & Dr. Owen make a very honourable Mention of it. The Bishops drove the renowned Planters out of England. I hope God will not suffer the Bishops to drive their Children out of New England. I pray God to make your Assistants & Deputies wise as Serpents, harmless as Doves. Desiring your Prayers, I am

Here is the evidence of another sorrow visited upon the Judge by the chronic degeneracy under which Boston has suffered: —

To the honorable Isaac Addington, Esq., Secretary; To be communicated to his Excellency the Governour, & to the honorable Council.

BOSTON of the MASSACHUSETTS; March 2, 1713-14.

There is a Rumor, as if some designed to have a Play acted in the Council-Chamber, next Monday; which much surprises me: And as

much as in me lies, I do forbid it. The Romans were very fond of their Plays: but I never heard they were so far set upon them, as to turn their Senat-House into a Play-House. Our Town-House was built at great Cost & Charge, for the sake of very serious & important Business; the Three Chambers above, & the Exchange below; Business of the Province, County, & Town. Let it not be abused with Dances or other Scenical divertisements. It cannot be a Honor to the Queen, to have the Laws of Honesty & Sobriety broken in upon. Ovid himself offers invincible Arguments against publick Plays:

Ut tamen hoc fatear; Ludi quoque semina præbent Nequitiam:

Let not Christian Boston goe beyond Heathen Rome in the practice of shamefull Vanities.

This is the Voice of your most humble & obedient

Servant,

SAMUEL SEWALL.

The following is a copy of Sewall's Petition to Governor Shute for the appointment of Chief Justice of the Superior Court of the Province. The office was conferred upon him in 1718, and held by him till he resigned it in 1728, two years before his death, in January, 1730, at the age of seventy-seven:—

To his Excellency Samuel Shute, Esq. Gov.

Febr 11th 1717-18.

May it please your Excellency, The day for the nomination of Civil Officers approaches, & if your Excellency shall think it convenient to Nominate me for Chief Justice of the Superior Court, I shall be sensible of your Excellency's Favour, & my own further Obligations to Gratitude. It comes to pass by the Disposal of Divine Sovereignty that I am the last of the Councillors left standing in the Charter, & the last of the Justices left standing in the Superior Court, of those that were of it from the Beginning, which was in the year 1692. And by reason of the inability of the late Hon. Chief Justice Winthrop to ride the remoter Circuits, I have frequently presided. And whatever may be objected against me, I presume it cannot be said that I exercised the Presidency immoderately or unfairly. And I hope, as the great Judge (for whose sake I was named) said, I may say, Whose Ox have I taken? And that Partiality or Bribery cannot be laid to my Charge.

My Father, Mr. Henry Sewall, was a Gentleman sent to New England by my Grandfather, Mr. Henry Sewall, in the year 1634. with a plentiful Estate in Money, Net Cattel, Provisions, & other Things requisite for a New Plantation. As to my Real Estate in New England it is considerable. My own Father gave me a Tenement in Hampshire in England, though a very small one, not yielding above £20 *per annum*. The Authority of this place as to any Vote, & the Salary, are the same with that of any other of the Justices. Although I have almost completed the 66th year of my Age, yet I think I have most constantly

attended, & have not missed Bristol Circuit for more than Twenty years together, till last year I was taken off by Sickness. I should hardly have had the Confidence to have taken up so much of your Excellency's Time in this manner, had I not been introduced by Mr. Belcher. If I have trespassed upon the Law of Modesty, it has been to avoid Sullenness. Praying Pardon for what is amiss or overmuch, I take leave, who am your Excellency's most humble & obedient Servant,

S. S.

Judge Sewall does not appear to have anticipated the agitations and discussions of our time as to the extension of the Rights or the enlargement of the sphere of Women. We can judge only by inference what would have been his views or course upon the subject had it been brought to his attention. But while his Letters and Journal bear abundant evidence of his high respect for the female sex, and contain many tributes of affection and reverence for honored Christian matrons whom he had known, we have among his papers a very special token of his championship of the sex on a matter of most transcendent interest. This is found in the very full Notes for a treatise which seems to have been designed for publication, though it does not appear that it reached the honor of print, as did his Apocalyptical Essay.

A folio page of one of his note-books bears the following title, spread out in form as for the printer:—

TALITHA CUMI, or an Invitation to WOMEN To look after their Inheritance in the HEAVENLY MANSIONS. By Samuel Sewall, M.A. & sometime Fellow of Harvard College in Cambridge in New England. Ye shall be my Sons & Daughters, saith the Lord Almighty. 2 Cor. 6. 18. Rom. 8. 17. There is neither Male nor Female: for ye are all One in Christ Jesus.

Qui utrumque Sexum instituit, utrumque restituit.

Augustin de Civit. Dei.

Honi soit qui mal y pense.

Resurget igitur Caro, et quidem omnis, et quidem ipsa, et quidem integra. — *Tertullian.*

— absit vafrities in qua multi nimis sibi placent, dum ad suas methodos inflectunt Dei Verbum, & philosophiam nescio quam &c.

Evangelium ut suis figmentis mixtum, nobis fabricant. — *Calvin.*

I have copied in a somewhat condensed form, but always confining myself to the very words of the writer, the substance of this Essay. It is elaborate in its learning, and is an admirable specimen of the style of reasoning and argumentation of the Judge's time and place, while the enthusiastic zeal which fires it is an engaging revelation of his filial heart. The

influence of his close intimacy with Cotton Mather, on his mind and style, is very apparent: —

When I was waiting upon a dear child in her last sickness, I met with a Book the Title page whereof was this:

'The British Apollo: Containing about Two Thousand Answers to Curious Questions in most Arts & Sciences, Serious, Comical & Humorous. Approved of by many of the most Learned & Ingenious of both Universities & of the Royal Society, Performed by a Society of Gentlemen. Vol. I. The Second Edition. London, printed 1711.'

In page 200 I met with this surprising Question: "Is there now, or will there be at the Resurrection, any Females in Heaven, *Since there seems to be no need of them there?*"

"Answer. Since Sexes are Corporal Distinctions, it follows, that there can be now no distinction of Sex in Heaven, since the Souls only of the Saints (which are Immaterial Substances) are as yet in that Happy Place. And that our rising Bodies will not be distinguished into Sexes we may fairly gather from those Expressions of our Lord's — *In the Resurrection they neither give, nor are given in Marriage, but are as the Angels of God.*"

This Malapert Question had not Patience to stay for an Answer, as appears by the Conclusion of it — *since there seems to be no need of them there.* 'Tis most certain there will be no needless impertinent persons or things in Heaven. Heaven is a roomy, a most magnificent Palace, furnished with the most Rich & Splendid Entertainments; & the Noblest Guests are invited to partake of them. But why should there seem to be no need of Women in Heaven! Since God is their Father, & therefore Heaven is their Country: *Ubi Pater ibi Patria.* Is there no need for a Daughter to go & see her Father when he sends for her; to see God, who though He be a Great King yet is a most Loving & tender hearted Father? To speak the Truth, God has no need of any Creature. His Name is exalted far above all Blessing & Praise. But by the same Argument there will be no Angels nor Men in Heaven, because there is no need of them there. God created all Things for his pleasure that he might communicat of his Goodness, & for his declarative Glory. And that this End may be attained, there is need of Angels in Heaven & of Men & Women. As for the Argument taken from Matt. 22. 30, *For in the Resurrection &c.* the most learned & best Expositors conclude that the words are a plain & undeniable Proof that Women have an Equal Share in the Resurrection unto Eternal Life & heavenly Glory. [Authorities quoted: Erasmus, the Dutch annotations, and Augustine's XVII. and XVIII. Chapters De Civitate Dei.]

There is no other Change for Women than for Men. Both Men & Women shall be freed from Sin & from the Corruption introduced thereby.

Office for the Burial of the Dead: *This our dear Sister*, as the constant practice is to read when a woman is buried. I could have wished there had been a *mutatis mutandis* which might have prevented the stumbling of Weak Brethren.

There are three Women that shall rise again: EVE, the Mother of all living; SARAH, the Mother of the Faithfull; and MARY, the Mother of our Lord. And if these three rise again without doubt all will.

Reasons are then given for a hopeful belief concerning the three women just named. In dealing with Sarah, the writer says:—

It is the concurrent opinion of Divines that Funerals have Respect to the Resurrection. They that follow Christians to their Grave profess their Faith of their Resurrection from the dead. Now the first Funeral Recorded in the Holy Scriptures is that of Sarah, which is very considerable. Sarah handsels the Grave for Abraham himself & the following Patriarchs. In the Book of Genesis containing the History of 2368 years, one whole Chapter is taken up in describing the Circumstances of Sarah's Interment. We find but eight Funerals recorded in the Book, & five of these are godly Women, viz. Sarah, Rebekah, Leah, Debora & Rachel.

As for the blessed Mary, the Mother of our LORD, for my part, I had rather with the Roman Catholics, believe that she is in Heaven already, than imagine that she shall never be there. Never was there so Great & Honourable a Wooing as Mary had. Whether we consider the Immensity & Greatness of the Person, The Holy Spirit, or the Superiority of the Ambassador, the Angel Gabriel. Well might the Blessed Virgin upon mature Consideration, after the Example of Rebekah, speedily give her full Consent, & say, Behold the Handmaid of the Lord, Be it unto me according to thy Word. Bp. Usher in his Emanuel speaks thus. That blessed Womb of hers was the Bride Chamber wherein the Holy Ghost did knit that indissoluble knot betwixt our human nature & his Deity. Our glorious Bridegroom will not demolish the Chamber, which he made & dearly bought & paid for, from whence He proceeded, but will Repair it with permanent & Wonderful Magnificence *In Perpetuam Rei Memoriam*. In the heavenly Choir she will indeed appear to be Blessed among Women. When Christ shall set her at his Right Hand, as Solomon did Bathsheba his Mother.

Now God in his alwise Providence Raised Women from the dead as well as men; thereby signifying that they shall equally partake in the last Resurrection. The Fame of the Raising Jairus his Daughter from the dead is gon abroad not only into the Land of Judea; but into the whole world, into Asia, Africa, Europe, & America. Tis remarkable that this illustrious Story is Recorded in three of the Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, & Luke. And the Cure wrought on the Woman in the way, who had laboured under a Chronical Disease was a very suitable Prologue to this glorious Miracle. The Raising of Dorcas from the dead & the happy effect it had, &c.

So it may be argued, If the Lord had been minded to deny Women a share in the General Resurrection from the dead, he would not have provided & Recorded for us these preambulatory Resurrections.

The Judge then proceeds, after the approved method of his time, to state and answer two objections.

1. Objection. Whether in glorified Bodies there will be any distinction of Sexes, some too curiously dispute.

Answer. Is it so? But can there be too much Curiosity employed in maintaining the Words & Works of God, & in preserving the beautiful Variety with which He has been pleased to adorn them. — As God is Almighty, so He is Eternal & Uchangeable. And He will have Sons & Daughters as like Himself as can be. &c.

2. Objection. The Ancients are divided in their Opinions about it — whether there will be a distinction or no.

Answer. That is a shrewd thing indeed! But if we should wait till all the Ancients are agreed in their Opinions, neither Men nor Women would ever get to Heaven. I should have been glad if the learned Gentleman had mentioned the Ancients he refers to, that it might have been seen who & who are of a side; & then I am perswaded the voice of the standers by would have been *Impar Congressus*. It will not be easy to match the Sanctity, the Zeal, the Learning, the Natural Power & Industry of Tertullian, Jerom, Ambrose, Austin. And one might have hoped that the Translation of Austin's excellent Book, *De Civitate Dei*, into English One Hundred Years agoe would have proved a sovereign sufficient Antidote against this Poison; & would have prevented this Wild-Fire of the British Apollo from being thrown about the Streets of our great City.

Modern testimonies may be added to the Ancients.

Citations are then made from the formularies of the Church of England: from "the incomparable Apologist," Jewell; from "The Learned & Orthodox Assembly of Divines;" from the formularies of the Church of Scotland; and from the decisions of the Synod of Dort.

According to these Authorities 'tis past dispute, that in the Resurrection World, Mary shall enjoy her own Body, & John shall enjoy his.

And yet, after all, if any Controversy shall be moved injurious to the Right of Women before ancient or modern Men, in my opinion their safest & surest way is to plead, that they are *Coram non judice*. 'Tis not what ancient & modern Divines, or Learned & Philosophical men say concerning the Freehold of the Moiety of Mankind; but what God says who is their Creator, & Redeemer, & Sanctifier. 'Tis to their own Master they stand or fall, 'yea they shall be holden up,' Rom. 4. 24. And many Women are such good Lawyers, & are of such quick understanding in the Fear of the Lord, & have entertained such an able, Faithfull, & Successfull an Advocat, they have no reason to be afraid. The Heavenly Inheritance is inconceivably great & good wherein there are innumerable Conveniences, & no inconvenience. And it is

no small Injury to have the Title to this Inheritance defamed or questioned. But seeing all is to be Tried & decided by the WORD of GOD, they need not be afraid with any amazement.

The first Statute brought against their Interest is mentioned by Austin. Com. on Ephes. 4. 13 'Till we all come in the Unity of the Faith — unto a Perfect Man, &c.

The Judge leaves this stumbling-block in the line of his argument, without removing it.

Peroratio.

Courteous Reader. I have written these few Lines from a Detestation of that Sadducean argument, There shall be no Weddings in Heaven, because there shall be no Women there — & out of a due Regard to my dear Parents, my Mother EVE, & my immediat Mother, whose very valuable Company I hope shortly to enjoy, & through the to me unaccountable Grace of God, recover an Opportunity of rendering them the Honour due to them according to the invaluable & Eternal Obligation of the Fifth Commandment.

In connection with the recent discussion, following the Great Fire in Boston, November 9 and 10, 1872, concerning the removal or secularization of the Old South Church, the protest, unsuccessful as it proved, of Judge Sewall against the demolition of the former edifice on its site, has interest: —

To the Reverend Mr. Joseph Sewall, [son of the Judge] & to the Reverend Mr. Thomas Prince, Pastors of the South Church in Boston, & to the Brethren of the said Church, assembled in a Church Meeting, on Tuesday the seven & twentieth day of February, 1727-8.

In which Meeting Two Questions are to be Answered, to wit: Whether the Old Meeting-House shall be Repaired, or a New One builded.

That our Meeting house needs Repairing, is Apparent: & I apprehend that it ought to be done as soon as the Season of the year will admit:

But as for the building of a New Meeting house, it is now unseasonable. God in his holy Providence preserving this, seems plainly to advise us to the contrary. This is a very good Meeting house, & we have not convenient room to build a New one in, while this is standing. And considering the Terrible Earth Quakes we have had, shaking all our Foundations, it behooves us to walk humbly with our God & to observe the divine Counsel given to Barach by the Prophet Jeremiah in the forty-fifth Chapter: And to take care that we do not say in the Pride & greatness of heart, We will cut down the Sycamores, & change them into Cedars, Isaiah 9. 10. We ought to look not only on our own Things, but also on the Things of others, Philip. 2. 4., & beware that

we do not unjustly & violently Oust them of what they are lawfully possessed of.

Besides, I fear the Mischief is like to be distressing, for want of a place to worship God in, while the New Meeting house is setting up.

Upon these, & such like Considerations, I dissent from those Brethren, who promote the building a New Meeting house at this Time, & pray that what I have written may be entred in the Church Records.

SAM^l SEWALL.

Mr. Edward Bromfield Esq. came to me to persuade me to go to the Meeting warned last Lord's Day, & desired me that, if I did not go, I would write. Accordingly I writ as I could in great Hurries, Monday being Probat Day. I sent for Mr. Bromfield, & he kindly carried it for me, & delivered it, & it was read.

The President read a letter from Mr. Mason, Chairman of the Sub-committee on the Society's Building, saying that the rooms were now in readiness to receive the books, &c., and recommending that their removal be commenced forthwith.

Mr. AMORY submitted to the inspection of the Society a silver locket, given many years ago by Mr. Thomas Walley to his nephew, Thomas W. Phillips, commemorative of the death of Charles I. It seems to have been worn as a keepsake by some one peculiarly loyal to his memory, or who was personally attached to him. No knowledge or tradition of any sort exists as to whom it originally belonged, or in what way it came into the possession of Mr. Walley. His ancestor in the fifth remove, the Rev. Thomas Walley, came over in 1663, and was settled at Barnstable. He had been for a long previous period rector of St. Mary's Whitechapel, in London, and probably was settled there at the time of the execution; but there is nothing to connect him either in his religious sentiments or personal history with the king. Nor, on the other hand, does there exist any known connection between his family and that of General Edward Whalley, the regicide, who lived for many years with Goffe, his son-in-law, in concealment at New Haven, and later at Hadley, where he died.

Whatever its origin or ownership may have been, the locket is interesting as an historical relic, both for its great antiquity and for the importance of the event it commemorates. On one other account attention is called to its existence; namely, in the hope of ascertaining if any similar memorial has been preserved, or any one remembered among the early settlers in New England who would have been likely to have possessed this. The motto on one of the external sides reads, "Quis temperit a lacrimis," with the date "January 30, 1648,"

and beneath is rudely carved an eye shedding tears. On the opposite side are inscribed the words, "I live and dy in loyalty," and underneath a heart pierced through with many arrows. Upon the inner side of the box is fastened a small gold coin with the profile of the king, a likeness not to be mistaken; and on the inside of the lid opposite are the words "Prepared be to follow me," with the initials "C. R. N.," for Charles the King slain. The box may have once contained some personal memento of the king,— "a hair of him for memory," or some similar relic,—but if so it has disappeared.

America was, in the troubled days of the Commonwealth, as it has been at other times of political convulsion, the frequent resort of persons compromised at home, who might hope to pass unnoticed among the many strangers then flocking into the new settlements. The fact that three of the judges of that tribunal unknown to the law, who condemned the king, should have continued here unmolested, notwithstanding persistent search, shows how safe an asylum it might prove. It was in all probability a more congenial abode for Roundheads than for Cavaliers, and the diminutive size of this little amulet may have been purposely chosen for concealment. Ill advised as Charles was as a monarch, historians on both sides give him credit for many personal qualities that were estimable and calculated to attach to him closely all who fell within their influence. In bearing and stature, in courtesy and accomplishment, he played his part well as a king, and his devoted adherents were willing to make any sacrifice for his cause. He was behind his time, and did not realize the progress made by the nation in a juster sense of their rights and liberties, or how far the old idea of royal supremacy had become obsolete. But by those whose traditional loyalty was proof against these new doctrines, his death was regarded with abhorrence, as a great national crime; and this little waif from the past was doubtless a token of profound and affectionate veneration for his memory as a martyr, if not, as already suggested, the pledge of some more intimate relation.

It may be worthy of note that the date, January 30, 1648, differs from that assigned in modern historical works to the execution. The Gregorian calendar by which the year began in January, though prevailing from 1582 in Catholic countries, was not adopted in England before 1752, the year previously commencing on the 25th of March.

Mr. WATERSTON called attention to some facts connected with the early history of our public schools. Now that our

educational plans, he said, are upon so extended a scale, the children thus taught numbering over thirty-eight thousand, under the charge of somewhat more than a thousand teachers, and the whole system supported at an annual expense of above one million three hundred thousand dollars, it is doubly interesting to look back at the earliest beginnings and see when and how the seed was planted from which a growth of such vast size has sprung.

Mr. Waterston continued:—

The first Record known to exist dates back to 1635. It is a simple statement that on the "13th of y^e 2nd month it was gen^{lly} agreed vpon y^e o^r brother Philemon Pormont shall be entreated to become schoolmaster for y^e teaching and nourtering of children wth vs." This was the earliest step of which we have any information. By it the Latin School was established, situated in School Street, thus giving its name to the street, on the south-easterly portion of ground now covered by King's Chapel, or Stone Chapel as it is often called.

It is natural for us to ask if there is reason to believe that this establishing of a Free School was considered, by those living at that day, as any thing remarkable. Did the leading men make note of it? The Journal of Governor Winthrop covers that period, but it contains not the slightest allusion to it. He often speaks of minute circumstances of little weight in themselves save as they affected directly or indirectly the welfare of the colony. Yet not at any time previous to this year, or during this year, or through several years following, does he make any reference to the planting of the first school, or dwell particularly upon a free school education.

In the early days of the Colony, children were doubtless instructed at their homes. Indeed, no arrangement for the public instruction of children under the age of seven was made until 1818, and no arrangement for the education of girls in the Public Schools until 1789, and then only by an incidental circumstance. More than one hundred and fifty years elapsed from the opening of the first public school before one girl was admitted; and not until 1828—one hundred and ninety-three years after the establishment of the first school—were girls admitted with full equality to the entire privileges of a thorough public school education.

But in regard to the schools called free,—at the beginning they were partly supported by voluntary contribution. Upon the last leaf of the oldest volume of our town records there is this memorandum,—“towards the maintenance of the free schoolmaster.” Under date of “Aug. 1636,” follows the subscription of

“Governour M^r Henry Vane Esq. 10 pounds.

M^r Richard Bellingham, 10 pounds.”

Deputy Governour M^r John Winthrop, 10 pounds.”

In 1645, there is a note in Governor Winthrop's Journal, in which he speaks of free schools, and of “a yearly contribution.”

In 1679, the following recommendation was passed: "that those who send their children to school and are able to pay something shall contribute for the encouragement of the master." So also it is stated that "Indian children shall be taught gratis," which implies that all other children are not so taught.

In 1647 there was a revisal of the code of laws, and then the grand recognition was distinctly made "that, to the end that learning might not be buried in the grave of the fathers, therefore the General Court provides by law that every township in the jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall maintain a school, and that every town with a hundred families shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the University."

Such was the crowning act under Winthrop's last administration, by which, through her system of public schools, Massachusetts and New England have become conspicuous for intelligence, integrity, and thrift.

But now let us go back again to that earliest school record, 1635, (five years after the day when the "Arbella" landed Winthrop at the mouth of Charles River, which led to the settlement of Shawmut, afterwards to be called Boston). On the 4th day of September, 1633, in the ship "Griffin," of three hundred tons, came, among others, John Cotton, who for many years had been a powerful and influential preacher in connection with St. Botolph's in Boston, Lincolnshire. He was in every respect a man of mark, and destined to exert a powerful influence upon these shores.

It was acknowledged that his coming formed a new era in the history of the Colony. In the language of Dr. Increase Mather, "Both Bostons have reason to honor his memory, and New England most of all, which oweth its name and being to him more than to any other person in the world."

This then is a fact, worthy of observation: two years after the arrival of John Cotton, (or, strictly speaking, one year and five months,) we find the establishment of a Free School, and this school we know to be the Latin School, whose history continues to this day, and whose prosperity and efficiency were never greater than at the present time. One peculiar fact in the establishment of this first free school was, that usual methods are reversed; our fathers did not commence with a school for elementary instruction; they provided at the very beginning for the higher branches of study.

Now I think it is interesting to ask if there are any reasons why it would be natural to connect the establishment of this school with John Cotton? One strong reason for so doing would be, that he was not only distinguished before he came to these shores for ability and learning, but from the moment he landed here he was universally welcomed, and became the acknowledged centre of vast influence both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs. Thus it was that the famous Thursday Lecture, which through all our early Colonial History held so conspicuous a place; and also the accompanying Market-Day, sanctioned by order of the Court, had their origin in him; and they both alike had their ante-

cedents in his personal experience at Boston in Lincolnshire. Was there, then, any thing corresponding with the idea of such a school as this earliest school, — at Boston, in Lincolnshire, where for so many years Cotton had labored?

As early as 1554, Queen Mary, in the first year of her reign, made a grant to the corporation of Boston "*for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL in the town.*"

Thus we know as a matter of history that there *was* a Free Grammar School in Boston, Lincolnshire.

But is there any reason to suppose that Latin was taught in such a school? It may be said in answer, This is the last thing which one might expect would be taught in a school so established. Yet in the Corporation Records (some of which I personally examined on a visit to that ancient place) there is this curious entry, which proves to us that Latin *was* taught.

In 1578, it was agreed that a "Dictionar ye shall be bought for y^e Scollers of y^e Free Scoole & the same booke to be tyed in a cheyne, & set upon a deske in y^e scoole, whereunto any scoller may have accesse as occasion shall serve;" and in 1601 the corporation purchased two dictionaries — one Greek, the other Latin — for the school, "the school-master to keep the same *for the use of the scholars.*"

Thus we find that in Boston, Lincolnshire, there was a Free Grammar School in which Latin and Greek were taught. And it is natural to presume that a lover of learning like Cotton, who had been appointed to the Vicarage of that town in 1612, and had been active there in all good ways and works for more than twenty years, should have been not only acquainted, but very familiar, with such a school. Still, if there were no evidence of such knowledge on Cotton's part, it would be mere conjecture with us. Is there, then, any positive evidence that John Cotton did know of this school? Singularly enough I find this record: —

"In 1613, a committee consisting of D^r Baron, REV. JOHN COTTON, and two others, was appointed to examine M^r Emnith & report whether he be fit to exercise the office of USHER in this school."

Thus we have direct proof that the Rev. John Cotton was so identified in thought with that school, that he was nominated to examine an *usher*, and decide upon his fitness for the place!

Leaving then England as he did in 1633, and exchanging the Old for the New World, how natural that this scholar (who had graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge, and had afterwards been elected to a fellowship in Emmanuel College), taking up his abode here in this then almost wilderness settlement, should have recalled all that was precious in his memory, as suggestive of what might, — in some larger and better way, — become transplanted here.

Thus the old Lecture, dear for so many years, when the Thursday came round, would recur to his mind. Why should he, then, not have a similar lecture here? The Market Day, when the people gathered from the country around, buying and selling commodities, — why not have that also? As soon as suggested, the Court approved; and this also became

as important a fact on this side of the Atlantic, as it had been on the other. In the same way when he saw the children growing up, he thought of the school, the Free School to which all could go; and with his own love for classical literature, and his partiality for the privileges of a collegiate education, the memory of a Free Grammar School, where Latin and Greek were taught, may have risen in his mind. And he may have said, Here also, where the trees of the forest are not yet felled, and the wild Indian is at our doors, here let such a school be established to become as good, and as much better as we can make it. And let that one be the forerunner of a thousand more that shall follow, — free for all, and where not only the simple rudiments of learning may be secured, but some reasonable introductory knowledge, at least, of the Ancient Languages.

There is another coincidence between John Cotton's new and old home. The Records of the English Boston of 1642 show that the Master of the Grammar School had "a house rent free"; and in the American Boston we find that in 1645, it was ordered that Fifty Pounds be allowed to the Master, and "a house for him to live in."

As an indication of how small a place Boston was at that period, it is only necessary to remember that, although the inhabitants were characterized by their religious zeal, one small meeting-house answered for the whole community, and continued to do so until 1648. The simplicity of their first place of worship is suggested by the fact that it had "mud walls and a thatched roof." This primitive building, situated on what is now the south side of State Street, was replaced by a more commodious wooden structure in 1640, in Washington Street, nearly opposite State Street, which edifice lasted seventy years, when it was destroyed by fire. During 1631 only 90 persons came over from England, and in 1632 not above 250 new settlers arrived. Thus the one free school, dating from 1635, answered the need of the people, not only at that time, but for forty years after. In a community so limited, every suggestion, from a man of the acquirements and influence of John Cotton, must have had great weight. We can therefore hardly imagine that such a school as this could have been established without his active co-operation, and we think we have given some very conclusive evidence that this school may have owed its origin to him more, perhaps, than to any one else.

Mr. Cotton's first child, a son, born at sea, on board the "Griffin," had received on that account the name of "Seaborn." A father's thoughts would even more impulsively turn to the education of the young. Cotton died Dec. 23, 1652, from illness caused by exposure in crossing the ferry over Charles River, being on his way to preach to the students at Cambridge. After his death it was found that, on certain contingencies, he had arranged, by his will, that one-half of his whole estate should revert to Harvard College, and the other half be devoted to the support of the Free School in Boston.

Thus we have most satisfactory evidence of the deep and abiding interest cherished by John Cotton in whatever pertained to the work of instruction; and sufficient reasons (have we not?) for associating

his name, in an especial manner, with the establishment of the First Free School, and with that educational system which has become our joy and our pride.

The President read the following extract from a letter of our Corresponding Member, the Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby, of Virginia, dated 8th Feb., 1873:—

"I will, at your request, add a paragraph or two in relation to the 'Adventures of Signor Guadentio di Lucca,' which I alluded to in my last. From the earliest times it has been fashionable for philosophers to put forth their ideal of a Commonwealth. Plato and Xenophon in a spirit of rivalry set the example among the Greeks; and the Commonwealth of the one, and the *Cyropædia* of the other, reflect the sentiments of those brilliant contemporaries on the science of government. It is on the authority of Cicero that I pronounce the Institution of Cyrus a work of the imagination. Cicero, in his tract '*de Republica*,' which has come down to us in a mutilated form, trod in the footsteps of the two Greek philosophers whose works he had studied closely. I pass over similar works which were written by eminent Frenchmen after the middle of the last century; and, turning to the literature of our own race, I recall to your recollection the *Utopia* of Sir Thomas More, and the *Oceana* of Harrington; and, I may add, the *Political Justice* of Godwin, which was in the hands of our own politicians in my early days.

"Before I proceed to give an outline of the work of Guadentio, I will say a word about its authorship. During the life of Bishop Berkeley, it was generally attributed to him; and if not printed with his name during his lifetime,—and it may have been,—it has invariably borne it since his death in 1753.* It seems to have escaped the notice of Dr. Allibone in his great work, for in his article on Berkeley he makes no allusion to it. There are obvious reasons which might induce silence on the part of its author, if he were a bishop; and we know that although '*The Tale of a Tub*' has always been ascribed to Swift, and although it cost him a bishoprick, yet he never acknowledged it; and Dr. Johnson to the last always doubted, if he did not positively deny, his title to the authorship. Not that there is a thought in the tract of Guadentio unworthy of its supposed author; but there are very many opinions expressed, and topics dwelt upon, which a bishop

* Mr. Grigsby's copy of this work has the following title: "The Adventures of Signor Guadentio Di Lucca, being the substance of his examination before the fathers of the Inquisition, at Bologna, in Italy. By Bishop Berkeley, author of the *Minute Philosopher*, &c., Dublin. . . . 1831." The first edition of this work appeared in London in 1737, the second in 1748. There are, or were recently, two copies, each of a different edition, in the library of the Boston Athenæum. The curious reader may find a very good analysis of the book in the fourth volume of the "*Retrospective Review*;" and the latest discussion as to its authorship, that we have seen, is in English "*Notes and Queries*," vol. ii. pp. 327, 328. It is there attributed to S[imon] Berington a catholic priest, author of "*Dissertations on the Mosaical Creation, Deluge, building of Babel, and confusion of Tongues*," &c., London, 1750.—Eds.

might not wish to be connected publicly with his name. The work is of a high order of ability. None but a mind intimately conversant with the nicest problems of politics, of political economy, of municipal law, of agriculture and the arts, — in all which the bishop was known to excel, — and familiar with the lights and shades of social life, could have accomplished the task. Its literature is chaste and various and profound, and no mean dramatic skill is visible in the conduct of the story.* Kippis, in his enlarged and unfinished edition of the *Biographia Britannica*, gives numerous quotations from the work in his article on Berkeley, but does not positively ascribe the work to the bishop. I have never seen an American copy of 'Guadentio,' and I am inclined to think that none was ever printed. My copy is from the Dublin press, and bears the name of the bishop. The book, however, is very well known in England. It is more probable that the bishop is the author, than that such a work, which would enhance the fame of the most popular writer, should remain unreclaimed. Possibly Lowndes, in some of his volumes, may throw some light upon the subject. Brunet, in the '*Manuel du Libraire*,' does not mention it. There have been two modern editions of the bishop's works, — one in 1820 in three octavos, and another some years later. These may throw light on the authorship. When this work was composed, Bayle's *Historical Dictionary* was the hand-book of every scholar; and as the Bishop of Cloyne has dealt much in geography as well as in politics, he may have taken the first thought of his work from Bayle's article on Sadeur, who published some imaginary travels in *Terra Australis*. George Psalmanazar's tract on *Formosa*, which was wholly a work of the imagination, came before the work of the bishop, I believe. George, whom Dr. Johnson thought so highly of, went so far as to invent an entire language for *Formosa*, with regular inflections of verbs and nouns, and deceived even learned men for a season.

"One or two English writers deny the authorship of the bishop; and I have never seen the question fairly argued.

"It was my intention to have given a synopsis of the work; but I am pressed for time at present, and I send the book to you to read, with a request that you return it to me when you have done with it. I should think, were I to judge from catalogues, there is not another copy south of the Potomac. I need not say that 'Guadentio' is an old acquaintance of mine."

At the request of Mr. Whitmore, who was not present, Mr. DEANE communicated, and read by its title, a paper by Mr. Whitmore on the names of towns in Massachusetts: —

* The notes show a full command of all ancient and modern learning bearing upon its topics.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE NAMES OF TOWNS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

In a previous essay I have mentioned that the origin of the names of our towns is quite obscure; but, believing that much may be discovered still as to the causes which led to their selection, I have prepared the following lists.

In the first list will be found the earliest date at which the name of any town occurs. Usually, this will be the date of its incorporation; but not invariably, as some settlements were first known by Indian names, — as precincts or parts of other towns, — or even by a name afterwards changed and lost.

Our history is naturally divided into three parts: first, the Colonial period, from the settlement to the administration of Andros; second, the Provincial period, under the Second Charter; third, the time since the Revolution, or the period of the State. Each of these periods has a political and social character of its own, and, as will be shown, each has had a distinctive nomenclature for its new settlements.

In the first period we find, as might be expected, that the colonists gave to their towns names chiefly of English origin. Of the sixty towns named before 1690 in Massachusetts Colony, not one retained an Indian name; while Scituate and Monomoy are the only two examples in Plymouth Colony. Although both colonies were Puritanic, Salem and Rehoboth were the only Scriptural names.

Not only did our forefathers select English names, but they chose them without any plan of commemorating the more prominent cities and towns of England. The most marked peculiarity of these early names is, that their English namesakes are so obscure. We feel at once assured that these names were not adopted by chance, or on general grounds; but that each represents some local affection, some individual reason, which may still be traced out by careful study. In most instances, doubtless, some settler at the new town was an emigrant from the English village; and, since our knowledge of the origin of the early colonists is so scanty, we may find that the study of our local nomenclature will be a valuable source of information to the genealogist.

List of Towns in Massachusetts Colony.

[The references are to the printed volumes of Records.]

1. Salem	Aug. 23, 1630, first mentioned.	I. 73
2. Charlestown	do. do.	do.
3. Boston	Sept. 7, 1630, named.	I. 75
4. Dorchester	do. do.	do.
5. Watertown	do. do.	do.
6. Roxbury	Sept. 23, 1630, first mentioned.	I. 77
7. Medford	do. do.	do.
8. Marblehead	July 2, 1633, do.	I. 106
9. Ipswich	Aug. 6, 1634, named.	I. 123
10. Newbury	May 6, 1635, do.	I. 146

11.	Hingham	Sept. 2, 1635, named.	I. 156
12.	Weymouth	do. do.	do.
13.	Concord	Sept. 3, 1635, do.	I. 157
14.	Dedham	Sept. 8, 1636, do.	I. 180
15.	Cambridge	do. do.	do.
16.	Lynn	Nov. 20, 1637, do.	I. 211
17.	Sudbury	Sept. 4, 1639, do.	I. 271
18.	Hampton	do. do.	do.
19.	Rowley	do. do.	do.
	Colchester	do. do. (see No. 21.)	do.
20.	Braintree	May 13, 1640, do.	I. 291
21.	Salisbury	Oct. 7, 1640, do.	I. 305
22.	Haverhill	June 2, 1641, first mentioned.	I. 319
23.	Springfield	do. do.	I. 320
24.	Gloucester	June 14, 1642, do.	II. 14
25.	Woburn	Sept. 27, 1642, named.	II. 28
26.	Wenham	Sept. 7, 1643, do.	II. 44
27.	Reading	May 20, 1644, do.	II. 73
28.	Hull	do. do.	II. 74
29.	Manchester	May 14, 1645, do.	II. 109
30.	Andover	May 6, 1646, do.	III. 73
31.	Malden	May 11, 1649, do.	III. 162
32.	Medfield	May 23, 1650, do.	III. 188
33.	Topsfield	Oct. 18, 1650, do.	IV. pt. I. 33
34.	Lancaster	May 18, 1653, do.	III. 308
35.	Groton	May 29, 1653, do.	IV. pt. I. 235
36.	Chelmsford	do. do.	IV. pt. I. 237
37.	Billerica	do. do.	do.
38.	Northampton	May 16, 1656, first mentioned.	III. 400
39.	Marlborough	May 31, 1660, named.	IV. pt. 1, 424
40.	Hadley	May 22, 1661, do.	IV. pt. 2, 11
41.	Milton	May 7, 1662, do.	IV. pt. 2, 51
42.	Mendon	May 15, 1667, do.	IV. pt. 2, 841
43.	Amesbury	May 27, 1668, do.	IV. pt. 2, 376
44.	Beverly	Nov. 7, 1668, do.	IV. pt. 2, 407
45.	Westfield	May 19, 1669, do.	IV. pt. 2, 432
46.	Hatfield	May 31, 1670, do.	IV. pt. 2, 460
47.	Brookfield	Oct. 15, 1673, do.	do. 568
48.	Wrentham	do. do.	do. 569
49.	Dunstable	do. do.	do. 570
50.	Southfield (Suffield),	June 3, 1674, do.	V. 13
51.	Sherburne	Oct. 7, 1674, do.	V. 23
52.	Bradford	Oct. 13, 1675, first mentioned.	V. 56
53.	Deerfield	Oct. 22, 1677, do.	V. 167

Plymouth Colony.

1*.	Plymouth	Dec. 11, 1620, settled.	I. 13
2*.	Scituate	July 1, 1633, first mentioned.	I. 36
3*.	Duxbury	Jan. 5, 1635-6, do.	I. 80
4*.	Sandwich	March 6, 1637-8, do.	I. 108
5*.	Yarmouth	Jan. 7, 1638-9, do.	I. 126
6*.	Barnstable	June 4, 1639, do.	I. 141
7*.	Taunton	March 3, 1639-40, do.	II. 40
8*.	Marshfield	June 7, 1642, do.	II. 91
9*.	Rehoboth	Oct. 28, 1645, do.	II. 168
10*.	Eastham	June 5, 1651, do.	III. 101
11*.	Bridgewater	June 3, 1656, do.	IV. 65
12*.	Dartmouth	June 8, 1664, do.	IV. 175
13*.	Swansey	March 5, 1667-8, do.	V. 19
14*.	Middleborough	June 1, 1669, do.	VI. 4
15*.	Manamoyet (now Chatham)	March 8, 1678-9, named.	VI. 77
16*.	Bristol	Oct. 23, 1681, do.	

54. Stow	May 16, 1688, named.		V. 409
55. Enfield	do. do.		V. 410
56. Worcester	Oct. 15, 1694, do.		V. 460
57. Boxford	1685?		
58. Woodstock	March 13, 1689-90,	* Order, Mass. Rec.	VI. 126
59. Newtown	Dec. 8, 1691,	* do. do.	VI. 207
60. Oxford			
17*. Little Compton	June 6, 1682, named.		VI. 89
18*. Freetown	July, 1683, do.		VI. 113
19*. Rochester	June 4, 1686, do.		VI. 189
20*. Falmouth	do. 1686.		VI. 189

Towns in 1695.

On the first tax list under the new Charter, Sept. 14, 1695, we find the names of 83 towns; viz., 13 in Suffolk, 17 in Essex, 17 in Middlesex, 7 in Hampshire, 6 in Plymouth, 7 in Barnstable, 8 in Bristol, 4 in the Islands, and 4 in York.

There were also Dunstable, Deerfield, and Woodstock named at this period as "frontier towns." Brookfield and Worcester had been abandoned. Tiverton, incorporated under the new *régime*, was included; but Hampton was omitted, having been ceded to New Hampshire. This would make 88 towns existing before Tiverton, which would be No. 89 in the full account.

The lists are as follows: —

SUFFOLK.	ESSEX.	MIDDLESEX.	HAMPSHIRE.
3. Boston.	1. Salem.	2. Charlestown.	23. Springfield.
6. Roxbury.	9. Ipswich.	5. Watertown.	38. Northampton.
4. Dorchester.	10. Newbury.	15. Cambridge.	40. Hadley.
41. Milton.	19. Rowley.	13. Concord.	46. Hatfield.
20. Brantrey.	21. Salisbury.	25. Woburn.	50. Southfield.
12. Weymouth.	43. Amesbury.	39. Marlboro.	45. Westfield.
11. Hingham.	22. Haverhill.	35. Groton.	55. Enfield.
28. Hull.	30. Andover.	27. Reading.	
14. Dedham.	52. Bradford.	36. Chelmsford.	
32. Medfield.	57. Boxford.	17. Sudbury.	
48. Wrentham.	33. Topsfield.	31. Malden.	
42. Mendon.	8. Marblehead.	7. Medford.	
60. Oxford.	16. Lynn.	35. Billerica.	
	26. Wenham.	34. Lancaster.	
	44. Beverly.	54. Stow.	
	24. Gloucester.	59. Newtown.	
	29. Manchester.	51. Sherburne.	
PLYMOUTH.	BARNSTABLE.	BRISTOL.	M. VINEYARD.
1*. Plymouth.	6*. Barnstable.	16*. Bristol.	Edgartown.
2*. Situate.	5*. Yarmouth.	7*. Taunton.	Tisbury.
3*. Duxbury.	10*. Eastham.	12*. Dartmouth.	Chilmark.
8*. Marshfield.	4*. Sandwich.	18*. Freetown.	Nantucket.
11*. Bridgewater.	20*. Falmouth.	9*. Rehoboth.	
14*. Middleboro'.	15*. Monomoy.	13*. Swanzev.	
	19*. Rochester.	17*. Little Compton.	
		89. Tiverton.	
YORK.			
	York.		
	Wells.		
	Kittery.		
	Isle of Shoals.		

* These references are to the manuscript volumes in the Secretary of State's Office, Boston.

I will next proceed to state such facts as I have found relative to the reasons for naming these Colonial towns, taking the places in chronological order.

Presumed Reason for the Names of Towns in Massachusetts Colony.

1. *Salem*. A Scriptural name.
2. *Charlestown*. Named from Charles River, a name given by Captain Smith. (Frothingham's Hist. p. 21.)
3. *Boston*. According to Dudley (Drake's Hist. p. 89), the first settlers named the place Boston, "which we intended to have done the place we first resolved on." Many of the emigrants were from Lincolnshire.
4. *Dorchester*. Blake, writing a century after the settlement, says, "Why they called it Dorchester, I never heard; but there was some of Dorset Shire, and some of y^e Town of Dorchester, that settled here; and it is very likely it might be in Honour of y^e aforesaid Rev^d. Mr. White, of Dorchester."
5. *Watertown*. Savage (Winthrop's Hist. i. 43) conjectures that the name was given by Saltonstall, and was copied from Waterton, county York. But it may well have been derived from the natural features of the place.
6. *Roxbury*. Spelled also Rocksbury. Probably named from its appearance.
7. *Medford*. Called Meadford by Dudley. It is termed Metford in the deeds of Cradock's widow; and there was a hamlet of that name (now Hayford) very near to Caverswell, the seat of the Cradock family.
8. *Marblehead*. "Salem was first called Marble harbor from the quantity of that stone there, and the name rested with Marblehead." (Felt's Salem, i. 6.)
9. *Ipswich*. So named "in acknowledgment of the great honor and kindness done to our people which took shipping there," says Winthrop. (Hist. i. 164.) Ipswich, Eng., is in co. Suff.
10. *Newbury*. Named from Newbury, co. Berks, Eng., where Rev. Thomas Parker, the first minister of this town, had preached. (Coffin's Hist. p. 1.)
11. *Hingham*. Named from Hingham, co. Norfolk, whence most of its early settlers came. (N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, xv. 25-27.)
12. *Weymouth*. Unknown; but possibly in honor of Captain George Waymouth, the navigator. It is to be noted that, 20th March, 1635, about one hundred persons are recorded at Weymouth, co. Dorset, Eng., as bound hither. (Register, xxv. 13.)
13. *Concord*. A typical name.
14. *Dedham*. It was first called Contentment by its inhabitants. In England, Dedham is a parish in co. Essex, 3 miles from Hadleigh.
15. *Cambridge*. So named after the General Court decided to establish a college there.
16. *Lynn*. Named in compliment to Rev. Samuel Whiting, first minister there, who had been a curate at Lynn Regis, co. Norfolk. (Newhall, Hist. p. 169.)
17. *Sudbury*. There is, in England, a Sudbury in Derby; and also another in co. Suffolk, 11 miles from Hadleigh.
18. *Hampton*. I think this is a revival of Capt. John Smith's name of South-Hampton for this locality. See his map of 1616.
19. *Rowley*. Named by the first minister, Rev. Ezekiel Rogers, "who called the town Rowly; and continued in it about the same number of years that he had spent in that Rowly from whence he came, on the other side of the Atlantick ocean." (Magnalia.) It is in the East Riding of York, 7 miles from Beverley.
20. *Braintree*. The English town of the name is in co. Essex, and is of great antiquity, and considerable local importance. It is 11 miles from Chelmsford.
21. *Salisbury*. First called Colchester. At the session at which Salisbury was named, one of the deputies was Christopher Batte, who came from the

- city of Salisbury, co. Wilts, says Savage. Batte's cousin, Henry Byley of S., was also from the English city, and probably others. (See Register, xxiv. 78.)
22. *Haverhill*. Named for Haverhill, co. Essex, the birthplace of its first minister, Rev. John Ward. (Chase, Hist. p. 40.)
 23. *Springfield*. Named in honor of William Pynchon, one of the first settlers, "who had his mansion house at a town of that name near Chelmsford, in Essex, before he removed to New England." (Hubbard's Hist. in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2d Ser. vi. 308.)
 24. *Gloucester*. Perhaps named in honor of its first minister, Rev. Richard Blinman. (Caulkin's New London, pp. 114-117.)
 25. *Woburn*. Probably named for Woburn, co. Bedford, Eng., a town chiefly famous for containing Woburn Abbey, the noted seat of the Russells, Dukes of Bedford. A John Russell was one of the earliest settlers in our town, and there was also here Richard Russell, a prominent citizen of Charlestown. Either may have suggested the name.
 26. *Wenham*. The first minister of this town was Rev. John Fisk, who was born, says Cotton Mather, in the parish of St. James, in the northerly corner of the county of Suffolk. Wenham, co. Suffolk, is at the extreme southern part, near Ipswich. Still, as the Fisks, of whom four brothers came hither, besides others of the name, were eminently a Suffolk family, and largely concerned in the affairs of our town, the evidence seems strong that they gave the name.
 27. *Reading*. Unknown. Reading in Berkshire, Eng., was a place of considerable importance, the birthplace of Archbishop Laud. It was the scene of considerable fighting in 1642-1644.
 28. *Hull*. Kingston-upon-Hull, commonly called Hull, in the East Riding of York, is a county of itself, and a well-known seaport. It was strongly in favor of the Parliament when the civil war broke out. It stood two severe assaults from the royal troops, but was never taken.
 29. *Manchester*. The famous city of this name in Lancashire has but recently risen to its present importance. In 1644-5, however, the Duke of Manchester was the chief commander of the Parliament troops; and I am inclined to consider that Reading, Hull, and Manchester were names suggested by the events then occurring in England.
 30. *Andover*. The English town in co. Hants, 18 miles from Salisbury and Amesbury.
 31. *Malden*. In England we find Malden, a little parish in co. Surrey; and Maldon, a borough, port, and market-town in co. Essex. There is also Maulden, a parish in co. Bedford.
 32. *Meadfield*. This name, I believe, does not appear in the English gazetteers. The town was set off from Dedham. It is termed in the record of incorporation Meadfield; and the name may thus be a descriptive one, as Barber reports the tradition.
 33. *Topsfield*. In England, Topesfield is a parish in the county of Essex. Governor Symonds owned land there, and undoubtedly gave this name. (See Appleton's "Ancestry of Priscilla Baker," p. 77.)
 34. *Lancaster*. The capital of the county of Lancashire, and one of the most familiar names in England.
 35. *Groton*. The petition for this grant was headed by Deane Winthrop, and the name was of course given by him in memory of the family possessions in the county of Suffolk, Eng.
 36. *Chelmsford*. The English town is in the county of Essex, 29 miles from London, 8 from Billericay.
 37. *Billericay*. Billericay, co. Essex, is a market-town 23 miles from London, of no special note. We know that at least one family, the Ruscoes, came from this place.
 38. *Northampton*. The name of an English county, and of its chief town.
 39. *Marlborough*. At this time Marlborough, co. Wilts, was a place of no great importance. The title since taken by the Churchills has made it famous. We know of several emigrants from this place.
 40. *Hadley*. We find a Hadleigh in co. Suffolk; and one in Essex, 10 miles

from Billericay. There are also Hadley-with-Blagrave, co. Berks, and Hadley-Monken, co. Middlesex.

41. *Milton*. It would be pleasant to think that this town was named in honor of John Milton, but I know of no reasons in favor of the surmise. The name, Milton, alone or with others, belongs to over twenty parishes and towns in England.
42. *Mendon*. By the records it appears that this name was meant for Mendam or Mendham. The English town is in co. Suffolk.
43. *Anesbury*. The English town is 7 miles from Salisbury, co. Wilts.
44. *Beverly*. This is the name of a large town in the East Riding of York. In 1671, according to Stone's History, pp. 16-18, Roger Conant and thirty-four others petitioned to have the name changed, "because, we being but a small place, it hath caused on us a constant nickname of *Beggarly*." He adds, "I being the first that had house in Salem (and neither had any hand in naming either that or any other town), and myself, with those that were then with me, being all from the western part of England, desire this western name of Budleigh, a market-town in Devonshire, and near unto the sea, as we are here in this place, and where myself was born." He also says that "no order was given, or consent by the people to their agent, for any name, until we were sure of being a town granted, in the first place." The request was refused.
45. *Westfield*. Barber says that it was first proposed to call this town Streamfield, because situated between two streams; but it was afterwards named from its site as the most westerly plantation.
46. *Hatfield*. There are parishes of this name in the counties of Hereford, Hertford, York, and *Essex*. Yet it may well be asked if this name was not in some way connected with Hadley, from which it was set off.
47. *Brookfield*. A name clearly derived from the local features.
48. *Wrentham*. There is a small parish of this name in co. Suffolk, from which came Thomas Paine and John Thurston. Thomas Thurston, a grandson, was of Wrentham, Mass.
49. *Dunstable*. In England we have Dunstable, co. Bedford, a considerable market-town. The history of the town states (p. 16), that the name was in honor of Mary, wife of Edward Tyng, whose son was one of the petitioners for the grant. This I doubt, since no one seems to know her maiden name or birthplace. But I do find that Robert Long, of Charlestown, came from Dunstable, co. Bedford, in 1635, with a large family. Among his children was Zachariah Long, whose name is also on the petition. This makes a very direct connection. It must be added, that Rev. William Symmes of Charlestown had been rector of Dunstable before his removal, and others of his flock may have followed him here.
50. *Suffield*. A local name here. The committee, on granting it, reported "that the name of the place may be Suffield (an abbreviation of Southfield), it being the southernmost town that either at present is or like to be in that country." It is now a part of Connecticut.
51. *Sherburne*. We find Sherborne, co. Dorset; also parishes of the name in Gloucester, Warwick, and Hants. Sherburn is the name of parishes in Durham and York.
52. *Bradford*. A large town in the West Riding of York bears this name.
53. *Deerfield*. Not an English name, and evidently of local origin here.
54. *Stow*. This name occurs repeatedly in England, in the counties of Lincoln, Salop, Huntingdon, *Suffolk*, Cambridge, Norfolk, Essex, Gloucester, Oxford, Bucks, Stafford, and Northampton.
55. *Enfield*. Enfield, co. Middlesex, is a parish 10 miles from London. This town now belongs to Connecticut.*
56. *Worcester*. A county in England. The battle of Worcester was Cromwell's "crowning mercy," and tradition states that the name was chosen here as a defiance to the king.

* There is now an Enfield in Hampshire county, formed in 1816. Holland (Hist. W. Mass. ii. 201) says the name was in honor of Robert Field. This is doubtless an error; and it was a revival of the old name, still existing also in Connecticut.

57. *Boxford*. In co. Suffolk, Boxford adjoins Groton.
 58. *Woodstock*. Sewall writes, March 18, 1689-90, in his Diary: "I gave New-Roxbury the name of Woodstock, because of its nearness to Oxford, for the sake of Queen Elizabeth, and the notable meetings that have been held at the place bearing that name in England; some of which Dr. Gilbert inform'd me of, when in England. It stands on a hill; I saw it as (I) went to Coventry, but left it on the left hand. Some told Capt. Ruggles that I gave the name, and put words in his mouth to desire of me a Bell for the Town." It was transferred about 1750, to Connecticut.
 59. *Newton*. Called New Town in the records until 1766, says Jackson. This was the early name of Cambridge, of which place Newton was a part.
 60. *Oxford*. The exact date of this name is unknown. It was given between 16th May, 1683, when the grant of land was made, and 1695, when it occurs on the tax list.

In Plymouth County.

- 1*. *Plymouth*. Morton's Memorial says (p. 42) that it was so called on Smith's map, and was also so called because "Plimouth in O. E. was the last town they left in their native country, and for that they received many kindnesses from some Christians there."
 2*. *Scituate*. An Indian name.
 3*. *Duxbury*. Named in compliment to the Standishes of Duxbury Hall; to which family Miles Standish probably claimed relationship.
 4*. *Sandwich*. A seaport in Kent.
 5*. *Yarmouth*. A seaport in Norfolk.
 6*. *Barnstable*. A seaport in Devonshire, on the south side of the Bristol Channel.
 7*. *Taunton*. Named by the chief founder, Miss Elizabeth Poole, whose family had long lived at Taunton, co. Somerset.
 8*. *Marshfield*. Probably named from its site. It was first called Rexham, or Rexhame, which may refer to Wrexham, a town in co. Denbigh, North Wales.
 9*. *Rehoboth*. A Scriptural name, given it by its pastor, Rev. Henry Newman, says Mather. (*Magnalia*, 3d book, chap. xv.)
 10*. *Eastham*. There is a parish of this name in Cheshire, and another in Worcestershire.
 11*. *Bridgewater*. In England, Bridgewater is in co. Somerset, 11 miles from Taunton.
 12*. *Dartmouth*. A seaport in Devonshire, on the English Channel.
 13*. *Swansey*. A seaport town in Glamorganshire, South Wales, about opposite Barnstable.
 14*. *Middleborough*. There is a Middleborough in the North Riding of York; yet our town may well be named from local causes.
 15*. *Monomoy*. An Indian name.
 16*. *Bristol*. The well-known city of the name is in co. Gloucester.
 17*. *Little Compton*. Several places in England bear the name of Compton. The parish of Little Compton, co. Gloucester, is 3 miles from Stow.
 18*. *Freetown*. Origin unknown.
 19*. *Rochester*. An ancient city and seaport in Kent.
 20*. *Falmouth*. A famous seaport in Cornwall.

Other Colonies.

North of the present limits of Massachusetts, there were four settlements remaining at the date of the Second Charter; viz., York, Wells, Kittery, and Isle of Shoals. Of these, the earliest name is Kittery, given in 1647: it is presumably an Indian name. York and Wells were named after the incorporation with Massachusetts, in 1652. As

the county was called Yorkshire, the town was naturally called York. As to Wells, it is surmised that this was so named from the city in Somersetshire, because Thomas Gorges belonged to that county, and owned land in this town. The Isle of Shoals needs no explanation.

Islands.

Of lands annexed to Massachusetts, but which had already been named, Nantucket bore of course an Indian name. On Martin's Vineyard there were three towns, — Tisbury, Chilmark, and Edgartown. Of these names, given about 1671, Tisbury and Chilmark reproduce the two places in co. Wilts, a few miles west from Salisbury. Edgartown is of more difficult origin; and I have never seen a solution attempted.

Classification of the Foregoing Names.

We can now proceed to some general conclusions in regard to these names. Salem, Charlestown, Boston, Ipswich, Concord, Cambridge, and possibly Hampton, were named on general grounds, irrespective of the local preferences of the emigrants. Watertown and Medford, most probably, were named to please Saltonstall and Cradock; Newbury, Lynn, Rowley, and Haverhill, in honor of their first ministers; Dorchester, Hingham, and probably Weymouth, were so named because many of their inhabitants came from those places. Roxbury and Marblehead were clearly named from their natural features.

Out of the first twenty-six names, we are left with Salisbury, Springfield, and Wenham, whose sponsors may be indicated with considerable accuracy; and the following, whose origin is unknown: Dedham and Braintree (co. Essex, Eng.), Sudbury (co. Suff., Eng.), Gloucester (co. Glouc.), Woburn (co. Beds.).

We may imagine that Reading, Hull, and Manchester were souvenirs of the great Civil War, though this may be but a coincidence.

In the names from No. 30 to No. 43, Andover, Marlborough, and Amesbury go with Salisbury in Wiltshire names; Malden, Topsfield, Chelmsford, Billerica, and Hadley, are in Essex; Lancaster and Northampton are English counties; Medfield and Milton most probably are of local origin here; Groton and Mendham are in Suffolk, Eng.

No. 44, Beverley, and No. 52, Bradford, are in Yorkshire; Westfield, Brookfield, Suffield, Deerfield, and New-town originated here. Woodstock was named by Judge Sewall; Dunstable evidently was named by emigrants from that place, or rather by their children. Wrentham, also, was settled by the descendants of emigrants from its English antetype; Worcester and Oxford are English counties; Stow (Market) and Boxford are Suffolk names; Hatfield is in Essex, Enfield is in Middlesex, and Sherborn is indefinite.

The prevailing evidence is that, in the case of strictly local names, whether the sponsors be known or not, most of them were chosen from Essex and Suffolk. Each of these counties has nine representatives; Wilts, three; Dorset, three; Middlesex, Berks, Beds, and Hants, one

each. York has Beverley, Bradford, and Hull; Lancashire has one, if Manchester be counted. Of the English counties, five — Gloucester, Lancaster, Northampton, Worcester, and Oxford — gave names, apparently, to towns here.

Plymouth Colony.

Out of the twenty towns in this colony, Plymouth, Duxbury, Taunton, and probably Bridgewater, have been explained. Rehoboth is Scriptural; Scituate and Monomoy are Indian; Marshfield, Middleborough, and Freetown probably originated here; Little Compton and Eastham are difficult of explanation; Sandwich, Yarmouth, Barnstable, Dartmouth, Swansey, Bristol, Rochester, and Falmouth, are all English seaports. Of these eight, five are named on Captain Smith's map,* and we may fairly conclude that this circumstance led to the selection. Of course it is possible that emigrants came from each of these ports, but this does not seem so reasonable a conjecture.

SECOND CHARTER PERIOD.

We have already accounted for 60 towns in Massachusetts Colony, 20 in Plymouth, 4 in York, and 4 in the Islands: 88 towns in all. This agrees with the 83 towns taxed in 1695; and 6 towns untaxed, including No. 89, Tiverton, which was incorporated a few months before the tax was levied.†

For reasons which I trust are well founded, in proceeding with the lists of incorporations from 1694 to 1732, I treat these names as forming a distinct class. The principal reason is this: during this

* On the map by Captain John Smith, published in 1616, we find Plymouth, the Charles River, and Cape Ann named in the places they now occupy; and South Hampton may very fairly represent the site of Hampton. He also proposes Oxford and London, between Plymouth and Charles River; Falmouth, Bristol, and Barnstable, thence to Cape Ann; north of this, South Hampton, Hull, Boston, Ipswich, Dartmouth, Sandwich, and the Base. This brings him to Cape Elizabeth which is at the mouth of the river Forth, and thereon are Leith, Cambridge, and Edinborough. East of this river he places St. John's Town and Norwich, and the great Pembroke's Bay, on which are Dumbarton and Aberdeen. South of Plymouth, at the bottom of the Bay, was Berwick; and Milford Haven was at the hook of Cape Cod, where Provincetown is.

† Massachusetts has lost, from time to time, various towns which had been incorporated by her authority. Thus, Hampton was ceded to New Hampshire, at the date of the Second Charter. In 1741, Litchfield, Nottingham, and Rumford, — all incorporated towns, — with parts of Methuen, Dracut, Dunstable, Salisbury, and Amesbury, were likewise transferred to New Hampshire. In 1747, Rhode Island obtained Little Compton, Tiverton, and Bristol, as well as the territory made by that colony into the towns of Warren and Cumberland. (See Arnold's History of Rhode Island, li. 157.)

A little later, about 1750, Connecticut appropriated the towns of Woodstock, Somers, Suffield, and Enfield, though she had before exchanged them with Massachusetts, and had received an equivalent.

Finally the formation of the State of Maine, in 1820, took from us 236 corporate towns, of which 34 were in existence before the Revolution.

The numbers which I have used in the following lists are therefore to be considered as of one value only. It is to be remembered that we have lost Nos. 18, 50, 55, 58, 89, 16*, and 17*, and that after 1750 these seven numbers are to be deducted. For a brief period 4 towns — viz., Somers, Litchfield, Nottingham and Rumford, not numbered in the lists — belonged to us. Hence the number denoting the relative position of any existing town must vary at different dates, and especially in regard to the purpose for which an enumeration is desired.

period, which covers the administrations of Phips, Bellomont, Dudley, Shute, and Burnet, the proposed name of the new town appears in the earliest stages of the legislation. We may therefore feel assured that we are treating of the names which the incorporators desired. Later, the process was changed, the acts or resolves passed both Houses in blank, and we only get the name when we find the bill returned approved by the Governor.

It is of course possible that the petitioners followed their bill, and had a name selected to meet their wishes. But it is indisputable that the later Governors, Bernard and Hutchinson, wrote in the names with their own hands, and it is very difficult to be sure of the handwriting in many of the earlier bills.*

I am inclined to make another division with the appointment of Governor Shute, who arrived here in 1716 and ruled until 1722. The first town clearly named in honor of a prime minister, I consider to be Sunderland, in 1718.† No one doubts of the certainty of the intention in the case of Walpole, in 1724. I think that there is more than a coincidence in the fact that, from the time when Englishmen began to come here as our governors, the names of contemporary English statesmen were given to our new towns. I can see no evidence that Governor Joseph Dudley had either the desire or the power to tender such compliments to any supposed English friends. Dudley was, moreover, a provincial; and the custom of which we find evidence would be much more likely to have its origin in the aspirations or gratitude of an English office-holder.

Looking at the new towns incorporated between 1694 and 1724, we find the names agree with the previous classes. Brookline, Weston, Northfield, Littleton, and Westborough were of native origin. Pembroke, Rutland, and Leicester were county names at home. Hopkinton, Bellingham, Holliston, Dighton, and possibly Norton, were named for individuals; as were Sunderland, Walpole, and Methuen. Harwich, Truro, and Chatham (with its allied name Medway) are seaports. Plympton and Chilmark are evidently connected with names already used here. Tiverton, Attleborough, Framingham, Abington, Dracut, Needham, Lexington, and Sutton belong to the class of little English villages remembered by emigrants thence.

* I have examined the engrossed acts in all the instances in which this form was adopted. In three instances, I think, Governor Shirley's handwriting appears in the naming of towns; but I am by no means confident of it. Earlier than this the secretary, or the engrossing clerk, supplies the name; and we can only surmise that it was by direction of the Council or the Governor. Bernard's handwriting is unmistakable. I feel reasonably sure that Hutchinson wrote the names I have assigned to him, though Oliver wrote a very similar hand, and may have filled in one or more names.

† Under Queen Anne (1702-1714), the heads of the administration were: 1702, Lord Godolphin; 1711, Earl of Oxford; 1714, Duke of Shrewsbury. Under George I.: 1714, Earl of Halifax; 1715, Sir Robert Walpole; 1717, Earl Stanhope; 1718, Earl of Sunderland; 1721-1742, Sir Robert Walpole.

Of our local administrations the terms were as follows: Sir William Phips, 1691-1694; Earl of Bellomont, 1699-1700; Joseph Dudley, 1702-1715; Samuel Shute, 1716-1722; William Burnet, 1728-1729; Jonathan Belcher, 1730-1741; William Shirley, 1741-1757; Thomas Pownall, 1757-1760; Francis Bernard, 1760-1769; Thomas Hutchinson, 1770-1774; Thomas Gage, 1774-1775.

Out of thirty names given between 1694 and 1724, but six seem to refer to the peerage,—Pembroke, Leicester, and Rutland, Abington, Lexington, and Sutton. It does not seem reasonable to refer the first three of these to the peerages rather than the counties. Sutton is a very common name, not then represented on the titles of the peerage, though a family name therein. Abington was a title borne by a very obscure peer, and Lexington has been elsewhere discussed.

We may say, then, that for about a century our ancestors gave names which may be divided into the following classes: one or two Scriptural and Indian names; certain descriptive words originating here, as Marblehead, Westfield, Deerfield, Westborough, &c.; the names of English or Welsh counties; one or two names of Colonial celebrities. Lastly, a large number of places of little importance in England were remembered here, and the strong presumption is that these names were given by emigrants from those parishes.

From Sunderland to Townshend, 1732, the latter being the first of the towns incorporated in blank, we find little trouble. Provincetown, Stoughton, Dudley, and probably Easton, were of native origin; Southborough, Middletown, Westford, and probably Brimfield, record local peculiarities; Hanover and Lunenburg honored the king; Walpole, Methuen, Kingston, Uxbridge, Shrewsbury, Bedford, Wilmington, Townshend, and Raynham (Lord Townshend's residence) all refer to prominent members of the English administration.

Towns named from 1694 to 1732.

[The references are to the printed volumes of Provincial Laws.]

89.	Tiverton . . .	June 14, 1694,	Act,	P. L. I.	174
90.	Harwich . . .	Sept. 14, 1694,	Act,	do.	181
91.	Attleborough . .	Oct. 19, 1694,	Act,	do.	184
92.	Framingham . .	June 25, 1700,	Order,	Mass. Rec. ^a VII.	110
93.	Dracut . . .	Feb. 26, 1701-2,	Resolve,	do.	VII. 269
94.	Brookline . . .	Nov. 13, 1705,	Order,	do.	VIII. 167
95.	Plympton . . .	June 4, 1707,	Order,	do.	VIII. 299
96.	Truro . . .	July 16, 1709,	Act,	P. L.	I. 642
97.	Norton . . .	June 12, 1711,	Act,	do.	I. 678
98.	Needham . . .	Nov. 5, 1711,	Order,	Mass. Rec.	IX. 162
99.	Pembroke . . .	March 21, 1711-12,	Act,	P. L.	I. 685
100.	Dighton . . .	May 30, 1712,	Order,	Mass. Rec.	IX. 195
101.	Abington . . .	June 10, 1712,	do.	do.	IX. 295
102.	Chatham . . .	June 11, 1712,	do.	do.	IX. 207
103.	Weston . . .	Jan. 1, 1712-3,	do.	do.	IX. 250
104.	Lexington . . .	March 20, 1712-13,	do.	do.	IX. 259
105.	Medway . . .	Oct. 24, 1713,	Act,	P. L.	I. 722
106.	Leicester . . .	Feb. 15, 1713-14,	Order,	Mass. Rec.	IX. 351
107.	Northfield . . .	Feb. 22, 1713-14,	do.	do.	IX. 362
108.	Rutland . . .	Feb. 23, 1713-14,	do.	do.	IX. 366
109.	Chilmark . . .	Oct. 30, 1714,	do.	do.	IX. 429

Maine.

In this province were 1* Kittery, 2* York, 3* Wells, 4* Cape Porpoise (called Arundell in 1718), 5* Saco, 6* Scarboro', 7* Falmouth, and 8* North Yarmouth. The repeated abandonments of settlements, and changes of name, render the enumeration difficult; but I follow Williamson.

^a These references are to the manuscript volumes in the Secretary's Office, Boston.

110.	Sutton	June 21, 1715.		
111.	Littleton	Dec. 8, 1715.		
112.	Hopkinton	Dec. 13, 1715.		
113.	Westborough	Nov. 18, 1717.		
	(Old) Brookfield	Nov. 12, 1718.		
114.	Sunderland	do. do.	Order,	Mass. Rec. X. 305
115.	Beltingham	Nov. 27, 1719.		
116.	Holliston	Dec. 8, 1724.	Act.	
117.	Walpole	Dec. 10, 1724.		
118.	Methuen	Dec. 8, 1725.	Act.	
119.	Stoneham	Dec. 17, 1725.	Act.	
120.	Easton	Dec. 21, 1725.	Act.	
121.	Kingston	June 16, 1726.	Act.	
122.	Stoughton	Dec. 22, 1726.	Act.	
123.	Provincetown	June 14, 1727.	Act.	
124.	Hanover	do. do.	Act.	
125.	Uxbridge	June 27, 1727.	Act.	
126.	Southborough	July 6, 1727.	Act.	
127.	Shrewsbury	Dec. 19, 1727.	Order.	
128.	Middleton	June 20, 1728.		
129.	Lunenburg	Aug. 1, 1728.	Act.	
130.	Bedford	Sept. 23, 1729.	Act.	
131.	Westford	do. do.	Act.	
132.	Wilmington	Sept. 25, 1730.	Act.	
133.	Raynham	April 2, 1731.	Act.	
134.	Brimfield	July 14, 1731.		
135.	Dudley	Feb. 2, 1731-32.	Act.	
136.	Townshend	June 29, 1732.	Act.	

9*. Berwick 9 June, 1713.

10*. Georgetown 13 June, 1716.

Names from 1732 to 1774.

In considering the names of towns subsequent to 1718, it will perhaps be well to take the periods covered by the administration of each of our Governors.

SAMUEL SHUTE, 1716-1722.

In this period we have Sunderland.

LT.-GOV. WILLIAM DUMMER, 1723-1728.

In this we find Walpole, Methuen, Kingston, Hanover, Uxbridge and Shrewsbury.

WILLIAM BURNET, 1728-1729.

Lunenburg and Bedford.

JONATHAN BELCHER, 1730-1741.

Wilmington, Raynham, Townshend, Sheffield, Halifax, Tewksbury, Berkeley, Grafton, Hardwicke, Bolton, and Blandford. Out of 24 names, 11 are directly derived from the titles of prominent Englishmen. Dudley, Harvard, Holden, were also named for persons. Upton, Acton, Waltham, Chelsea, Sturbridge, Stockbridge, Wareham, Leominster, Western, and Brimfield are untraced.

WILLIAM SHIRLEY, 1741-1757.

Pelham, Douglas, were probably English titles. Shirley, Pepperrell, and Montague were souvenirs of our French War. New Braintree, South Hampton, South Hadley, and New Salem need no explanation; and Greenfield is probably of local origin here. Spencer, Granville, Lincoln, Petersham, seem to be derived from the peerage. Greenwich and Charlton are in doubt.

THOMAS POWNALL, 1757-1760.

Danvers, Amherst, New Marlborough, Egremont, and Monson were named in this period. Of these Danvers was given in honor of the Governor's patron, Amherst commemorates a general, and Egremont and Monson are referable to the peerage.

FRANCIS BERNARD, 1760-1769.

Governor Bernard was here from August, 1760, to August, 1769. In that time were named 39 towns in this State, viz.:—

Pittsfield, Great Barrington, Coleraine, Belchertown, Shutesbury, Ware, Sandisfield, Tyringham, Bernardston, Athol, Templeton, Chesterfield, Oakham, Natick, Warwick, Marshpee, Wilbraham, Wellfleet, Newbury Port, Fitchburg, Winchendon, Paxton, Royalston, Ashburnham, Sharon, Becket, Lanesborough, Williamstown, Ashfield, Charlemont, Chester, Northborough, Lenox, Ashby, Hubbardstown, Conway, Granby, Shelburne, Worthington.

And also in Maine, 10, viz.:—

Windham, Buxton, Bowdoinham, Topsham, Gorham, Boothbay, Bristol, Cape Elizabeth, Lebanon, and Sandford.

Of the 39, 32 were incorporated by act, and of these all but 6 were written in by Bernard.

Of the 10 towns in Maine, 5 (Bowdoinham, Cape Elizabeth, Sandford, Topsham, and Windham) were by act, and named by Bernard; 1 (Bowdoinham), by act not signed by him; the other 4, not by act.

Of these 49 names, we find that the following 12 were given in honor of Americans: Belchertown, Shutesbury, Fitchburg, Royalston, Lanesborough, Williamstown, Hubbardstown, Worthington, *Bowdoinham*, *Gorham*, *Sanford*, and probably Templeton; 2 were Indian names, Natick and Marshpee; 2 Scriptural, Sharon and Lebanon; Ashfield, Newburyport, and Northborough probably originated here; Buxton was in honor of its first minister; Wellfleet and Ware are possibly local corruptions; Becket, Ashby, *Topsham*, *Boothbay*, can hardly be traced; *Bristol* and *Cape Elizabeth* are revivals of old names.

We have thus accounted for 29 names; and the remaining 20 are referable, with almost entire certainty, to the peerage, or to English statesmen.

Governor Bernard himself is responsible for Bernardstown, Tyringham (which was the name of a family^a he represented), and Shutesbury,

^a Very little is known as to Governor Bernard's family. It seems certain that these Bernards were settled at Abingdon, near Northampton, and that a certain Francis B. there

named for his wife's uncle, Governor Shute, as Barrington was for her cousin. Winchendon probably was owing to a family connection.

Pittsfield, Coleraine, Sandisfield, Athol, Ashburnham, Chesterfield, Warwick, Lenox, Granby, Shelburne, Conway, Winchendon, are all names to be found in the peerage. Wilbraham is evidently an English family name, — possibly that of some personal friend, as Paxton was.

THOMAS HUTCHINSON, 1769-1774.

During his administration there were incorporated in Massachusetts limits, 17 towns; 9 by act, of which he named 7. In Maine, 9 towns; 7 by act, all but one being written by Hutchinson.

Of these 26 towns, Cohasset is Indian; Northbridge, West Stockbridge, West Springfield, and *New Gloucester* are evidently derived from other towns; *Hallowell*, *Princeton*, *Vassallborough*, *Winslow*, *Winthrop*, Williamsburg, Partridgefield, *Pepperrellborough*, Huntington, *Waldoboro'*, Leverett, are all derived from Americans; Norwich is named from the town in Connecticut; Alford, Southwick, and Ludlow are probably named from the first settlers or proprietors.

Westminster is evidently English; Mansfield, Gageborough, and Whately are the only names certainly given in honor of Englishmen.

List of Towns from 1732 to 1774.

137. Harvard	June 29, 1732,	Act.
138. Sheffield	June 22, 1733,	Act.
139. Halifax ^a	July 4, 1734,	Act.
140. Tewkesbury	Dec. 23, 1734,	Act.
141. Berkeley	April 18, 1735,	Act.
142. Grafton	do. do.	Act.
143. Upton	June 14, 1735,	Act.
144. Acton	July 3, 1735,	Act.
145. Waltham	Jan. 4, 1737-8,	Act.
146. Bolton	June 24, 1738,	Act.
147. Sturbridge	do. do.	Act.
148. Chelsea	Jan. 10, 1738-9,	Act.
149. Hardwick	do. do.	Act.

had three sons; of whom the second, Francis, was father of Sir Robert Bernard, of Huntington, created a baronet July 1, 1662. This branch became extinct, in 1789, in the person of the fifth baronet.

The third son of Francis Bernard first named was Thomas, great-grandfather of our Sir Francis. Our Governor was created a baronet, April 5, 1769, whose grandson, Sir Francis Bernard-Morland, is the present baronet.

There was, however, a different family named Bernard, using different arms, and settled at Castle Bernard. Of this family was Francis Bernard, who had three children: Francis, m. Lady Anne Petty, only child of Henry, Earl of Shelburne; Ludlow, whose grandson, Francis Bernard, was made Earl of Bandon; and Elizabeth, who married James Caulfield, second Viscount Charlemont. It will be noticed that Shelburne and Charlemont were among the names selected by Governor Bernard, though this may be but a coincidence.

^a July 4, 1734, Litchfield was incorporated; and Jan. 6, 1732, Nottingham (now Hudson) was also made a town. These were both parts of Dunstable, and were both set off to New Hampshire. March 4, 1733-4, Rumford (now Concord) was incorporated by act; but this also was soon transferred to New Hampshire.

July 4, 1734, Somers was incorporated, being set off from Enfield. Both towns, as well as Suffield, were transferred to Connecticut.

150. Stockbridge *	June 22, 1739,	Act.			
151. Wareham	July 10, 1739,	Act.			
152. Holden	Jan. 9, 1739-40,	Act.			
153. Leominster . . .	June 23, 1740,	Act.			
154. Western	Jan. 16, 1740-1,	Act.			
155. Blandford	April 10, 1741,	Act.			
156. Pelham	Jan. 15, 1741-2,	Act.			
157. Douglas	1746.				
158. New Braintree . .	Jan. 31, 1750-1.				
159. Palmer	Jan. 30, 1751-2,	Act.			
160. South Hampton . .	Jan. 5, 1753, ^b	Act.			
161. Shirley	Jan. 5, 1753.				
162. Spencer	April 3, 1753,	Act.			
163. Pepperrell	April 6, 1753,	Act.			
164. South Hadley . . .	April 12, 1753.				
165. Greenfield	June 9, 1753,	Act.			
166. New Salem	June 15, 1753.				
167. Montague	Dec. 22, 1753.				
168. Granville	Jan. 25, 1754,	Act. Named possibly by Shirley			
169. Lincoln ^c	April 19, 1754.				
170. Petersham	April 20, 1754,	Act.	do.	do.	do.
171. Greenwich	do. do.	Act.	do.	do.	do.
172. Charlton	Nov. 2, 1754.				
173. Danvers	June 16, 1757,	Act.			
174. Amherst	Feb. 13, 1759,	Act.			
175. New Marlborough .	June 15, 1759.				
176. Egremont	Feb. 13, 1760.	Act.			
177. Monson	April 25, 1760.				
178. Pittsfield	April 21, 1761,	Act.			
179. Great Barrington .	June 30, 1761,	Act.			
180. Coleraine	do. do.	Act. By Bernard named.			
181. Belchertown . . .	do. do.	Act.			
182. Shutesbury	do. do.	Act.			
183. Ware	Nov. 25, 1761,	Act.	do.	Bernard	do.
184. Sandesfield	March 6, 1762,	Act.	do.	Bernard	do.
185. Tyringham	do. do.	Act.	do.	Bernard	do.
186. Bernardstown . . .	do. do.	Act.	do.	Bernard	do.
187. Athol	do. do.	Act.	do.	Bernard	do.
188. Templeton	do. do.	Act.	do.	Bernard	do.
189. Chesterfield . . .	June 11, 1762,	Act.	do.	Bernard	do.
190. Oakham	do. do.	Act.	do.	Bernard	do.
191. Natick	Feb. 23, 1762,	Act.			
192. Warwick	Feb. 17, 1763,	Act.	do.	Bernard	do.
193. Marshpee	June 14, 1763,	Act.			
194. Wilbraham	June 15, 1763,	Act.	do.	Bernard	do.
195. Wellfleet	June 16, 1763,	Act.	do.	Bernard	do.
196. Newburyport . . .	Jan. 28, 1764,	Act.	do.	Bernard	do.
197. Fitchburg	Feb. 3, 1764,	Act.	do.	Bernard	do.
198. Winchendon	June 14, 1764,	Act.	do.	Bernard	do.
11*. Brunswick	Jan. 26, 1738-9,	Act.			
12*. New castle	June 19, 1753,	Act.			
13*. Harpswell	Jan. 25, 1758,	Act.			
14*. Woolwich	Oct 20, 1759.				
15*. Pownalborough . .	Feb. 13, 1760,	Act.			

* There was an act June 20, 1739, to incorporate Winchester, formerly called Arlington. It was in Hampshire County, but I cannot find its present representative.

^b New style commences.

^c 1754 Carlisle was set off as a precinct at the same date as Lincoln, but in 1757 it was reincorporated with Concord. A new town of the name has since been formed.

199. Paxton	Feb. 12, 1765,	Act. By Bernard named.
200. Royalston	Feb. 16, 1765.	
201. Ashburnham	Feb. 22, 1765,	Act. do. Bernard do.
202. Sharon	June 20, 1765.	
203. Becket	June 21, 1765,	Act. do. Bernard do.
204. Lanesborough	do. do.	
205. Richmond	June 21, 1765,	Act. do. Bernard do.
206. Williamstown	do. do.	
207. Ashfield	do. do.	Act. do. Bernard do.
208. Charlemont	do. do.	Act. do. Bernard do.
209. Murrayfield	Oct. 31, 1765,	Act. do. Bernard do.
210. Northborough	Jan. 24, 1766,	Act. do. Bernard do.
211. Lenox	Feb. 26, 1767,	Act. do. Bernard do.
212. Ashby	March 6, 1767,	Act. do. Bernard do.
213. Hubbardstown	June 13, 1767,	Act. do. Bernard do.
214. Conway	June 16, 1767.	
215. Granby	June 11, 1768,	Act. do. Bernard do.
216. Shelburne	June 21, 1768,	Act. do. Bernard do.
217. Worthington	June 30, 1768,	Act.
218. Cohasset	April 26, 1770.	
219. Westminster	do. do.	Act.
220. Mansfield	do. do.	
221. Southwick	Nov. 17, 1771,	Act.
222. Whately	April 24, 1771.	do. Hutchinson named.
223. Princeton	do. do.	Act. do. Hutchinson do.
224. Williamsburg	do. do.	Act. do. Hutchinson do.
225. Gageborough	July 2, 1771,	Act. do. Hutchinson do.
226. Partridgefield	July 4, 1771,	Act. do. Hutchinson do.
227. Northbridge	July 14, 1772,	Act. do. Hutchinson do.
228. Alford	Feb. 16, 1773,	Act. do. Hutchinson do.
229. Norwich	June 29, 1773.	
230. West Stockbridge	Feb. 23, 1774.	
231. West Springfield	do. do.	Act.
232. Ludlow	Feb. 23, 1774,	Act. do. Hutchinson do.
233. Leverett	March 5, 1774,	Act. do. Hutchinson do.
234. Hutchinson	June, 1774.	

[See Pepperrellborough, No. 30*.]

16*. Windham	June 12, 1762,	Act. do. Bernard do.
17*. Buxton	July 14, 1762.	
18*. Bowdoinham	Sept. 18, 1762,	Act.
19*. Topsham	Jan. 31, 1764,	Act. do. Bernard do.
20*. Gorham	Oct. 30, 1764.	
21*. Boothbay	Nov. 3, 1764,	Act. do. Bernard do.
22*. Bristol	June 18, 1765.	
23*. Cape Elizabeth	Nov. 1, 1765,	Act. do. Bernard do.
24*. Lebanon	June 25, 1767.	
25*. Sanford	Feb. 23, 1768,	Act. do. Bernard do.
26*. Hallowell	April 26, 1771,	Act. do. Hutchinson do.
27*. Vassallborough	do. do.	Act.
28*. Winslow	do. do.	Act. do. Hutchinson do.
29*. Winthrop	do. do.	
31*. Belfast	June 23, 1773.	
32*. Waldoborough	June 29, 1773.	
33*. Edgecomb	March 5, 1774,	Act. do. Hutchinson do.
34*. New Gloucester	March 8, 1774.	
30*. Pepperrellborough	June 9, 1773.	{ Named by Bernard, by act June 9, 1762, as a district.

In the following list I have given such information as I have in regard to each name. One thing seems very evident, that in selecting

the names of Englishmen no system was followed. Neither the successive premiers as such, nor the chief members of their cabinets, were selected. The members of the Board of Trade and Plantations furnished but two names at most, and the great generals and admirals are equally ignored. How far the naming of towns in other colonies interfered with the selection of names for Massachusetts, it is impossible to state.

In conclusion, I desire to call attention to a very admirable list of the dates of incorporation of the towns in Massachusetts, prepared by Mr. George W. Chase, and published in the Abstract of the Census of Massachusetts for 1860, pp. 215-237.

Origin of Names given from 1694 to 1774.

89. *Tiverton*, 1694. A town in Tiverton Hundred, co. Devon, 14 miles north of Exeter.
90. *Harwich*, 1694. A seaport in co. Essex bears this name.
91. *Attleborough*, 1694. There is a market-town of this name in co. Norfolk, 15 miles from Norwich, which probably gave rise to our name. There is also a hamlet of the name in the parish of Nuneaton, co. Warwick.
92. *Framingham*, 1700. This seems to be a corruption of Framlingham, of which name we find a town in Suffolk, Eng., and also Framlingham-Earl and Framlingham-Pigot in Norfolk.
93. *Dracut*, 1701-2. Sewall writes in his Diary that sixteen of the Council sign an order for making Dracot a town. There are several places of a similar name in England; viz., Draycot-Orne and Draycot-Foliat in Wiltshire, Draycott-Moor in Berks, and Draycott-in-the-Moors, co. Stafford.
94. *Brookline*, 1706. Termed by Sewall often Brookland. Its first name was Muddy River, and this may fairly be ranked among descriptive names derived from the peculiarities of location.
95. *Plympton*, 1707. This town was originally the north-western parish of Plymouth. It undoubtedly took its name from one of the Plymptons (P. St. Mary and Earl's Plympton) in Devonshire, which are similarly near neighbors to Plymouth in England. The river Plym gives its name to all these towns or parishes.
96. *Truro*, 1707. This is the name of a market-town in Cornwall, considered the chief town in the county. It is at the head of Falmouth harbor.
97. *Norton*, 1711. It would be pleasant to think that this name was given in honor of Rev. John Norton, who preached for some months at Plymouth. It seems more probable, however, that it was derived from the position of the town, as the northerly part of Taunton, from which it was set off.
98. *Needham*, 1711. Originally a part of Dedham and adjoining Newton. If we can imagine that the name was compounded of the two (as occurred in Connecticut in the name Hadlyme), the requisite parts are here. There is a parish of Needham in Norfolk, Eng., and a town called Needham-Market, in Suffolk, on the river Orwell, 3 miles from Stow market; and one or the other was undoubtedly the original of our town name.
99. *Pembroke*, 1711-12. The town of this name in South Wales is at the mouth of the Bristol Channel, about opposite to Barnstaple. It was a place of some importance, and its castle was besieged and captured by Cromwell. Thomas Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, was at this date a member of the Privy Council.
100. *Dighton*. Named most probably in honor of Frances Dighton, wife of Richard Williams, one of the first settlers, and sister of the second wife of Governor Thomas Dudley. There is no place of the name in the British Gazetteer, and no better derivation has been suggested. I must state, however, that I have seen no evidence to show positively that these

ladies were named Dighton, although the statement is made in many histories.

101. *Abington*, 1712. There is a parish of the name in Northamptonshire, Eng., 2 miles from Northampton. Also Great and Little Abington in Cambridgeshire, 9 miles from Cambridge. The title of Earl of Abingdon was held by Montague Bertie in 1718; but the name is probably here derived from one of the above-cited parishes.
102. *Chatham*, 1712. The only place of the name in England is the famous seaport in Kent, the site of a royal dock-yard from Queen Elizabeth's time.
103. *Weston*, 1712-13. This was probably a name derived from its locality, it having been the extreme western portion of Watertown. Barber says that before its incorporation it had been called the westerly, more westerly, and most westerly precinct in Watertown. The name follows the analogy of its next neighbor, New Town or Newton.
104. *Lexington*, 1714. I have elsewhere discussed the reasons for giving the name to this town. On any theory, it was evidently derived from that of the parish of Lexington, Laxington, or Laxton, co. Nottingham, a village of some 650 inhabitants in 1841.
105. *Medway*, 1713. When this town was set off from Medfield, a souvenir of the first name was thus preserved in that of Medway, taken from that of the English river on which Chatham is situated.
106. *Leicester*, 1712-13. It is a fair surmise that this name was given in honor of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, the famous favorite of Queen Elizabeth. Governor Joseph Dudley (as we learn from Draper's History of Spencer) was in 1686 owner of lands adjoining this settlement, and his sons Paul and William were proprietors of the new town in 1714. The others were chiefly residents of Roxbury and Boston; and, as Dudley was then Governor, the naming of the town might well be given to him.
107. *Northfield*, 1713. Although there is a Northfield in Worcestershire, Eng., this town seems to have been named from its site. It was the most northern town in the colony, and it lies "on an elevated plain, rising above the meadows on the Connecticut." (Barber.)
108. *Rutland*, 1714. This is the name of a small county in England, bordering on Leicestershire. The title of Duke of Rutland was conferred on John Manners, ninth Earl, in 1703. He died Jan. 10th, 1710-11, and was succeeded by his son John, who married a daughter of the patriot William Lord Russell. This latter died Feb. 22, 1720-21; and, though he was in favor at the accession of George I., he was not of sufficient prominence to have been thus commemorated. I therefore feel inclined to give the origin of the name here to the county, and as very probably suggested by its proximity to Leicestershire.
- 9*. *Berwick, Maine*, 1713. We must regard this town as named after the city of Berwick-upon-Tweed. At this time there was the famous general James Fitz-James, illegitimate son of King James II., who was known by the title of Duke of Berwick. As he was at this time high in the service of France, it is of course impossible to suppose that our town was named for him.
109. *Chilmark*, 1714. This is a parish in Wiltshire, in the union of Tisbury. Of course, the name was given for the same reason as that of Tisbury (1671), which see.
110. *Sutton*, 1715. Of the family of this name in 1715 were Robert, Lord Lexington; and also, in a junior branch, Sir Robert Sutton, K. B., a diplomatist, privy councillor (1722), and member of Parliament. Sutton is, however, a name of frequent occurrence in England, over sixty parishes of the name being given in the gazetteers. The probability is, therefore, that some one of these influenced the choice of the name of our town.
111. *Littleton*, 1715. Said by Barber to have been named, in 1715, in honor of Hon. George Lyttelton, M.P., and one of the Commissioners of the Treasury. But at that time the head of the family was Sir Charles L., who had been Governor of Jamaica, and who died May 2, 1716, aged 86. His son, Sir Thomas L., was M.P., &c., and died in 1751; being succeeded

by his eldest son, Sir George L., who was born in 1709. This last named was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1755, and made Lord Lyttelton in 1757. The story seems, therefore, unfounded. It is rather probable that it derived its name from being a little town; for, as Barber states, "it was formerly a gore of land, not included in any of the adjoining towns, and it remained in this state many years after they were incorporated."

112. *Hopkinton*, 1715. Named in honor of Edward Hopkins of London, who had been a settler at Hartford, and Governor of that colony. He returned to England, and by his will left a bequest of £500 to Harvard College. In 1713 this money was received, and "laid out in the purchase of an extensive tract of land, to which the name of Hopkinton was given, in honor of the donor." (Quincy's Hist. of Harv. Coll., i. 205.) The Court records also expressly state, when the petition was presented, that the village was to be incorporated "by the name of Hopkinton to the perpetuating the memory of the pious benefactor."
- 10*. *Georgetown, Maine*, 1716. Of course, in honor of the new King.
113. *Westborough*, 1717. Formerly part of Marlborough, and hence named. "The territory thus set off by the Act of the General Court, passed Nov. 19, 1717, was from its geographical position called Westborough." (Hudson's Hist. of Marlborough, p. 114.)
47. *Brookfield*, 1673-1718. This name, given to the revived settlement which had been broken up by the Indians, seems to be derived from the natural features of the locality. "There are large tracts of meadow and intervals upon Quabaog river, which runs in a westerly direction through the town." (Barber.) The abundance of water and plains in the town would account satisfactorily for the name. The revival of the township does not seem to have been a new creation, and the town claims precedence according to its original date.
114. *Sunderland*, 1718. A precinct before named Swampfield was incorporated as a town at this date. The name was undoubtedly given in honor of Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, at this time prime minister. He married a daughter of the Duke of Marlborough, and his descendants inherit that title.
115. *Bellingham*, 1719. At first a part of Dedham. Obviously named in honor of Governor Richard Bellingham; whose family, however, was at that date extinct in this country.
116. *Holliston*, 1724. Named in honor of Thomas Hollis of London, the great benefactor of Harvard College, who died in 1731.
117. *Walpole*, 1724. In honor of Sir Robert Walpole, then Prime Minister.
118. *Methuen*, 1725. This is unquestionably a personal name. John Methuen negotiated in 1703 a treaty between England and Portugal, by which English woollen manufactures were to be admitted into Portugal; and, in return, England agreed that the duty on wines from Portugal should always be less by one-third than those on wines from France. The Methuen treaty was therefore of great commercial importance, and must have had considerable influence on our trade, which was largely with Spain and Portugal. John Methuen had a son, Sir Paul M., of the Privy Council, 1714, Secretary of State, 1716, Ambassador to Spain, &c. A junior branch is represented by the Barons Methuen of Corsham, created in 1838.
119. *Stoneham*, 1725. Probably a descriptive name, as the "surface of the township is rather rocky and uneven." (Barber.) We note, however, that in Suffolk, Eng., are found Stonham-Aspel, Stonham-Earl, and Stonham-Parva.
120. *Easton*, 1725. Perhaps in honor of John Easton, Governor of Rhode Island, 1690-94, as was his father Nicholas E. before him. Bristol County adjoining Rhode Island, the magnates of the latter place were probably highly honored in the former.
121. *Kingston*, 1726. Probably a name given soon after the news of the death (March 5th, 1726) of Evelyn Pierrepont, first Duke of Kingston, who had

- been Lord Privy Seal, and Lord President of the Council, 1716-1720. It may, however, be the antithesis of Provincetown.
122. *Stoughton*, 1726. Undoubtedly, in honor of William Stoughton, the Lieutenant-Governor, Chief Justice, &c., who died in 1701. His nephew, William Tailer, was Lieutenant-Governor before and after 1726, and at this time was member of the Council.
 123. *Provincetown*, 1727. This town is the extreme end of Cape Cod, and was incorporated as the Province Town; the inhabitants being exempted from taxation.
 124. *Hanover*, 1727. This name and that of Lunenburg were, of course, derived from the German possessions of the Royal family. June 11, 1727, was the commencement of the reign of George II., a fit time for such a naming; but the nearly coinciding of the dates is, of course, accidental.
 125. *Uxbridge*, 1727. Henry Paget, Earl of Uxbridge, was at that time a member of the Privy Council.
 126. *Southborough*, 1727. Formed from the south part of Marlborough, and thence named.
 127. *Shrewsbury*, 1727. George Talbot, fourteenth Earl of Shrewsbury, and premier Earl of England, the wearer of the title at that time, succeeded, in 1718, his relative Charles, Duke of Shrewsbury. He was, I presume, a Roman Catholic, and seems not to have been in public life. The name was very probably in memory of the Duke, who had made a great figure in public life, and whose conversion to Protestantism was a famous event.
 128. *Middleton*, 1728. At this date there were two peers; viz., Francis Willoughby, second Lord Middleton, who had served in Parliament, and Alan Brodrick, second Viscount Middleton, who was soon after one of the two Comptrollers of the accounts of the Army. It seems most likely, however, to have derived its name from its locality being, as Barber says, "formed of the united corners of several adjoining towns."
 129. *Lunenburg*, 1728. See *Hanover*. The title of Elector of Brunswick. Lunenburg belonged to George I., and was commonly used.
 130. *Bedford*, 1729. Wriothesley Russell, third Duke of Bedford, succeeded to the title in 1711, and died in 1782, aged 24 years. He was probably debarred by ill-health, as well as youth, from becoming prominent. His father was Lord High Constable, and member of the Privy Council; and his grandfather (second son of the first Duke) was the noted patriot, Lord William Russell. One family of the Russells of New England is descended from the same main stock, though long before it was ennobled.
 131. *Westford*, 1729. Probably named from its locality being originally the west precinct of Chelmsford.
 132. *Wilmington*, 1728. Spencer Compton, Lord Wilmington, was then member of the Privy Council. He was third son of the third Earl of Northampton, and died, unmarried, July 4, 1743. He was Speaker in 1714 and 1722, made Baron W. in 1728, Lord Privy Seal in 1730, and the same year was made Earl of W. The title of Baron W. was again granted to the ninth Earl of Northampton, and is borne by the present Earl.
 133. *Raynham*, 1731. This was the name of the seat of Lord Townshend.
 134. *Brimfield*, 1731. Originally set off from Springfield in 1701; and soon, says Barber, called by this name. We find in the gazetteer the parish of Brimpsfield, co. Gloucester, Eng., 8 miles from the city of Gloucester.
 135. *Dudley*, 1731. This township was originally granted to Paul and William Dudley, sons of Governor Joseph Dudley. The name "was given to it as a token of respect to the above-mentioned men, who were principal proprietors of the soil, and great benefactors to the first settlers in their infancy," says Barber.
 126. *Townshend*, 1732. Charles Townshend, Viscount Townshend, one of the Privy Council, Secretary of State, &c. He was brother-in-law of Sir Robert Walpole, and prominent in the political struggles of the time. The present Marquess Townshend is his representative.

137. *Harvard*, 1732. Undoubtedly in honor of Rev. John Harvard, the founder of Harvard College.
138. *Sheffield*, 1733. Edmund Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire, succeeded in 1720, and died a minor in 1735. His father, John, third Earl of Mulgrave, Marquess of Normanby, was made Duke of B. in 1703. He was Lord Privy Seal, 1702, and Lord Chamberlain in 1710. He was also a writer of some note in his time. Although the claim to have given the name to our town seems weak, still it must be remembered that the now famous town of Sheffield has grown into importance in the present century, and had in 1733 no apparent claims for commemoration.
139. *Halifax*, 1734. George Montague, first Earl of Halifax of the second creation, was nephew, and successor in the barony of Halifax, of Charles Montagu, the famous Chancellor of the Exchequer under William III. This Earl was a K. B., and member of the Privy Council, but not of great note. His uncle, however, also Earl of Halifax, had made the title renowned. This Earl married first Richarda-Posthuma, daughter of Richard Saltonstall of Chippen-Warden, co. Northampton, a branch of the family to which our Saltonstalls belong. He died in 1739.
- 139a. Litchfield, Nottingham, Rumford, and Somers were named at this time. Somers and Nottingham were the titles of two of the greatest Lord Chancellors England had seen. The barony of Somers became extinct in 1716, but the earldom of Nottingham still remains in the family of Finch. The title of Earl of Litchfield was held in 1734 by George Henry Lee, of Ditchley.
- Rumford may well be a variation of Romford, the name of a parish in co. Essex, Eng.
140. *Tewkesbury*, 1734. This is the name of a town in Gloucestershire, Eng., famous for its Abbey. It had been, however, one of the titles of George II., who was in 1706 made Baron Tewkesbury, Viscount Northallerton, Earl of Milford-Haven, Marquess and Duke of Cambridge. In 1714, he became Prince of Wales; and, on his accession, in 1727, all his dignities merged in the Crown. Still this use of the name is the most probable reason for its adoption here.
141. *Berkley*, 1735. James Berkley, Earl of Berkeley, and William Berkeley, Lord Berkeley of Stratton, were both members of the Privy Council. Perhaps a better claim can be made for Dean Berkeley, who resided here from 1729 to 1731, and who was made Bishop of Cloyne in 1733.
142. *Grafton*, 1735. Charles Fitz-Roy, Duke of Grafton, was member of the Privy Council. He was a grandson of Charles II., and repeatedly held high offices. He died May 6th, 1757.
143. *Upton*, 1735. Origin unknown. It may have been so named from some early proprietor. In Ireland, at this period, there was a family of the name; of whom Clotworthy Upton, of Castle Upton, had a daughter, the Baroness Langford, and a nephew, Clotworthy Upton, created Baron Templetown in the peerage of Ireland in 1776.
144. *Acton*, 1735. This name occurs in several counties in England, and we are at a loss to account for its application here. There is a family of the name, baronets, of whom Sir Whitmore Acton died in 1732, and his son, Sir Richard, died in 1791; but I believe neither were prominent in public life.
- 11*. *Brunswick, Maine*, 1737. A name proposed in 1714, says Williamson. It was in honor of the new royal family.
145. *Waltham*, 1737. There are several places of the name in England. Perhaps the best claim can be made for Waltham-Abbey, co. Essex, Eng.; to which place belongs Nasing, the home of Rev. John Eliot, and other early settlers in New England.
146. *Bolton*, 1738. Charles Powlet, third Duke of Bolton, was long a member of the Council, and high in office. In 1733 he was out of favor at Court, but in 1740 was one of the Lords Justices during the King's absence. He died Aug. 26, 1764, aged 69 years.
147. *Sturbridge*, 1738. Stourbridge, in Worcestershire, Eng., is a market-town: Sturbridge, or Stourbridge, is also the name of a hamlet 2 miles from

Cambridge, where an annual fair is held under the jurisdiction of the University.

148. *Chelsea*, 1788-89. The suburb of London thus named is chiefly noted for the hospital for superannuated soldiers. The name would naturally be well known here, and appropriately given to a village so near Boston, and situated on its harbor.
149. *Hardwicke*, 1788-89. Philip Yorke, Lord Hardwicke, was in 1733 made a peer, was of the Privy Council, and Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench. In 1737 he was made Lord High Chancellor, an office he filled for nearly twenty years with the greatest credit. He died March 6th, 1764, aged 78.
Barber says of this town that before its incorporation it was known as Lambstown, from its first proprietor, Joshua Lamb.
150. *Stockbridge*, 1739. There is a market-town so named in Hampshire, 7 miles from Andover and 9 miles from Winchester. There was a family of this name in Massachusetts, and some member of it may have been interested in this settlement.
151. *Wareham*, 1739. There is a considerable market-town of this name in Dorsetshire, Eng.
152. *Holden*, 1740. "It was named," says Barber, "in honor of Hon. Samuel Holden, one of the Directors of the Bank of England, who was a generous benefactor to the literary and religious interests of the country. His donations amounted to £4,847 New England currency, and his widow and daughters farther contributed £5,685. With a part of the latter sum, Holden Chapel, in the University at Cambridge, Mass., was erected in 1745."
153. *Leominster*, 1740. This is the name of a large market-town in Herefordshire, Eng.
154. *Western*, 1740-41 (name changed to *Warren* in 1834). This may have been so named, as being the western part of Brookfield. It is in that case to be compared with Weston.
155. *Blandford*, 1741. Undoubtedly derived from the title of Marquess of Blandford, the second of the honors belonging to the Duke of Marlborough. In 1741 the bearer of the title was Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sunderland; who was the son of Anne, second daughter of the great Duke of Marlborough. His cousin William, Earl of Godolphin, son of the eldest daughter, died s. r. in 1731; and, in 1733, on the death of the mother, Spencer succeeded to the dukedom also. Holland (Hist. Western Mass., ii. 10) says that Governor Shirley came hither in a ship called the "*Blandford*," which circumstance would suggest the name to him.
156. *Pelham*, 1742. This is the well-known family name of Thomas, Duke of Newcastle, who, with his brother Henry Pelham, was almost supreme in English politics.
157. *Douglas*, 1746. This was the family name of James Douglas, sixth Duke of Hamilton, and of Archibald, Duke of Douglas. According to Barber, however, the town was named in honor of Dr. William Douglas, of Boston, one of the proprietors and a considerable benefactor of the town. He is best known as the author of a history of New England.
158. *New Braintree*, 1751. A name derived from the town already noted.
159. *Palmer*, 1752. Thomas Palmer was of our Council, and Chief Justice C. C. Pleas, Suffolk, from 1711 till his death in 1740. His son Thomas was a Mandamus Counsellor (but did not serve), and a benefactor to Harvard College.
160. *South Hampton*, 1753. This had been the south precinct of North Hampton.
- 12*. *Newcastle, Maine*, 1753. In honor of the Duke of Newcastle, then and for many years one of the most noted of English politicians.
161. *Shirley*, 1753. Of course, in honor of Governor William Shirley.
162. *Spencer*, 1753. Possibly a name given by the Lieutenant-Governor (then acting Governor) *Spencer Phips*. He was the adopted son of Sir William Phips, being Spencer Bennett, nephew of Lady Phips, who was daughter of Roger Spencer. The well-known title of Earl Spencer was created

- in 1765; but in 1758 Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sunderland, had succeeded to the honors of his maternal grandfather, and was the second Duke of Marlborough. The high position of the Duke in political life inclines us to the belief that the town was named in his honor.
163. *Pepperrell*, 1753. In honor of Sir William Pepperrell.
164. *South Hadley*, 1753. The south part of Hadley.
165. *Greenfield*, 1753. Named from its locality, being an extensive field, and situated on Green River. It was part of Deerfield.
166. *New Salem*, 1753. Derived from Salem, of course.
167. *Montague*, 1753. Of this name were the Montagus, Dukes of Montagu, of whom the second Duke died *s. r. m.* in 1749, having been a member of the administration for several years, Master General of the Ordnance, &c.; and also the Earls of Sandwich. The fourth Earl was of the Privy Council, First Lord of the Admiralty, Minister to the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, &c. His brother William was Captain of the "Mermaid" at the taking of Cape Breton. Of a junior branch was Edward Wortley-Montagu, whose wife was the famous Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu. I cannot doubt that Captain Montague, who was with Pepperrell, and who was sent home to carry the news of the victory at Louisburg, was the person honored by this selection of a name.
168. *Granville*, 1754. John Carteret, Earl Granville, was Lord President of the Privy Council, and well known in the annals of the State. The title became extinct at the death of his son, in 1776; but has been revived in the Leveson-Gower family, in 1838.
169. *Lincoln*, 1754. Henry Clinton, ninth Earl of Lincoln, held various high offices. He was closely allied with the all-powerful Pelhams, his mother being the sister, and his wife the daughter, of Henry Pelham. In 1768, he succeeded his uncle, Thomas Pelham, as Duke of Newcastle.
- 169a, 1754. *Carlisle* may have been so named for the city; but more probably it was in honor of one of the Earls of Carlisle, of the Howard family. At this date the possessor of the title was Henry, fourth Earl, who was not of much note; but his father, Charles, had played an important part in politics.
170. *Petersham*, 1754. This is the second title of the Earls of Harrington. William Stanhope, Lord President of the Council, was, in 1742, made Viscount Petersham and Earl of Harrington. He was distinguished in political life, and died in 1756.
171. *Greenwich*, 1754. The suburb of London thus named is famous for the Royal Hospital for seamen.
172. *Charlton*, 1754. There are many places of this name in England. As a family name it was borne by Sir Francis Charlton, Bart., who was Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, Receiver-General of the Post-office in 1755, &c. The Howards, Earls of Suffolk, are also Barons Howard of Charlton. In 1754, the title was borne by Henry Bowes Howard, eleventh Earl, who was deputy Earl Marshal.
173. *Danvers*, 1757. There is, I believe, no locality of this name in England. There are two families of baronets named D'Anvers, but I think it more probable that the person honored was Sir Danvers Osborn, Bart., Governor of New York in 1753, whose secretary Pownall had been. Sir Danvers was grandson of Sir John Osborn, whose mother was Eleanor Danvers, and whose grandmother was Dorothy Danvers, both ladies of the family of the name settled at Dauntsey, co. Wilts. Yet it must be said that the name was given to it as a district, Jan. 28, 1752, in an act signed by Phips; and the town was incorporated June 16, 1757; while Pownall did not arrive here till August 2, and this act was signed by the Council. Sir Danvers Osborn was made Governor of New York, June 6, 1753. He married Mary, sister of George Montague-Dunk, second Earl of Halifax, who was President of the Board of Trade, 1748-60. Another sister married Joseph Jekyll; a relative, probably, of John Jekyll, of Boston, Collector of Customs. I still think that this name must be connected with Sir Danvers Osborn.

- 13*. *Harpwell, Maine*, 1758. This name was proposed in 1714, says Williamson. There is a parish of the name in co. Lincoln, Eng.
174. *Amherst*, 1759. In honor of Jeffrey, Lord Amherst, then Commander-in-Chief of the forces in the French War. Louisburg was taken July 26, 1758; Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Quebec, in 1759.
- 14*. *Woolwich, Maine*, 1759. The famous military and naval depot in England is 9 miles from London.
175. *New Marlborough*, 1759. See *Marlborough*.
176. *Egremont*, 1760. Charles Wyndham, Earl of Egremont, was of the Privy Council, &c. In 1761 he was made Secretary of State on the resignation of William Pitt.
177. *Monson*, 1760. John Monson, second Lord Monson, succeeded his father in 1748. The first Lord was for many years first Lord Commissioner of Trade and Plantations.
- 15*. *Pownallborough, Maine*, 1760. In honor of Governor Thomas Pownall.
178. *Pittsfield*, 1761. Of course, in honor of William Pitt, Lord Chatham.
179. *Great Barrington*, 1761. Named probably for William Barrington, Viscount Barrington, who was of the Privy Council, Secretary at War, Chancellor of the Exchequer, &c. His family name was Shute, and he was nephew of Governor Samuel Shute, of Mass. The prefix "Great" was to distinguish this town from the one in Bristol County, now a part of Rhode Island. He was own cousin to Bernard's wife; she being Amelia, daughter of Stephen Offley and Anne Shute.
180. *Coleraine*, 1761. Gabriel Hanger, or Aungier, was created Baron Coleraine in the peerage of Ireland, Dec. 1, 1761.
181. *Belchertown*, 1761. In honor of Governor Jonathan Belcher, who was one of the principal proprietors at its first granting.
182. *Shutesbury*, 1761. In memory, doubtless, of Governor Samuel Shute, who was uncle to Governor Bernard's wife.
183. *Ware*, 1761. Holland, ii. 286, says that the town was named from the river on which it stands; and that again was derived from the *weirs*, or *wears*, constructed in the river to aid in taking salmon.
184. *Sandisfield*, 1761. Clearly in honor of Samuel Sandys, Lord Sandys, who was a member of the Privy Council, and in 1761 made first Lord of Trade and the Plantations.
185. *Tyringham*, 1762. Tyringham with Tilgrove is the name of a parish in Buckinghamshire, 4 miles from Olney. Barber says that our town was so named at the suggestion of Viscount Howe, who passed through the place a few days before he was killed at Ticonderoga, July 6, 1758, and who owned property in the English village. But the true solution is probably that Governor Bernard was the descendant, and in 1770 became the representative, of the family of Tyringham, as Burke's Baronetage shows, under the title Morland.
186. *Bernardston*, 1762. Presumably in honor of Sir Francis Bernard, Governor of the Province from 1760 till 1769.
187. *Athol*, 1762. James Murray, second Duke of Athol, was a representative peer, Privy Councillor, 1734, and Lord Privy Seal of Scotland. He died Jan. 8, 1764.
188. *Templeton*, 1762. Richard Grenville, Earl Temple, brother-in-law of Pitt, was a prominent member of the government at this date. The American branch of the family was then represented by John Temple, afterwards a baronet.
189. *Chesterfield*, 1762. Philip Dormer Stanhope, fourth Earl of Chesterfield, is too well known to require comment. He died March 24, 1773.
190. *Oakham*, 1762. I presume that this refers to Oakhampton, co. Devon; a borough which Pitt represented in 1756, and which had also been represented by his father and his older brother.
191. *Natick*, 1762. An Indian name.
- 16*. *Windham, Maine*, 1762. This was the family name of the Earls of Egremont. See No. 176.
- 17*. *Buxton, Maine*, 1762. "It was so called" (says Williamson, ii. 366) "at the instance of the Rev. ('Dr. Paul') Coffin, who originated from a

- town of the same name in England." This is partly an error, as Paul was born in Newbury, Mass., son of Colonel Joseph C., who was great grandson of Tristram Coffin, the emigrant. This Tristram was grandson of "Nicholas Coffin of Buxton, co. Devon." (See Memoir of Rev. Paul Coffin, Portland, 1855.) Here, again, is an error, the place being really *Brixton*: but I think it evident that Paul Coffin meant to refer to his ancestor's birthplace; and, misled by some written authority, gave the present name, *ri* and *u* being easily confounded.
- 18*. *Bowdoinham, Maine*, 1762. In honor of the well-known family of Bowdoin. William Bowdoin was the owner, under a title from the Plymouth proprietors. (Williamson, ii. 367.)
192. *Warwick*, 1763. Francis Greville, eighth Lord Brooke, created Earl Brooke 1749, Knight of the Thistle 1753, made Earl of Warwick Nov. 27, 1759.
193. *Marshpee*, 1763. An Indian name.
194. *Wilbraham*, 1763. There is a family of the name of good position in Cheshire. (See Burke's Commoners, i. 315.) Holland, ii. 156, says that, in a memoir written by the son of the first pastor, it is stated that "the name (of Wilbraham) was very grievous to the then inhabitants; and we can hardly be reconciled to it yet."
195. *Wellfleet*, 1763. The suggestion that I can quite confidently make is, that this is a corruption of *Whale-fleet*, — a phrase still in common use on the sea coast for the whaling fleet. Freeman (Hist. Cape Cod, ii. 655) says, "The whaling business was in early times carried on extensively here." This fishery, once the chief employment, was lucrative." The name was written in by Governor Bernard, who had first written the name of *Melton*, and had struck it out, probably thinking it too much like Milton.
196. *Newbury Port*, 1764. Origin evident.
- 19*. *Topsham, Maine*, 1764. There is a seaport of this name in Devonshire, Eng.
197. *Fitchburg*, 1764. Named in honor of John Fitch, one of the committee to obtain the act of incorporation. (See Barber, p. 566.)
198. *Winchendon*, 1764. Named undoubtedly by Governor Bernard, who was the eventual heir of the Tyringhams of Upper Winchendon. In an earlier generation, one of the Tyringhams married a Goodwyn; and her cousin married the fourth Baron Wharton, whose son was made, in 1706, Viscount Winchenden and Earl of Wharton. The title became extinct, in 1731, in the person of the Duke of Wharton.
- 20*. *Gorham, Maine*, 1764. It was so named out of respect to Captain John Gorham, one of the early proprietors.
- 21*. *Boothbay, Maine*, 1764. Origin unknown.
199. *Paxton*, 1765. Charles Paxton was one of the Commissioners of Customs at Boston, was a refugee, &c.
200. *Royalston*, 1765. Named in honor of Colonel Isaac Royal, of Medford, one of the original proprietors. (Barber, p. 600.)
201. *Ashburnham*, 1765. John Ashburnham, second Earl of Ashburnham, was keeper of Hyde Park in 1753; and, July 12, 1765, was made Master of the Wardrobe and a Privy Councillor. This was some months after the town was named.
202. *Sharon*, 1765. A Scriptural name.
- 22*. *Bristol, Maine*, 1765. The old town of Bristol, Mass., had been set off to Rhode Island some twenty years before.
203. *Becket*, 1765. Unknown.
204. *Lanesborough*, 1765. I cannot find that any American of the name of Lane was concerned in this settlement. In 1751, George Fox, whose father married the sister and heiress of James Lane, Viscount Lanesborough in the peerage of Ireland, assumed the name and arms of Lane. In 1762, George Fox-Lane, having married the only child of Robert Benson, Lord Bingley, was created Baron Bingley. This peerage ended with his son Robert, who died *s. p.*; but his nephew was the ancestor of the present Lord Conyers. The family is one of great wealth and importance.
205. *Richmont*, 1765. The seat of the Earl of Shelburne, first Commissioner of

- Trade and Plantations, was Richmond Hill, co. Surrey. But more probably it was named for Charles Lennox, Duke of Richmond, who was made a Privy Councillor Oct. 23, 1765, and principal Secretary of State in 1766.
206. *Williamstown*, 1765. Named in honor of Colonel Ephraim Williams, Jr., founder of Williams College. (Barber, p. 105.)
207. *Ashfield*, 1765. It is worth noticing, that Lord Chancellor Thurlow was created, in 1778, Lord Thurlow of Ashfield. He was King's Counsel in 1761, Solicitor-General in 1770, Attorney-General in 1771. His father was rector of Ashfield in Suffolk. Still the name may be but a descriptive one.
208. *Charlemont*, 1765. James Caulfield, third Viscount Charlemont, married Elizabeth, only daughter of Francis Bernard of Castle Mahon, co. Cork; and had a son, James, who was, Oct. 29, 1763, created Earl of Charlemont, or Charlemont.
209. *Murrayfield*, 1765. In honor, doubtless, of William Murray, Lord Mansfield. At this date, he was Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench and a Privy Councillor.
- The name was changed to Chester, 21 Feb. 1783.
- 23*. *Cape Elizabeth, Maine*, 1765. An old name, given first by Captain John Smith, and never disused.
210. *Northborough*, 1766. The northern part of Westborough, which latter was set off from Marlborough.
211. *Lenox*, 1767. This is the family name of the Duke of Richmond, who is also Duke of Lennox and Baron Methuen in the peerage of Scotland. He was at this date a Secretary of State.
212. *Ashby*, 1767. Possibly in honor of Francis, tenth Earl of Huntingdon, of the Privy Council in 1760, who died in 1790. His oldest title was Baron Hastings of Ashby de la Zouche, and Ashby was long the family seat.
213. *Hubbardstown*, 1767. "So called to perpetuate the name and memory of Hon. Thomas Hubbard, of Boston, who was a large proprietor of lands in this place." (Barber, p. 573.)
214. *Conway*, 1767. Henry Seymour Conway was one of the principal Secretaries of State from July 19, 1765, to Jan. 20, 1768.
- 24*. *Lebanon, Maine*, 1767. Scriptural.
- 25*. *Sandford, Maine*, 1767. Named in honor of Peleg Sandford, the proprietor of this grant.
215. *Granby*, 1768. John, Marquess of Granby, afterwards Duke of Rutland, was Master-General of the Ordnance from 1763 to 1772, and so a member of the Cabinet.
216. *Shelburne*, 1768. William Fitz-Maurice, second Earl of Shelburne, of the new creation, was one of the Secretaries of State from 1766 (succeeding the Duke of Richmond) to November, 1768. In 1782, he became Prime Minister, and in 1784 was created Marquess of Lansdowne. His father, Charles, was the fifth son of Thomas F.-M., twenty-first Baron of Kerry, first Earl of Kerry, who married the sister of Henry Petty, last Earl of Shelburne. Charles, being the heir by his uncle's will, was created Earl of Shelburne in 1763, and died in 1761.
217. *Worthington*, 1768. Colonel John Worthington was a member of the Council, 1767-68, and was one of the proprietors of this township. "His liberality" (says Holland, ii. 308) "to the settlers in building them a church and grist mill at his own expense, and in assigning generous lots for ministerial and school purposes, well earned the distinction."
218. *Cohasset*, 1770. An Indian name.
219. *Westminster*, 1770. The English original is well known as one of the seven boroughs of London. It seems to have been made a district by act, Oct. 20, 1759.
220. *Mansfield*, 1770. Lord Mansfield was Lord Chief Justice of England from 1756 to 1788. He died March 20, 1793.
221. *Southwick*, 1771. Origin unknown. There has been a family of the name in New England. It may also be noted, that Southwark is, like Westminster, an integral part of London.

222. *Whately*, 1771. Named by Hutchinson in honor of his friend, Thomas Whately, a member of the Board of Trade. (See Hutchinson's letter to this effect, in Marvin's History of the town, p. 86.)
223. *Princeton*, 1771. Named in honor of Rev. Thomas Prince, the Annalist, who was a large proprietor of this tract of land. (Barber, p. 598.)
224. *Williamsburg*, 1771. Named, undoubtedly, for some member of the influential family resident in the neighboring town of Deerfield.
- 26*. *Hallowell, Maine*, 1771.
- 27*. *Vassallborough, Maine*, 1771.
- 28*. *Winslow, Maine*, 1771.
- 29*. *Winthrop, Maine*, 1771.
- All of these names are commemorative of distinguished American families.
225. *Gageborough*, 1771. Of course, in honor of General Gage. "Jan. 9, 1777, the people of the town petitioned to be called Cheshire, 'because the present name of Gageborough may serve to perpetuate the memory of the detested General Gage.'" (Holland, Hist. of Western Mass., ii. 616.) In 1778, however, the name was changed to Windsor, by which it is still known.
226. *Partridgefield*, 1771. Name changed to Peru, June 19, 1806. It was named for Oliver Partridge, one of its former owners.
- 30*. *Pepperrellborough, Maine*, 1771. In honor of the well-known family.
227. *Northbridge*, 1772. Said by Barber, p. 591, to have been "chiefly taken from Uxbridge, and derived its name from its situation and bearing relative to that town."
228. *Alford*, 1773. Presumably in honor of Hon. John Alford, of Charlestown, who died Sept. 30, 1761, and who gave largely to charities. He founded in this way the Professorship of Natural Theology at Harvard College. Hutchinson had advised in the settlement of the estate.
- 31*. *Belfast, Maine*, 1773. "So called by request of an early settler, out of respect for the name of his native place in Ireland," says Williamson, ii. 398. The Scotch-Irish immigration was as late as about 1720.
229. *Norwich*, 1773. It was settled by emigrants from Norwich, Conn. In 1855 the name was changed to Huntington, in honor of Charles P. Huntington, of Northampton. (Holland, Hist. of Western Mass., ii. 238-9.)
230. *West Stockbridge*, 1774.
231. *West Springfield*, 1774.
- The origin of these names is evident.
232. *Ludlow*, 1774. Origin unknown. Roger Ludlow was one of the early settlers in Massachusetts, Deputy Governor in 1634, &c.; but he left no heirs. Edmund Ludlow was the well-known regicide. Besides these personal names, Ludlow is the name of a town and famous castle in Shropshire.
- 33*. *Edgecomb, Maine*, 1774. "Given by the General Court in honor of Lord Edgecomb, who was, at this crisis of political affairs, a distinguished friend to the interests of the Colonies." (Williamson, ii. 405.) The Edgecombs had hereditary claims on Maine, having had a grant there in 1637.
- 34*. *New Gloucester, Maine*, 1774. Granted in 1735 to the inhabitants of Gloucester, Mass. (Williamson, ii. 406.)
233. *Leverett*, 1774. In honor of the distinguished family of the name here.
234. *Hutchinson*, 1774. In Worcester County, and named of course for the Governor. In November, 1776, the name was changed to Barré, in honor of the distinguished advocate of Colonial rights in Parliament.

The President communicated a number of manuscript news-letters of early date for publication in the "Proceedings,"—one of them of the *annus mirabilis* 1666.

An extract of a Letter frō Cambridge: Dat: Apr! 4th 66.

Here have arrived noe Shipes from Engld this winter, only one from y^e west part of Engld, where y^e Sicknesse was nott y^e. Butt it

brought noe News from Londō, soe y^t y^e news wth is, is come from other places & theirfore nott much nor certaine; Butt some there is (viz) y^t y^e plauge is Greatly ceast; though y^r is an after Report y^t itt was encreased in London againe, by reason of y^e Citize[ns] returing, soe y^t y^e abateing of itt was rather for want of subiec[ts] to work on yⁿ any other thing. Their hath been noe other Engagment of y^e English & Dutch fleet, y^e Dutch declining itt what they can, either outt of policy or feare. only y^e Privaters have taken Merchant Shipes enough to maintaine y^r wars allmost: Warre is proclaimed between Engld & France soe y^t now y^r are. 3. Nations against 3. y^e english, Spanish & Sweads, against y^e Dutch, daues and French: here is a report y^t y^e King of France is stabd.

Their is a strict act of parliament come forth against Nonconformists, & is to be in force y^e 25th of March, y^e same day y^t y^e prophesies of y^e witness rising is. Admiral Mountague is in y^e Tower who would not fight wth his Squadron; y^e cause of y^e Loss of a compleat victory, and Munck in his place. 20 Saile of dutch Shipes are gon outt to doe what mischeife they can to y^e english plantations in America: & wee hear y^t Coll. Cartwright is Gott to Engld. Three Shipes are preparing for N Engld:

An other Extract of a Letter Apr^l 11th 66 from Boston.

for News wee have little, only M^r Harwood writes 25th Jā: y^t peirce & Clark were to come for New Egld in March: frō Bilboa is advised a League Between E: & Spain, offensive and defensive. Engld: Spain, portugall, y^e Emperour, Bishop of Munster, Duke of Brandenburg, & Swead unite against France, Holland and y^e Dean, soe y^t in appearance this Summer will bee a time of Great action in Europe, and to be feared America will feel y^e smart of it.

m^r Knowles hath lost 4 of his Childrē.

For the Honourd
Governor JOHN WINTHROP
Esqe at his house

in Hartford

Indorsed, — Copy of Letter of News.

Now I shall tell you how matters stands as to the publiq^e affaires; the Dutch coming the 4th May towards the Downs, where then the Duke of Yorke lay with most the English fleete, redly to saile to portsmouth to meet the French fleete, who were then arrived there, hee being advised of their approach, made away for portsmoth, they missing butt little of him come to an Ancher in Dover Roads, where they Ridd some daies, and then came before this river, where they sent in a Squadron, and drive from the boy of the Noer 10 saile of the King's shippes vnder Shernes fort, fying vpon each other all the while, and after that stood out againe to their fleete, the wind being all the while easterly, the Duke and French could nott come vppe vntell the 19th; that the fleetes got sight of one another and soe moer time after, butt engaged nott, the Duke coming to an Ancher in Soules Bay, where lying vntell the 28th; that the Dutch came to him there with an easterly wind, and fought

both very feare from 7 of the clock in the Morning vntell after sunn sett att Night, wherein severall of the best shippes in both fleetes were much torne and disabled, many Kild and wounded, far moer then either doe Own, for itt is Knowen that some shippes lost halfe their Men, and others very Many, both claimed the victory att First, and supposed to haue moer advantage vpon the other, then after vpon due examinaçon is found, butt that the losses are pretty equall, and the Dutch wright of itt that they had burnt the Admirall of the Blew Flagg, and Another, and sank some, besides the Royall Katherine, and Henry taken, butt lost againe, disabled the Duke of Yorke's Two shippes hee was in; that hee was Forst to goe over in the third, and that they lost butt One shipp in the fight, being taken, and another next morning by carelesnes of their own powder, butt the printed relation here saith otherwaies, and that moer are sank and burnt; whatever itt is the slaughter and Destruction hath been great on both sides, and neither haue cause of rejoyceing over the other, butt rather lament that soe much Christian Blood is shed between Two soe neere neighbours; next day after the Fight they were going to engage againe butt were prevented by a fogg or Mist, the Duke haueing the weather gage all day, and towards night the wind rose, they parted without doing moer Mischief to One the other, the Duke returning to Soale bay, and soe to the boy of the Noer, where now both English & French lie, the Dutch kept sea longer, went into Scotland, and came out againe, haueing been mett of att sea of Yarmoth, standing in for the texell, as is reported, butt that is yett vncertaine; Jf the Dutch did fight pretty well att sea, they haue nott the luck to doe soe att land; the French Armies, and of the Bishopp of Munsters take all befoer them, soe that if the King of France proceed On soe fast, hee will soone subdue them, haueing in few daies taken the well fortifyed Garrison Towns of Wesel, Orsoy, Reynberk, burick, Rees and Emmerick, and is said to bee befoer Deventer, that Nimegen is alsoe surrendered to him, with the strong Town of the Graue, and that Schenckenscans was assalted, and supposed to bee taken alsoe, An Invinceable strength lying vpon a point of an Island att the parting or deviding of Two great rivers, soe that itt seemes nothing can withstand him, haueing severall great Armies, Assaults many places att Once, and where hee finds the strongest Opposition, hee drawes them p'sently together, and forces them with main strength, sparing noe men nor mony neither, as is supposed; the Bishopp of Munster, that Instrumēt of Evill, has taken the strong towns of Groll, Dedensow, burcle, and others and is said to haue besedged Swoll, Butt the worst newes of all is, that the King of France haueing in hast made A Bridge over the River waell, came suddenly, and vnexpected to Arenem, and tooke itt p'sently; And soe is said to bee marched for Vytricht, which is doubted may be taken befoer this time: And from thence proceed to Amsterdam, where they say they pull down all the outhouses about the Town, and that the States are come to sitt there, haueing left the Hague, being an open place; if the Towns in the low lands bee not better defended, the[n] the vpper Fronteir Garrisons haue been, itt will nott bee this sumers worke to subdue all; and truely many are afraid of itt, J cannott deny itt very much troubles mee.

Two Dutch Ambassadors are come over, and stay att Hampton Court untill the King has Answer from the King of France, to whom hee has sent the Lord Hollyfax about itt, the Dutch fleete is out beofer the River, of an on, and said to bee 180 saile in all.

LONDON, 17th June, 1672.

PHILADELPHIA, June y^e 5th 1699.

About y^e Middle of Last Week a Sloop, belonging to this place, arrived from Carrolina, brought in wth y^m two Priveteers that Came Last from Madagascar. One of w^{ch} went out Cap^t Kidds Doctor from New york, but left Kidds Vessell many months since at Madagascar, They were both Taken and sent to prison y^e Same night they Came vp, and their mony secur'd; two more were Taken at New Castle who had Taken passage on board Cap^t Codman for New England, and their mony Seized, The Sloop that brought y^m is also Seiz'd.

They wth a great many more Came passengers from Madagascar wth one Cap^t Shelly belonging to N: York, Severall of y^m are desperas'd about our Bay, especially about Cape May. Govern^r Bass, & Cap^t Sneed, who is Deputy Judge of y^e Court of Admiralty, are gone Down in a Sloop wth Expectation of taking them. The Privateers have made great shares of mony. Cap^t Shelly plys of and on, expecting Vessells from New york. A Messeng^r sent from Cape May for N: York wth Lett^{rs} to Shellys owners (as is said) vpon advice was persued & Taken, and his Lett^{rs} Taken and open'd, and he Secured at Burling-ton, the Lett^{rs} forwarded by an Express to Gov^r Bass.

Tis said M^r Graverodd has Severall on board his Sloop for Virginia.

Last night wee have Advice of a Pink Arrived at New Castle from Barbad^e 4 weeks passage. I have not the Letters from her yett. I Send for y^m to-day. Shee is to Tarry some days at New Castle. As they Came wth in our Capes a Sloop Came vp wth y^m. Sayld Round y^m, ask y^m some Questions, yⁿ went off and Came to Anchor at the Horchills, they had about 50 men on board. They are some have made a Voyage and wants to Come in, there Cap^t name is Davis, Some on Board the Pink knew him.

BOSTON, June y^e 19, 1699.

Last thursday Cap^t Kid came into Road Island harbor; y^e Governour sent y^e Collector in a boat wth about 30 men well armed in order to goe on board, but Kid shot 2 great Guns, w^{ch} caused y^e Collector to retreat. Kids Sloope has 10. Guns, 8. Patteraroes. I shall be able to give a further acco^t by y^e next.

tis Governour Bass Intercepted the letter to Shelleys Owner & broke itt Open, as itt is said in New Yorke.

NEW YORKE, April 29th 1700.

I am thankfull for yours of the 22^d Instant, and what News is here, is contained in the following acc^{ts}.

From Philadelf. we have advice, that 2 ships From London and one From Bristoll, are arrived there, but bring no News.

on Sattarday Last the Newport from Sandyhooke a crusing & Cap^t Simmons for London; Cap^t Gill will sail for London tomorrow

or next day & Cap^t Bond in 10 or 12 Days; Cap^t Keeler has Bills for London.

on Satterday arrived Phillidelphia Post, w^t whom Came Coll. Quarry & The Deputy Shereffe, who brought w^t him one Brown, Co^l Markham Son-in-Law, he was one of Emrys men, as itt was Said and goes home w^t y^e Rest.

Yesterday arrived a Barguentine from y^e Bay of Compechy. John Trimmingham master, 30 Days passage, he informs y^t Bermudos Sloops wer taken by a pyrate Comming out of y^e Bay in Sight of him, y^t Last week about thirty Leagus off y^e Capes of Virginia he saw a ship att Sea Disabled, and Comming up w^t her found She was a ship of about 150 tuns, bound from Leverpoole to Virginia, who had been taken by a Pyrate on Sunday y^e 20th Instant, y^e master of y^e Ship Informed Trimmingham y^t y^e pyrate is a ship of 24 Gunns & 150 men, y^t 3 days before he was taken a pinke bound from London to Virginia which pinke they maned w^t fifty men and take this Liverpool Ship and after they had plundered of what they Pleased they Cutt down all his masts & bolt Split and so Left him; when Trimmingham mett him they had made mastes of ther yards and top masts & now standing in for Virginia; y^e Pyrate Carryd away y^e Carpenter and one man more, but who Commands this pyrat they cannot Lern, y^e Saim pyrat had likewise taken a New England Sloop of six Guns.

Boston, May y^e 6, 1700.

The above is a Copy of a News Letter I had by y^e Last post. No News offers hear, Cap^t Rugells from Meves arived hear yesterday.

Boston, May y^e 23, 1700.

HON^{ble} S^r. — The Last Tuseday Cap^t Green arived here, 8 weeks passage from London & 6 weeks from Cows. y^e same day arived a Ship, 5 weeks passage from Plimoth, Cap^t — Comānder, brings news y^t y^e adviceman of war was arived in 3 weeks at Bristol wth Cap^t Kidd & all y^e Prisoners y^t went home wth Cap^t Wine; it is reported y^t y^e Parliament has petissioned y^e King to putt of Cap^t Kids Trial till y^e next Sessions of Parlem^t.

There is warr Proclaimed between Denmark & Sweden. All matt^{rs} are quiet at home. 'Tis reported y^e King Designes for Scotland. The King of Spain is well by y^e Last advice.

Last Saturday arived here Cap^t Morris in y^e Newport wth y^e Prisonors from New-York.

Admirall Benbo intends to Saile for London this week. There is Severall vessels arived from Madera, Fiall & y^e west Indes.

Cap^t Robison Came out of London wth Cap^t Green & is dayly expected here. Cap^t Jeffery was bound for New York about y^e Same time.

Advice from New York y^e Last post of y^e misfortune at Callidonia, Viz. Cap^t Campbel, one of y^e Councel, who arived Last thursday, Saith y^t he arived 8 dayes before y^e Spanish blocked up y^e port at Callidonia. 3 days after his arival he Comāded a parte of 170 wth some few gentlemen voluntiers (who were all y^e men in y^e Collony y^t were fitt for service) to march to Arctaba, where they und^rstood 900. Spaniards, South sea men, were com to fall upon them by land. after 2

daies march he came up wth them, who Lay in a palisad fortification, whom he attackd, kild about 100 of them, took their Camp & gave them a total rout. The Governour of S^t Maries, an old Spanish Soldier Lay in great fear. Leaving only eight men wth him. y^e gentlemen Voluntiers pursued y^e Spanyards till night, gave no quarter. 9 of y^e Scots w^e kild, most of them, gentlemen, y^e Spanyards had laid at their Approach two Ambuscadoes, who took all their bagg & baggage, y^e Governo^r plate & six pound of Gold dust. At their return back to y^e fortification they found 3000. Spanish Souldiers Landed wth 15 Saile of Ships of war, who lay two moneths of y^e harbors mouth, to p^rvent provisions Coming to their relief. There people being most of them Sick & their want of provisions forced them to Surrender on Articles Viz. That they should depart wth all they had, & if any of their Ships Should com wthin 6 moneth they should have wood & water & depart in peace.

One Cap^t Tho. Droumand, one of y^e former Councel, in a Small Ship of 6 guns & 13 men met wth a Spanish man of war of 20 guns, ingaiged for four howers & faught his way thro y^e fleet & got in to Callidonia, being Laden wth provisions, but y^e fourt was surrendred before he Came. This is y^e Substance of w^t offers from

Your honours

most humble

Servant

DUNCAN CAMPBELL.

After p^rusual I beg

yo^r hon^{rs} favour to Send
it to y^e postmaster m^r Chandler

[Addressed]

To

The Honourable Coll. WINTHROP
Governour of Conneticut
at New London
Free

Indorsed, — M^r Campbell, May 28th 1700.

* Galloones ammounts to £500,000 wth her maj^e has appropriated to the use of the Publick.

Lond^e Jan^y 30, The K. of Spain refuses his Merch^t any of y^e plate from Vigo, pretending first to make inquirey into the English & Dutches part.

Lond^e Feb^r 2^d The Insurrection of y^e Cevennes proving every Day more Considerable, the french K. sent a Marshall with 20.000 ag^t The MaleContents, who grow daylie more numerous. They writt from Room of a great Earthquake Oblidged the Jnhabitants to leave their houses. That the Towns of Norica, Caretto, Coscia, Rietti, Spoleto, proligno and others are quite overturned, and a great number of people perished

Lond^e Feb^r 4. An Embargo laid on throughout the Kingdome till the fleett is man^d.

Lond^e Feb^r 5, The K. of france Proffered the Male Contents a par-

* This fragment is the continuation of a letter published in the Proceedings for March, 1867, p. 491, which concludes abruptly thus: — "Lond^e Jan^y 28: Wee hear the Queen's Part of y^e Galloons" . . . These words connect here. — Eds.

don, if would lay down their armes; if would not, order to Kill and Destroy all.

It's said that the hon^{ble} Jn^r How Esq^r and S^r Jn^r Levingston Gowr are to be Created peers, and that the Marqueis of Normanby, the E: of Rochester, and the L^d Godolphin L^d treasurer to be made Dukes.

Letters say that the Grand Signeour has been Offered by the french K. 50 Millions of Livers to breake wth the Emperour. He putts himselfe into Warrlike preperations, to Obstruct the Muscovites entering his territory's and to Reduce the Arabs who are in Rebellion.

The Bishop of Lincolns Lady flung herselfe out of a window this afternoon and Dashed out her Braines.

Letters from Room say the Consternation is great because the Continence of y^e Earthquake, which has done the Ecclesiastick's a great deal of Damage, and y^e 1500 persons were ruined in it.

The King of Poland and Cardinall primatt are Jsueing out Circular Letters one ag^t the other Diet's, the Primat sydes wth the K. of Sweeden.

London: Feb^r 11. Letters from Gueinzey say that Cap^t Comby from N. yorke putt in there by Stress of Weather.

The K. of Prusia sent money to London to build a Calvinest Church for his subjects.

London: Feb^r 16. Letters from Parris say that the Spannards will not suffer the Cardinall De Estrees to be neir the K. Where upon y^e french K. wrote that Court he is much surprized at their Behaviour, after his Great Exspence in Defending their Monarchy.

Admir^l Graydon is appointed to succeed Admir^l Benbow for the West-Judies with all Speed. S^r Stafford fairborne is for ever made incapable of any Sea Command, for Declining to goe to the West Indies.

London: Feb^r 18; The Brasill fleet to Portugall is said to be Worth 2 Millions.

S^r Jn^r Munden is said to be Resorted to his former Command.

Dampier, wth 2 Ships of 26 guns, is Sailed for the South Seas, wth the Queen's Commission.

The Portugueise do daylie Exspect warr to be proclaimed against france and Spain.

Boston, Cap^t Delbridge Will Sail for London within a fourthnight, and Cap^t Dowse within a Month. Cap^{ts} Gillam, Coram and Robertson Jn 2 months.

Cap^t Jn^r Bennett in a Ship 100 Tuns 4 guns, men Answerable, sails for Barbados in 6 Weeks.

The Prize Ship of 150 Tuns, wth her Loading, at Rhoad Jsland, will be Exposed to Sail on Tuesday the 11 Jnstant.

[Addressed]

To The Hon^{ble}
JOHN WINTHROP Esq^r
Governour of Conecticut
N. London

Frank

Indorsed, — Publick occurrences
May 8th 1703

BOSTON, June 14th 1703.

On the 8th Instant the Assembly was adjourned unto the Last Wednesday of this month.

On the 9th His Excell. being accompanied with Severall Gentlemen, went to his Govern^t of New hampshire.

On the 10th a Sloop from the Bay of Campeachy, brings no news.

On the 11 Esq^r Bromfield mett wth a Sore Mischance; coming out of his Warehouse door, a Sloop Lying before his Warehouse door, the m^r of the Sloop hoising up his boom, the Sail, being Loos to Dry it, gave such a Swing that it struck him upon his Shouldier, Brock his Collar bone, put his Shouldier out of joynt; was for sometime speechless wth the Stroak, but it's hoped He'l Recover and do well.

On the 12th Arrived a Sloop from the Bay of Vandoras, one Lamson m^r who sayes that Cap^t Wheeler, that went hence for Jamaica, is Dead, his men all prest on board men of warr, and his Ship Hal'd up.

Cap^t Blew from R^d Island is arrived here this Day.

The Gosport and Gally is this Day sailed for Piscataqua.

Philad. May 28. arrived a Sloop in 22 Dayes from Antegua, in whom Came Cap^t Roach, an Inhabitant of that Island, wth his family to Settle here, brings the bad news of our forces leaving Guardilop untaken, wth the Loss of about 1000 by Enemy and Sickness. The Day he sailed the Gener^l Arrived, who has lost his Eye Sight wth some Distemper, the rest of the fleett and forces were Expected from Guardilop, the Gene^l Layes the Miscarriage so to heart that it's thought he'l hardly Recover upon it. It's said that the men of warr that were at Guardilop were all ordered home, and were to Sail the 29th may.

Some Prisoners that made theire Escape from Martinico to Antegua sayes that the french were fitting out abundance of privateers from that place, many of them Stout Vessells.

It's reported in the West Indies that mons^r Ponti was daylie Expected there wth a Squadron of men of warr of 22 Sail, besydes other Vessells.

The 31 arrived here a Sloop from Jamaica, 28 Dayes passage, Admir^l Whetstone, wth his Squadron, was at Jamaica, he's done nothing, only burnt a Ship the french took from us, and two privateer Sloops at Pettiquavis.

A fleett of merchantmen between 40 & 50 Sail und^r Convoy of 2 or 3 men of warr was to sail in may from Jamaica to England.

N. Yorke June 7: Last Week arrived here a Sloop from Coraso, 21 Dayes passage, sayes the Dutch have an open Trade wth New Spain, and that the Governour of Coraso has stopt Cap^t Wrightington & his Comp^t who sailed from R. Island, on what pretence knows not.

Cap^t Bond & Cap^t Sinclair sails in a fourth Night or 3 Weeks for London.

Boston Cap^t Travise sails to Day or Too morrow for London.

[Addressed]

To The Hon^{ble}
JOHN WINTHROP Esq^r
Gov^r of Connecticut
N. London
Franke

To N London

BOSTON, Octo. 4th 1703.

From Piscataqua the 1st Instant acquainted that a party of our forces, under the Command of Liv^t Coll March and Maj^r Cutler, about 365, marched on Sabbath Last to Pigwakett, and are in hopes to hear of them in Two or Three Dayes.

That m^r Henry Newman in a Sloop took up 3 French men in a burch Cannoo at Casko-bay, who are brought hither; upon Examination they Say that on the 8th May Last they came from Quebeck, where they were Souldiers, and run away from thence, because of bad usage, and Intended to Boston for Protection, they say that they sold their Armes at Port Royall. However it's judged they had no good Design, and are now in prison.

They say that the Gov^r of Canada is Dead, and that ther is 28 Comp^{ts} at Quebeck, consisting of 30 men Each.

From Hartford acquainted that a post came Latly from Albany, who acqua[nted] that a Mohawk was come in from [the] Lake and sayes that the Gov^r of Canada wth 700 men was on this side the Lake, Designing to march and make a Descent on the Frontiers of N. England, but that an Express came to him as was going to march, acquainting him of a fleet of ships seen, w^{ch} they Knew not whether friends or foes, upon w^{ch} he and his army posted back again.

And from Springfield it's said the reason of their going back was, the mischeif w^{ch} our Indians had Done at the Eastward had awakened our people to Secure our Frontiers.

Boston, no Ships arrived this Week & wee are in great fears of our mast fleet, the only hopes is that they came not out wth the Grand fleet, as it's said they did.

Wee had an Eminent Delivery, on Saturday night, about 12 a Clocke at Night, a fire had Like to have brock out in a house neir to Cap^t Williams.

To The Hon^{ble}
JOHN WINTHROP Esq^r
Gov^r of Connecticut at
N. London
Franck

Indorsed, — M^r Jonn Campbell's Newes
Oct. 4th 1703.

Mr. DEANE presented, in the name of Mr. J. Elliot Cabot, a plan of Fortifications on Bunker Hill and Charlestown Neck, which Mr. Cabot had found among the papers of the late Colonel Thomas H. Perkins. Mr. Deane said he supposed the plan referred to contemplated defences during the war of 1812, when fears were entertained of an attack by the enemy on Boston and the Navy Yard.

Mr. FROTHINGHAM concurred in this opinion.

The President called attention, before the adjournment, to a Correspondence between Governor James Bowdoin, of Massa-

chusetts, and Captain Stanhope, of the Royal Navy, in 1785, which had recently been printed in the October number of the Historical and Genealogical Register. It had been taken from Schomberg's "Naval Chronology," published in London in 1802. It was not surprising that, after the lapse of eighty-seven years, nothing was remembered of this controversy. As a matter of fact, however, it was the subject of action, at the time, both in the Legislature of Massachusetts and in the Congress of the United States Confederation; and the papers would be found in the printed journals of both those bodies. Some of the originals were in his own possession, with the family papers of Governor Bowdoin. Schomberg's account of the affair was very incomplete, and some of the letters were incorrectly printed. But he had not thought it important to revive the remembrance of the difficulty by reproducing papers which were already among the Legislative Documents of the country.

Mr. DEANE communicated a transcript of Captain John Smith's "New England's Trials," first edition, for publication in the Society's "Proceedings," and made the following observations respecting it:—

On my first visit to the Bodleian Library at Oxford, in 1866, the first book I asked to look at was Hariot's Virginia, 1588; and the second was the first edition of Captain John Smith's "New England's Trials," 1620, both of which I had understood to be in that library. These books are of exceeding rarity; and though the British Museum also has a copy of each, I am not aware that either can be found in this country. I had for some years possessed a copy of the second edition of the "Trials," 1622, which is the one usually cited. Considerable additions were made to the second edition. The first contains only eight leaves of text, while the second contains fourteen. Neither edition is paged. By the phrase, "New England's Trials," the author does not mean New England's afflictions or sufferings, but the *attempts* or *experiments* made in the prosecution of voyages thither for settlement or for fishing. The book was published four years after his "Description of New England," in which he gives an account of his only visit here two years before.

There is nothing in either edition to indicate that a map was published with it; yet it seems most probable that Smith's map of New England, first issued in the "Description of New England," 1616, was reissued in both. The map is found in some of his later publications, and was also inserted as late as 1635

in Sparks's "Historia Mundi." The result of a collation of many copies of the map, by Mr. Lenox and myself, has shown that it was issued in at least nine different conditions, all from the same copperplate, but additions and alterations were made in the plate from time to time at subsequent issues of the map. The map was first published in its simplest form in the "Description of New England," 1616. One of these may be seen in a copy of this tract in the Prince Library. The second issue of the map, it is conjectured, was published in the "New England's Trials" of 1620. On this the date "1614," the year of Smith's visit to New England, was introduced under the scale of leagues, as are "P. Travers" and "Gerrard Isles" near Pembrock's Bay. These, so far as observed, are the only additions to the map in its second stage. A lithographic *fac-simile* of the map in this stage (except that a number of ships in the body of it are wanting) is prefixed to the reprint of Smith's "Advertisements," in 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., iii. 1.

The transcript of "New England's Trials" which I now communicate to the Society has been made for me from a copy of the original tract in the Bodleian Library.

It is quite unnecessary to dwell here on the well-known career of Captain Smith. After living about two years and a half in Virginia, he left that settlement in 1609, "about Michaelmas,"—the last of September, for England, never to return. We hear little further of him till, in 1614, he embarked for New England, then called North Virginia, "with two ships, sent out," as he says, "at the charge of Captain Marmaduke Roydon, Captain George Langam, M. John Buley, and W. Skelton," merchants of London. "I went from the Downs the third of March, and arrived in New England the last of April, where I was to have stayed but with ten men to keep possession of those large territories." (*New England's Trials*, second ed.) He failed in making a settlement, and returned on the 18th of July, arriving at Plymouth the latter end of August. He brought back in the ship in which he sailed a large quantity of fish, furs, and oil, and a map of the country which he had drawn while there.

In March of the following year, 1615, Smith set sail from Plymouth with two vessels, fitted out by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and others, for New England, where, "when the fishing was done, only with fifteen I was to stay in the country; but ill weather breaking all my masts, I was forced to return to Plymouth." The other ship proceeded on her voyage. He then re-embarked on the 24th of June in a vessel of sixty tons, but was overtaken near Flores by some French men-of-war

and himself carried to France, returning to England before the close of the year. (*Ibid.*; *Description of New England.*)

Smith never again embarked for New England. He says that great promises were held out to him by the Plymouth Company, or its members, but that they were never fulfilled. Two years later, under date of 1617, he says:—

“I being at Plymouth provided with 3 good ships, yet but fifteen men to stay with me in the country, was wind-bound three months, as was many a hundred sail more; so that the season being past, the ships went for Newfoundland, whereby my design was frustrate, which was to me and my friends no small loss, in regard whereof here the Western Commissioners in the behalf of themselves and the rest of the Company, contracted with me by articles indented under our hands, to be Admiral of that Country during my life, and in the renewing of their Letters patents so to be nominated; half the fruits of our endeavours theirs, the rest our own; being thus ingaged, now the business doth prosper, some of them would willingly forget me; but I am not the first they have deceived.” (*New England's Trials*, second ed.)

In the last book which he wrote, published in 1631, the year of his death, in recurring to the year 1617, he says, “They promised me the next year twenty sail, well furnished, made me Admiral of the Country for my life, under their hands, and the Colony's Seal for *New England*; and in renewing their Letters Patents to be a Patentee for my pains, yet nothing but a volutary fishing was effected for all this air.” (*Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters*, &c.)

From Smith's own account in the above extracts from his books, it would appear that he was made Admiral of New England in 1617; but on the title-page of his “*Description of New England*,” published the year before, “At London, printed the 18th of June, in the yeere of our Lord, 1616,” he styles himself “Admirall of that Country;” and this title, following his name, was also inscribed on the map which accompanied this tract. He nowhere in the text speaks of having had this title conferred upon him; but he says that, after his return from New England, and he had imparted his purposes relative to that country to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and some others, at Plymouth, “I was so encouraged and assured to have the managing their authority in those parts, during my life, that I ingaged to undertake it for them” (p. 48).

Although Smith seems to have failed in maintaining for himself the confidence either of the Plymouth or the London Company, and was never again employed in the service of either, he continued his interest in the colonization of both colonies,

— at least he constantly sought employment, and wrote books and distributed them most liberally in furtherance of his objects.* In his "Generall Historie," published in 1624, after citing largely from his "New England's Trials," he says: "Now all these proofs and this relation I now called *New England's* trial. I caused two or three thousand of them to be printed; one thousand, with a great many maps both of *Virginia* and *New-England*, I presented to thirty of the chief Companies in *London*, at their Halls, desiring either generally or particularly (them that would) to imbrace it, and by the use of a stock of five thousand pound, to ease them of the superfluity of the most of their companies that had but strength and health to labour; near a year I spent to understand their resolutions, which was to me a greater toil and torment than to have been in *New England* about my business, but with bread and water, and what I could get there by my labour; but, in conclusion, seeing nothing would be effected, I was contented as well with this loss of time and charges as all the rest" (p. 230).

A brief summary of the condition of affairs as to the colonization of New England, from the time of the breaking up of the Popham Colony in 1608, to the settlement at Plymouth in 1620, will conclude this prefatory note. It is taken from Smith's "True Travels," published in 1630:—

"When I went first to the North part of *Virginia*, where the Westerly Colony had been planted, it had dissolved it self within a year, and there was not one *Christian* in all the land.† I was set forth at the sole charge of four merchants of *London*; the Country being then reputed by your westerlings a most rocky, barren, desolate desert; but the good return I brought from thence, with the maps and relations I made of the Country, which I made so manifest, some of them did believe me, and they were well embraced, both by the Londoners, and Westerlings, for whom I had promised to undertake it, thinking to have joyned them all together, but that might well have been a work for *Hercules*. Betwixt them long there was much contention; the Lon-

* Sometime in the year 1618, Smith addressed a letter to Lord Bacon (now preserved in the Public Record Office in London), in which he solicits his lordship's patronage, "humbly desiring your Honor would be pleased to grace me with the title of your lordship's servant." He enlarges upon his own former services and sacrifices in the cause of colonization, and promises to effect great things towards this object if means and opportunity were provided him. He hopes his "poverty" may be no hindrance to the success of his application. He gives in the letter some statistics, showing the success which had attended the fishing-vessels sent to the coast of New England the previous four years, and much in the same language which he employs on the fourth and fifth pages of his "New England's Trials," published two years afterwards. (*Memorial Volume of the Popham Celebration*, App. pp. 104-107, Portland, 1863.)

† Smith means that there was no settlement or colony of Christians there. He himself speaks of other fishing-vessels being on the coast at the time he was there.

doners indeed went bravely forward ; but in three or four years, I and my friends consumed many hundred pounds amongst the *Plymothians*, who only fed me but with delays, promises, and excuses, but no performance of any thing to any purpose. In the interim, many particular ships went thither, and finding my relations true, and that I had not taken that I brought home from the French men, as had been reported ; yet further for my pains to discredit me, and my calling it *New-England*, they obscured it, and shadowed it, with the title of *Canada*, till at my humble suit, it pleased our most Royal King *Charles*, whom God long keep, bless, and preserve, then Prince of *Wales*, to confirm it with my map and book, by the title of *New England* ; the gain thence returning did make the fame thereof so increase that thirty, forty, or fifty sail, went yearly only to trade and fish ; but nothing would be done for a plantation, till about some hundred of your Brownists of *England*, *Amsterdam*, and *Leyden*, went to *New-Plimouth*, whose humorous ignorances, caused them for more than a year, to endure a wonderful deal of misery, with an infinite patience ; saying my books and maps were much better cheap to teach them, than my self ; many other have used the like good husbandry that have payed soundly in trying their selfwilled conclusions ; but those in time doing well, diverse others have in small handfulls undertaken to go there, to be several Lords and Kings of themselves, but most vanished to nothing," &c. (pp. 46, 47).

A little further on he says : " Now this year 1629, a great company of people of good rank, zeal, means, and quality, have made a great stock ; and with six good ships, in the months of April and May, they set sail from [the] *Thames*, for the Bay of the *Massachusetts*," &c. They were bound for Salem, to supply Endicott, who had arrived there the year before ; and they were followed the next year by the fleet under Winthrop.

[Smith's tract will be found at the end of the volume, following page 447, reprinted page for page according to the original. The vignettes and the ornamented initial letters are not *fac-similes*.]

MARCH MEETING.

The stated monthly meeting was held at the residence of Mr. Mason, on Thursday evening, March 13th, at 7½ o'clock.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Mr. WINTHROP, who addressed the Society as follows:—

GENTLEMEN OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

We have so recently been called to attend the funeral of our late venerable Senior Member and former President, the Hon. James Savage, that it is only as a matter for record, that his death, on Saturday, the 8th inst., requires any formal announcement to the Society this evening. I need hardly say, that we cannot consider it a subject for the expression of sorrow. Even those nearest and dearest to him, who have so tenderly watched over him in his infirmities, during the last eight or nine years, must have abundant consolation for their bereavement. We may all, indeed, have found cause for satisfaction and gratitude, as we learned that, in the good providence of God, our aged friend was at length happily released from the burdens of the flesh and of the spirit, which have weighed upon him so heavily since he had come to fourscore years.

Yet none of us, I am sure, can see his name disappearing at last from the very top of our living roll, altogether without emotion; and, certainly, not without pausing to pay a more than common tribute of respect and affection to his memory. Quite apart from all the personal qualities and associations which had endeared him to us so warmly, we cannot forget that the removal of his name from our roll has sundered the last link between our Society of this generation, and that little company of Historical Students and lovers of antiquity, in which it originated more than eighty years ago. We have, it is true, still in our ranks, and we rejoice to remember that it is so, more than one of those who have seen as many years of human life as our departed friend. But there is no one now left, among our existing members, whose relation to our Society commenced within a quarter of a century of the date of his election; no one, who witnessed the small beginnings of our work, or who was associated, as he was, with any of those by whom that work was originally organized.

Mr. Savage was chosen a member of this Society on the 28th of January, 1813. He had thus been a member for a little more than sixty years,—a longer term than any on our

records, as I believe, except that of the late venerable Josiah Quincy, who had completed his sixty-eighth year of continuous membership, when he died, in 1864, at ninety-two years of age.

When Mr. Savage was elected, Dr. Jeremy Belknap, our honored founder; Governor Sullivan, our first President; the Rev. Dr. Thacher, and the Hon. George Richards Minot, were, indeed, no more. But the Rev. Dr. Eliot, the Rev. Dr. Freeman, the Hon. William Tudor, Thomas Wallcut, Esq., the Hon. James Winthrop, and the Hon. William Baylies, — six of our Decemvirs, — six of the ten whose election dates back to the 24th of January, 1791, and who on that day met together and organized the Society, — were still living and active members. With them, when Mr. Savage was elected, were associated, among others, Governor Gore, then the President of the Society; Judge Davis, and Lieutenant-Governor Winthrop, who succeeded him in that office; Dr. Manasseh Cutler, who, twenty years before, had led the way of the pioneer emigrants to the Ohio River; Dr. Thaddeus Mason Harris, Dr. Prince and Dr. Bentley, of Salem; Dr. Homer, of Newton; Dr. Morse, the Geographer; Dr. Abiel Holmes, the Annalist; John Adams, Caleb Strong, Alden Bradford, Professors Peck and McKean, President Kirkland, and Dr. Pierce, — besides Josiah Quincy and John Quincy Adams, whose membership, — to a few of us, at least, — is something more than a tradition.

Mr. Savage was but twenty-nine years of age, when he became associated with these men in our ranks; and as no professional or public duties ever took him far away from his native place, for any considerable length of time, his services to our Society, and his attendance at its meetings, were in the way of being, and unquestionably were, more prolonged, continuous, and constant, than those of any other member, from its foundation.

Accordingly, we find him Librarian, from 1814 to 1818; a member of the Publishing Committee of five several volumes of our Collections, in 1815, 1816, 1819, 1823, and 1825; Treasurer from 1820 to 1839; a member of the Standing Committee from 1818 to 1820, and from 1835 to 1841; and the President of the Society from 1841 to 1855. Having then passed the term of threescore years and ten, he claimed, as he certainly had a right to claim, an honorable dismissal from the routine of official duty.

It seems but yesterday, that I succeeded him in this chair, at the close of our Annual Meeting, on the 12th of April,

1855, when, on motion of our late accomplished associate, Mr. Ticknor, it was unanimously resolved, "That the members of this Society, — mindful of the excellent services which, for fourteen years, the Hon. James Savage has rendered as its President, and of his peculiar fitness for that place, not only on all other grounds, but from his extraordinarily accurate knowledge of whatever relates to the early history of New England, — do now express their great regret at his resignation, and offer him their thanks for his long-tried and uniform fidelity to their interests." It seems but yesterday, that, in taking the seat which he had so held and honored, I was speaking of that fulness of information, that richness of reminiscence, that raciness of remark and repartee, which had so often given the highest relish to our monthly meetings, which was then to be lost to the chair; — and which is now lost to us for ever. Eighteen years have since passed away, during the first half of which he continued to be one of our most punctual and assiduous members, ever entering our rooms with that eager, animated, joyous look, which betokened that he felt as much pleasure as he imparted. Since then, for us, all has been silence.

Was I not right, Gentlemen, in suggesting that, while his name remained at the head of our roll, even though it were only a name, or even but the shadow of a name, we seemed to have a living tie to the old traditions, the old worthies, and the old workers and organizers, of our Society, which is now finally sundered? Certainly, his death at this moment, — just as we are about entering on the occupation of our reconstructed Halls, — seems to conspire most impressively with that event, in marking still a new departure for our Society, still another era in its history, when the responsibilities for its future usefulness and honor are to be unshared with even one of those who had been witnesses, or partakers in any way, of its early experiences and its narrower fortunes. Certainly, it seems to call upon us, — as we enter on that era, with nothing left of the Founders and their early associates and followers except their inspiring memory and example, — for a warmer interest in the welfare of the Institution which they so loved and honored, and for a deeper devotion to the work for which they established it.

The most interesting and valuable contributions, which were made by Mr. Savage to our own published volumes, were undoubtedly his "Gleanings for New England History," prepared by him immediately on his return from a summer visit to England in 1842, and which were followed by "More," and "More Gleanings," not long afterwards.

But the great historical labors of his life, his two Editions and Annotations of "Winthrop's History of New England from 1630 to 1649," and his wonderful Genealogical Dictionary of New England, were hardly less in our service than if they had formed a part of our own Collections. If a new edition of the Winthrop, certainly, should ever be demanded, it might well be placed side by side with the Bradford, and under the care of the same hand, among the publications of this Society, and it would be a fit monument to the memory of our departed friend.

I am aware, however, Gentlemen, that we are all thinking at this moment much more of the man we have lost, than of his services to our Society, or of his work in the cause of New England History, which can never be lost. He comes back to many of us, to-night, as he was twenty years ago, in the old Pilgrim Chair, before the old Provincial Desk, in the old dusty rooms of our Society, — before the name of Thomas Dowse had been breathed among us; or, certainly, before his benefactions, by the marvellous alchemy of good George Livermore, had transmuted all that belonged to us into something more precious than gold.

He was at that day, — and with those surroundings, — the perfect impersonation of an Antiquary, in form and feature, in speech and in spirit. He had few or none of the smoothnesses and roundnesses of conventional life; and though he did not affect or cultivate singularity, he by no means scorned that part of his nature which rendered him singular. He would be called, in common parlance, — and he has often been called, — a man of strong and even intense prejudices. Yet I think he never prejudged any thing or anybody. It was only when he had known any person in society, or had studied any person or any passage in history, that he conceived opinions which nothing could change, and which clung to him, and he to them, ever afterwards. His impulsive and even explosive utterances of such opinions were never to be forgotten by those who witnessed them. Still less could any one ever forget his exuberant exultations, when his searches and researches were rewarded, by verifying some disputed date, or discovering some historical fact, or by lighting upon some lost historical manuscript. He rejoiced, as the Psalmist describes it, "as one that findeth great spoil." His "Eureka" had all the elation and ecstasy of that of the old philosopher of Syracuse.

He was eminently a character, even for a Tale or a Drama. His marked peculiarities would have given a vivid interest to any story, and his racy utterances would have enlivened any

dialogue. If he had chanced to have been one of the neighbors of Sir Walter Scott, he could never have escaped the fate, let me rather say the felicity, which befell so many of those neighbors, of figuring in one of the Waverley Novels.

I remember that Thackeray once passed an evening with him at my own house, at a meeting of the old Wednesday Night Club of 1770, of which he was so long a member. When I met Thackeray afterwards, his immediate remark was, "I want to see that quaint, charming, old Mr. Savage again."

In a conversation with Walter Savage Landor, then eighty years old, at his own villa in Florence, in 1860, he greeted me by saying, "I know all about your family and the old Founder of New England;" and then he forthwith went on to speak of the Savage family, whose name he bore, including the old Earl of Rivers and our James Savage, of Boston, whose edition of Winthrop he had evidently seen. There were occasional scintillations and coruscations exhibited in common by Landor himself and by our departed friend, which might have indicated an affinity or consanguinity, even after the genealogists had failed to trace them.

If there was anybody whom the late Lord Braybrooke, the editor of Pepys, or Dr. Bliss, the editor of Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, or Joseph Romilly, the late Registrar of old Cambridge, or Joseph Hunter, the Antiquary *par excellence* of Her Majesty's Record Office, remembered and valued in America, it was Mr. Savage. He had corresponded with them all, and had known them all personally, while he was visiting England.

To come nearer home, I may not forget that I rarely if ever met, after a longer or a shorter absence, my late lamented friend, John P. Kennedy, of Baltimore, who had as keen a relish and as quick an appreciation of wit and of wisdom as Thackeray or even Sydney Smith, that it was not his second exclamation, if not his first, "How is our old friend Savage? Is he as earnest, and humorous, and funny as ever?"

I may be pardoned for remembering, too, that it was from a member of this Society, elected eight years after him, but who died in early manhood, forty years before him, who sympathized with him in all his pursuits, and aided him in many of his researches and labors, and was unto him for many years almost as a brother, as he was to myself an own brother,—the late James Bowdoin,—that I first learned to appreciate the sterling qualities of our friend's mind and character; his minute exactness; his untiring perseverance; his inexhaustible patience of research; his mingled impetuosity and tender-

ness; his sympathy with the sufferings of others, and his brave endurance of his own.

But I must not forget how many there are around me who have known him longer and better than myself, and who will more than supply any deficiencies of my own tribute. I omit, therefore, all notice of the public trusts in the City and in the State, and as a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1820, which he discharged so well; all notice of the grand work he did for the community in organizing and presiding over that Provident Institution for Savings, where, for a few years, I was monthly at his side; all notice, too, of the Christian resignation and bravery with which he bore domestic trials, which might have crushed a feebler spirit. Let me only say, in conclusion, that the death of his only son in the late Civil War, — a son of the same name with himself, and who had given every promise of transmitting that name with increased distinction to future generations, — has doubled the obligation which rests upon us, to guard that name from being lost to the records either of patient and successful historic research, or of patriotic and heroic self-sacrifice.

Mr. EDMUND QUINCY, from the Standing Committee, then offered the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Historical Society, in recording the death of their oldest member and former President, the Hon. James Savage, would add the expression of their grateful sense of his long services as a member and officer of the Society, and of the invaluable contributions to the History of New England, and especially of Massachusetts, which are due to his indomitable industry and conscientious accuracy.

Resolved, That the family of Mr. Savage may be assured that there are none of the inhabitants of this city where his life was passed that can have a more sincere respect and admiration for his character and conduct both in public and private life, or a more warmly cherished recollection of their personal intercourse with him, than the members of this Society.

Resolved, That the President be requested to appoint one of our associates to prepare a Memoir of Mr. Savage for the Proceedings of the Society.

Mr. CHARLES DEANE then said:—

Nothing surely need be said, Mr. President, to complete your own full and just tribute to our late Senior Member; yet I cannot resist the opportunity of adding a few words, for the memories which I cherish of Mr. Savage are most pleasant. I shall never forget how cordially he welcomed me when a

young man, nearly twenty-five years ago, into this Society, then limited to sixty members. There were fifty-eight names upon the Resident Roll at that time, only eighteen of which now remain. And what a galaxy of brilliant names they were, of which so many have been stricken off by death:—that of Quincy, so long our Senior Member, and of Everett, and Gray, and Prescott, and Webster, and Sparks, and Ticknor, and Choate, and Frothingham, and Shaw, and Young, and others I will not detain you to enumerate. The name of Savage is now added to the list of the dead.

Mr. Savage will be remembered as the New England Antiquary by way of eminence. I remember that the late Joseph Hunter somewhere draws a distinction—perhaps a fanciful one—between the Antiquary and the Historian. It belongs to the antiquary, he says, to gather up the small facts of history, the fragments of truth, to be a gleaner in the by-ways of the past. Mr. Savage had a peculiar facility for all this. With a persistency and an enthusiasm I never saw surpassed, he would pursue the inquiry into the smallest incidents of history. They were not small to him. He saw that they had a place, and had important relations to other facts.

But Mr. Savage was not merely an antiquary. He had, like his friend Mr. Hunter, many of the higher qualities of an historian. He saw the relations of historical facts to each other, and could trace the principle or law by which nations or communities rise or decay, and opinions change from age to age. The history of New England was all written out on the tablets of his memory, if he had never written it elsewhere. But his annotations to Winthrop's History are a marvellous embodiment of facts and opinions, which show how thoroughly he understood the subject that he undertook to illustrate.

Gibbon somewhere says of the ecclesiastical historian Tillemont, that his wonderful accuracy "almost assumes the character of genius." Mr. Savage's love of accuracy was never excelled. He always meant to be right; he always felt that he was right; and perhaps few had attained to a higher degree of exactness in investigations kindred to his own. He took nothing upon trust. He felt that here a missing link, as in the chain of circumstantial evidence in weaving its meshes round the criminal, was fatal to the proof.

The discovery of the manuscript of Governor Winthrop's 3d volume of the History of New England, in 1816, in the tower of the Old South Church, was most providential, when we consider into whose hands it was committed, to copy and to illustrate. Mr. Savage was then a young man, but he had

been elected a member of this Society three years before. He immediately set about the task of copying and annotating the volume, but he soon determined to prepare a new edition of the whole work, including the two earlier volumes, published at Hartford, in 1790, of which the manuscripts were in the cabinet of this Society. The whole work, owing to various circumstances, did not appear till 1825-26. Its publication at that time formed a new era in the history of annotation of our New England chronicles. No other work, it is true, extant among us, relating to our annals, was of equal value ; but such as had been published were not annotated. Hubbard's History had been issued by the Society as parts of the Collections, but without notes or illustrations. Judge Davis's edition of Morton's Memorial, copied from the first printed edition of 1669, with full notes by the editor, had been long in course of preparation, and soon followed this edition of Winthrop.

In turning over Mr. Savage's numerous letters to me, written some fifteen or twenty years ago, when he was engaged on his last great work, his Genealogical Dictionary of New England,—a monument of labor and patience,—I am reminded of the many curious questions in history, genealogy, and bibliography which he was so fond of discussing. There were some points on which we differed,—if I may be pardoned for saying that I ever ventured to differ from him on any subject,—and long dissertations, harmless certainly, if not always convincing, sometimes ensued. As an illustration of the thoroughness with which Mr. Savage pursued his investigations, I may be permitted to refer to one instance which came under my own observation. There had been, as is well known, a tradition for many years in the Rogers family in New England, among those descended from the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers of Ipswich, that he was a grandson of the proto-martyr of Queen Mary's reign. There was a link wanting in the chain of evidence. Mr. Savage had no faith in the tradition, which could not be traced beyond the time of Hutchinson. It was, however, warmly cherished by descendants of the Ipswich family ; and among the tangible pieces of evidence produced, it was stated that a branch of the family, in a neighboring town, had a copy of the Bible which, according to invariable tradition, once belonged to the martyr himself,—indeed, it was said to be the identical copy which he carried with him to the stake, and that it bore upon its leaves the marks of fire. This was thought to be an overwhelming piece of testimony to the fact that the owners of that Bible were lineal descendants of the martyr. Unfortunately, like most of the ancient Bibles,

the title-page which bore the date was gone. This only whetted Mr. Savage's determination the more to ascertain when that book was printed. It bore the monogram of Cawood, a well-known London printer of the 16th century. So a leaf of this memorable scorched relic was procured, and through the intervention of our late member, Mr. Livermore, was sent to Mr. George Offor, an eminent biblical bibliographer, of London, who diligently compared it with all the known editions of Cawood; and he proved beyond a question that the volume was a copy of the edition of 1561,—*six years after the martyr's death.*

Mr. Savage's well-known tastes and pursuits, and marked qualities of mind, drew around him a large number of attached friends and admirers. Among those whom I have named as members here when I was first elected an associate, was the Rev. Alexander Young, D.D., a thorough antiquary and an exact scholar. He had a great admiration for Mr. Savage, and of every thing he said and did. He once told me that he was accustomed to read over and over again the notes to Winthrop's History, apart from the text. The information he there gleaned, expressed in the quaint and inverted style of the editor, gave him the highest satisfaction and enjoyment; and he always gathered up his odd sayings of wit and wisdom as they fell from his lips, seated, as President of this Society, in the old Governor Winslow chair, and regretted that there was no Boswell to collect and preserve these *Savageana* in a permanent form.

With the kindest nature and the most delicate sensibilities, Mr. Savage also would have realized Dr. Johnson's idea of a "good hater." He hated Cotton Mather with a deadly hatred. The late Richard Biddle, the author of the Life of Sebastian Cabot, whom he made his hero, relentlessly pursued the memory of Richard Hakluyt, the eminent historical collector, who lived two centuries and a half before him, because he thought that historian had furnished evidence unfairly that John Cabot, the father, and not Sebastian, the son, discovered North America. One would almost as soon think of getting angry with the North Pole for eluding the search of the discoverers.

But Mr. Savage thought that Cotton Mather was a sham; that he was weak and credulous, and worse; and that his historical statements were not to be trusted. He had gathered up traditionary anecdotes of him which I never saw recorded in print, and which I suppose he believed, because he felt they were so like the subject of them.

I remember reading, when a boy, John Foster's "Essay on Decision of Character," and I felt that the qualities there commended were the highest objects to which a young man could aspire. Mr. Savage was distinguished for this admirable quality of decision and independence of character. It is absolutely refreshing in a community like ours, where few dare to have an opinion before they know what the public think, to see a man form his own independent judgment, and stand by it. There is a great invisible tyrant stalking about the community we call "public opinion," which everybody fears, and nobody dares encounter; which lays down its inexorable laws, and puts its ban on all who resist them. I once asked a man what he thought of a certain public transaction of recent occurrence, involving no hard problems to solve. He replied that he was not prepared to give an opinion till he had seen what the newspapers of the following morning had to say. A man who forms his judgment in the clear white light of truth, irrespective of lower considerations which unfortunately bias most minds, stands out before his fellows as a marked man, and by way of contrast challenges respect. He is a tower of strength to the weak and shuffling creatures who dare not call their souls their own. Such a man was Mr. Savage. He sometimes erred,—for to err is human,—but he was always true to himself.

Remarks were also made by Dr. A. P. PEABODY, Judge HOAR, and Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted, all the members rising.

The President then spoke of the decease of Baron Dupin, an Honorary Member, in the following language:—

The death of the Baron Charles Dupin, of France, has been recently announced in the French Journals. His name is nearly at the head of our Foreign Honorary Roll, second only to that of the venerable and illustrious Guizot. He was born on the 6th of October, 1784, in the same year in which our late Senior Resident Member, whom we have just noticed, was born, and he had thus attained the age of eighty-eight. Educated at the Polytechnic School, where he was graduated with the highest honors in 1808, he became distinguished as a Naval Engineer; and, being much employed in distant ports, he succeeded in 1813 the celebrated James Watt as a Corresponding Member of the Institute, in the section of Mechanics.* He

* Vapereau's Dictionnaire Universel des Contemporains.

was the founder of the Maritime Museum at Toulon. He published many Essays and Reports from time to time; and in 1820-24, an elaborate account of a visit to England in 1816 to 1821. This last Work in six volumes, with careful Maps, cost him the displeasure and censure of his own Government, owing to what was called its *Anglomania*; but it received the most flattering commendations from Sir James Mackintosh, from Huskisson and George Canning, and from the then Marquis of Lansdowne.

The Baron Dupin was elected an Honorary Member of this Society on the 14th of April, 1859, on the nomination of Mr. Everett, at the suggestion of the late Robert Walsh, who wrote to Mr. Everett from Paris, on the 12th of November, 1858, as follows:—

“Baron Dupin was a distinguished member of the Chamber of Deputies, and afterwards of the Peers, under the monarchy of Louis Philippe. At one time, he was called to the Ministry of Marine. He holds seats in the Academy of Sciences, and in that of the Moral and Political Sciences. No Member of either body is more useful. He was at the head of the French Commission for the London Universal Exhibition. He is eminent in Mathematics, and without a rival in Statistics. Not long since, he prepared and published, at the instance of the Imperial Government, two octavos, entitled ‘The Productive Force of Nations from 1800 to 1851,’ as an introduction to the Reports of the French Commission. The progress and resources of the United States have their full share of his pages and of his favor.”

Mr. Walsh's letter made special allusion, also, to M. Jomard, another of our late Honorary Members, and he proceeds to say:

“The two *Savans* — Jomard and Dupin — are the Frenchmen whom I have found, throughout twenty-two years of constant intercourse, the most friendly and serviceable to our institutions and national character, and to individuals. They have uniformly exerted themselves when American science, literature, or invention was to be introduced and recommended to the learned bodies and to the French public. As far as I know, neither has received any token of honor and acknowledgment from an American University or Society. Each has all claims to the degree of Doctor of Laws, or to some manifestation of American esteem.”

It gave our Society pleasure to repair this omission so far as was in our power; and we should all be unwilling, I am sure, that the death of the Baron Dupin should be announced without this brief notice of his life and labors.

The President proceeded next to present to the Society an autograph letter from the late Chief Justice of the United States, speaking of it as follows:—

I hold in my hand a long and very interesting letter from the late Chief Justice Taney, addressed, in 1857, to the late Rev. Samuel Nott, then a clergyman in Wareham, Mass^{ts}. Mr. Nott was a nephew of the late Dr. Eliphalet Nott, so long the honored President of Union College, Schenectady, N.Y. He had himself been graduated at that college in 1808; and, entering at once upon the Missionary Cause, he lived to be the last survivor of the first band of missionaries sent out to India by the American Board in 1812. He published several volumes of Sermons, and was always a laborious Christian scholar and writer. In his later years, he was the author of a pamphlet which went through five editions, and received many supplements, until it almost reached the dimensions of a volume, entitled "Slavery, and the Remedy; or, Principles and Suggestions for a Remedial Code." The last edition, published in 1857, contained "A Review of the Decision of the Supreme Court in the Case of Dred Scott."

It was a very able and carefully considered production, and attracted a good deal of notice at the South, as well as at the North, while Slavery was a living question. Mr. Nott had sent a copy of it to the late Chief Justice, and this letter was written in acknowledgment. It happened that Mr. Nott called upon me not long after its receipt, and read it to me confidentially. While reading lately the Memoir of Chief Justice Taney, by a distinguished lawyer of Maryland, Samuel Tyler, Esq., LL.D.,—a work of great interest, though containing some passages in which many of us might not concur,—I was reminded of this letter, and, with the obliging aid of our associate, Mr. Ellis Ames, took measures for procuring it. It has now been kindly sent to me by the son of the late Rev. Mr. Nott, to be placed in the archives of this Society. It will be seen that it contains some items of autobiography, and also a request that it may not be published. But both parties to the correspondence being now dead,—the Chief Justice having died in 1864, and the Rev. Mr. Nott in 1869,—I have found, on consultation with Mr. Tyler, to whom all the private papers of the Chief Justice were intrusted by himself and his family, that there is no objection to its being printed; and it will probably be included hereafter in an Appendix to the Memoir. It is, certainly, a most interesting and characteristic letter from a most distinguished man, whose long service on

the Supreme Bench of the United States, as the successor of Chief Justice Marshall, was marked by the highest ability, and to whose memory the warmest tributes were paid by not a few of those who had not concurred in some of his decisions.

I present it as the gift of Samuel Nott, Esq., of Hartford, Conn., and submit it to our Committee of Publication.

Letter of Chief Justice Taney.

FAUQUIER, WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS, VIRGINIA,
August 19th, 1857.

SIR,—I received some time ago your letter, and pamphlet on "Slavery, and the Remedy," which you have been kind enough to send me. They were received when I was much out of health, and about to leave home for the summer. And it was not in my power to give the pamphlet an attentive perusal until within a few days past. I have read it with great pleasure. The just, impartial, and fraternal spirit in which it is written entitles it to a respectful consideration, in the South as well as the North. And if any thing can allay the unhappy excitement which is daily producing so much evil to the African as well as the white race, it is the discussion of the subject in the temper in which you have treated it. For you have looked into it and considered it in all its bearings, in the spirit of a statesman as well as a philanthropist. I am glad to find that it has been so well received as to reach the fifth edition.

Every intelligent person whose life has been passed in a slaveholding State, and who has carefully observed the character and capacity of the African race, will see that a general and sudden emancipation would be absolute ruin to the negroes, as well as to the white population. In Maryland and Virginia every facility has been given to emancipation where the freed person was of an age and condition of health that would enable him to provide for himself by his own labor. And before the present excitement was gotten up, the freed negro was permitted to remain in the State, and to follow any occupation of honest labor and industry that he might himself prefer. And in this state of the law manumissions were frequent and numerous. They sprang from the kindness and sympathy of the master for the negro, or from scruples of conscience; and were often made without sufficiently considering his capacity and fitness for freedom. And in the greater number of cases that have come under my observation, freedom has been a serious misfortune to the manumitted slave; and he has most commonly brought upon himself privations and sufferings which he would not have been called on to endure in a state of slavery. In many cases, however, it has undoubtedly promoted his happiness. But all experience proves that the relative position of the two races, when placed in contact with each other, must necessarily become such as you describe. Nor is it felt as a painful degradation by the black race. On the contrary, upon referring to the last census, you will find that more free negroes remain in Maryland than in

any one of the Northern States, notwithstanding the disabilities and stricter police to which they are subjected. And there is a still greater number in Virginia. I speak from memory, without having the census before me. But I think I am not mistaken in the fact.

It is difficult for any one who has not lived in a slaveholding State to comprehend the relations which practically exist between the slaves and their masters. They are in general kind on both sides, unless the slave is tampered with by ill-disposed persons; and his life is usually cheerful and contented, and free from any distressing wants or anxieties. He is well taken care of in infancy, in sickness, and in old age. There are indeed exceptions, — painful exceptions. But this will always be the case, where power combined with bad passions or a mercenary spirit is on one side, and weakness on the other. It frequently happens when both parties are of the same race, although the weaker and dependent one may not be legally a slave.

Unquestionably it is the duty of every master to watch over the religious and moral culture of his slaves, and to give them every comfort and privilege that is not incompatible with the continued existence of the relations between them. And so far as my knowledge extends, this duty is faithfully performed by the great body of hereditary slaveholders in Maryland and Virginia. I speak of these States only, because with respect to them I have personal knowledge of the subject. But I have no reason to suppose it is otherwise in States farther south. And I know it has been the desire of the statesmen of Maryland to secure to the slave by law every protection from maltreatment by the master that can with safety be given, and without impairing that degree of authority which is essential to the interest and well-being of both. But this question is a very delicate one, and must at all times be approached with the utmost caution. The safe and true line must always depend upon existing circumstances, and they must be thoroughly inquired into and understood before there can be any safe or useful legislation in a State.

The pains which have unhappily been taken for some years past to produce discontent and ill-feeling in the subject race, has rendered any movement in that direction still more difficult. For it has naturally made the master more sensitive and jealous of any new restriction upon the power he has heretofore exercised, and which he has been accustomed to think essential to the maintenance of his authority as master. And he also feels that any step in that direction at the present time might injuriously affect the minds of the slaves. They are for the most part weak, credulous, and easily misled by stronger minds. And if in the present state of things additional restrictions were placed on the authority of the master, or new privileges granted to them, they would probably be told that they were wrung from the master by their Northern friends; and be taught to regard them as the first step to a speedy and universal emancipation, placing them on a perfect equality with the white race. It is easy to foresee what would be the sad result of such an impression upon the minds of this weak and credulous race.

Your review of the decision in the case of Dred Scott is a fair one, and states truly the opinion of the Court. It will, I hope, correct some of the misrepresentations which have so industriously been made; and made too, I fear, by many who must have known better. But I do not mean to publish any vindication of the opinion; or of my own consistency, or the consistency of the Court. For it would not become the Supreme Court, or any member of it, to go outside of the appropriate sphere of judicial proceedings; and engage in a controversy with any one who may choose from any motive to misrepresent its opinion. The opinion must be left to speak for itself. And it is for that reason that I hope you will pardon me for requesting that you will not permit this letter to be published in the newspapers or otherwise. Not that I am not perfectly ready on all proper occasions to say publicly every thing I have said in this letter. But in the judicial position I have the honor to occupy, I ought not to appear as a volunteer in any political discussion; and still less would it become me out of Court and off the bench to discuss a question which has been there determined. And I have written to you (although a stranger) thus freely from the personal respect with which the perusal of your pamphlet has inspired me. I am not a slaveholder. More than thirty years ago I manumitted every slave I ever owned, except two, who were too old, when they became my property, to provide for themselves. These two I supported in comfort as long as they lived. And I am glad to say that none of those whom I manumitted disappointed my expectations, but have shown by their conduct that they were worthy of freedom; and knew how to use it.

With great respect, I am, sir,

Your ob't serv't,

R. B. TANEY.

The Rev^d SAMUEL NOTT,
Wareham, Mass.

The Hon. Edward Turner Boyd Twisleton, of London, was elected a Corresponding Member.

Messrs. Lincoln, E. Quincy, and Appleton were appointed a committee to nominate a list of officers to report at the April meeting.

Messrs. Lawrence, J. A. Lowell, and Mason were appointed a committee on the Treasurer's account.

Two new serials of the Society's Proceedings, Nos. IV. and V., from June, 1872, to January, 1873, inclusive, were announced as ready for distribution.

2079-102

NEW
ENGLANDS
TRIALS.

Declaring the successe of 26 Ships
employed thither within these fixe yeares:
*with the benefit of that Countrey by sea and
land:* and how to build threescore sayle
of good Ships, to make a little
Navie Royall.

Written by Captaine
Iohn Smith.



London,
Printed by William Iones.
1620.

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Yours to command,

JOHN SMITH.



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NEVV ENGLANDS Trials.



ew England is a part of America betwixt the degrees of 41 and 45. the very meane betwixt the North Pole and the Line : From 43. to 45. the coast is mountainous, rockie, barren and broken Iles that make many good harbours. The water is deepe close to the shoare ; there are many riuers and fresh springs : few Saluages, but an incredible abundance of fish, fowle, wilde fruites, and good timber. From 43. to 41. and halfe, an excellent mixed coast of stone, sand, and clay : much corne, many people, some Iles, many good harbours, a temperate ayre, and therein all things necessarie, for the building ships of any proportion, and good merchandize for their fraughts ; within a square of twelue leagues 25. harbours I founded, thirtie feuerall Lordships I sawe, and so neare as I could imagine, three thousand men. I was vp one riuier fortie miles, crossed the mouths of many, whose heads are reported to be great Lakes ; where they kill their

Beuers,

NEW ENGLANDS TRIALS.

Beuers; inhabited with many people, who trade with those of New *England*, and them of *Cannada*.

*The benefite of Fishing, as that famous Philosopher
Master Dee reporteth in his Brittish
Monarchie.*

He saith, that more then forty foure yeares agoe, the Herring Busses out of the Low-countries, vnder the King of *Spaine*, were five hundred, besides one hundred Frenchmen, and three or foure hundred faile of Flemings.

The coasts of *Wales* and Lankashire was vsed by three hundred sayle of strangers.

Ireland at *Baltemore* fraughted yerely three hundred sayle of Spaniards, where King *Edward* the sixt intended to haue made a strong Castell because of the straite, to haue tribute for fishing.

Black Rocke was yearely fished by three or foure hundred sayle of Spaniards, Portugalls and Biskiners.

Mr Gentleman and many Fisher-men and Fishmongers, with whom I haue conferred, report :

The Hollanders raise yearely by Herrings, Cod, and Ling, 3000000. pounds.

English, and French by Salt-fish, poore Iohn, Salmons and Pilchards, 300000. pounds.

Hambrough and the Sound, for Sturghion, Lobsters and Eeles, 100000 pounds.

Cape Blanke, Tunny and Mullit by the Biskiners and Spaniards 30000. pounds.

But

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*But diuers other learned experienced Obseruers
say though it may seeme incredible :*

That the Duke of *Medina* receiueth yearely tribute, of the Fishes of *Tunny*, *Mullit* and *Purgos*, more than 10000. pounds.

Lubeck hath seuen hundred shippes : *Hambrough* fixe hundred : *Emdden* lately a fisher towne, 1400, whose customes by the profit of fishing hath made them so powerfull as they be.

Holland and *Zeland*, not much greater then *Yorke-shire*, hath thirty walled townes, 400 villages, and 20000. sayle of ships and hoyes; 3600 are fishermen, whereof 100. are Dogers, 700 Pinckes and Welbotes, 700 frand botes, 400 Enaces, 400 galbotes, Britters and Todebotes, with 1300 Buffes; besides three hundred that yearely fish about *Yarmouth*, where they sell their fish for gold; and 15 yeares agoe they had more then 116000. sea-faring men.

These fishing ships do take yearely 200000 Last of fish, 12. barrells to a Last; which amounteth to 3000000. pounds by the Fishermens price, that 14 yeres agoe did pay for their tenths 300000. pounds; which venting in *Pomerland*, *Sprufland*, *Denmarke*, *Lefland*, *Russia*, *Suethland*, *Germany*, *Netherlands*, *England*, or elsewhere, &c. make their returns in a yeare about 7000000 pounds; and yet in *Holland* they haue neither matter to build shippes, nor merchandize to set them foorth, yet they as much encrease as other nations decay. But leauing these vncertainties as they are, of this I am certaine :

That

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That the coast of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, the north Sea, with *Island*, and the Sound, New-foundland, and Cape Blancke, doe serue all *Europe*, as well the land Townes as Portes, and all the Christian shipping, with these forts of Staple fish which is transported; from whence it is taken, many a thouf-and mile, viz.

Herring.
Salt-fish.
poore Iohn.
Sturgion.
Mullit.
Tunny.
Porgos.
Caviare.
Buttargo.

Now seeing all these sorts of fish, or the most part of them, may be had in a land more fertile, temperate, and plentiful of all necessaries for the building of ships, boates and houses; and the nourishment of man: the seasons are so proper, and the fishings as neare the habitations wee may there make, that New *England* hath much aduantage of the most of those parts, to serue all *Europe* farre cheaper then they can, who at home haue neither wood, salt, nor food, but at great rates; at Sea, nothing but what they carry in their shippes, an hundred or two hundred leagues from their habitation.

But New *Englands* fishings neare land, where is helpe of wood, water, fruites, fowle, corne, or other refreshings needefull; and the *Terceras*, *Mederas*, *Canaries*, *Spaine*, *Portugall*, *Prouance*, *Sauoy*, *Sicilia*, and all *Italy*, as conuenient markets for our dry Fish, greene fish, Sturgion, Mullit, Caviare, and Buttargo, as *Norway*, *Swethland*, *Littuania* or *Germany*, for their Herring, (which is here also in a boundance, for taking;) They returning but wood, pitch, tarre, soape-ashes, cordage, flaxe, waxe and such like commodities: We, wines, oyles, sugars

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gars, filkes, and such merchandizes as the Straites afford, whereby our profites may equalize theirs; besides the increase of Shipping and Mariners. And for prooffe hereof:

With two shippes I went from the Downes, the third of March, and arrived in New England, the last of Aprill. I had but fortie five men and boyes, we built seven boates, 37 did fish; my selfe with eight others ranging the coast, I tooke a plot of what I could see, got acquaintance of the inhabitants, eleven hundred beaver skinned, one hundred Martins, and as many Otters: fortie thousand of dry fish we sent for Spaine, with the Salt-fish, treine oyle and furies, I returned for England the 18 of July, and arrived safe with my company the latter end of August. Thus in sixe moneths I made my voyage, out and home, and by the labour of 45. got neare the valew of fiftene hundred pounds in those grosse commodities. This yeare also one went from Pimmouth, spent his victuall, and returned with nothing.

Prooffe 1.
1614.

The Londoners, vpon this, sent foure good shippes, and because I would not undertake it for them hauing ingaged my selfe to them of the West, the Londoners entertained the men that came home with me; They set sayle in January, and arrived there in March: they found fish enough untill halfe Iune, fraughted a shippe of three hundred Tunnes; went for Spaine with drie fish, which was taken by the Turkes; one went to Virginia, to relieue that Collony; and two came for England, with the greene fish, treine oyle, and furies, within sixe moneths.

Prooffe 2.
1615.

With a labyrinth of trouble I went from Plimmouth with a shippe of two hundred Tunnes and one of fiftie;

Prooffe 3.
1615.
but

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but ill weather breaking all my mastes, I was forced to returne to Plimmouth, where re-imbarking my selfe in a ship of three score tunnes, how I es-caped the English Pirates, and the French, and was betrayed by foure Frenchmen of warre, I referre you to the Description of New England; but my Vice-admirall, notwithstanding the latenessse of the yeare, setting forth with me in March, the Londoners in Ianuary, she arriued in May, they in March, yet came home well fraught in August, and all her men well, within fve moneths odde dayes.

Prooffe 4. *The Londoners, ere I returned from France, for all*
1616. *their losse by the Turkes, which was valewed about foure thouf-and pounds, sent two more in Iuly: but such courses they tooke by the Canaries to the West Indies; it was ten months ere they arriued in New England: wasting in that time, their seasons, victuall and healths: yet they found meanes to refresh themselves and the one returned, neere fraught with fish and traine, within two moneths after.*

Prooffe 5. *From Plimmouth went foure ships, onely to fish and*
1616. *trade, some in February, some in March; one of two hundred tunnes, got thither in a moneth, and went full fraught for Spaine, the rest returned to Plimouth well fraught, & their men well, within 5 months odde daies.*

Prooffe 6. *From London went two more, one of 220 tunnes,*
1616. *got thither in fixe weekes; and within fixe weekes after with fortie foure men and boyes, was full fraught, and returned againe into England within fve months and a few dayes; the other went to the Canaries with dry fish which they solde at a great rate, for royalls of eight, and (as I heard) turned Pirates.*

Prooffe 7. *I being at Plimouth, prouided with three good ships,*
1617. *was*

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was wind-bound three months, as was many a hundred sayle more; so that the season being past, the shippes went for New found-land whereby my desseigne was frustrate, which was to me and my friends no small losse.

There was foure good shippes prepared at Plimouth; but by reason of their dis-agreement, the season so wasted, as onely two went forward, the one being of two hundred tunnes, returned well fraught to Plimouth, and her men in health, within five moneths; the other of foure score, went for Bilbow with dry fish, and made a good returne. Prooffe 8. 1618.

This yeare againe, diuers shippes intending to go from Plimmouth, so dis-agreed, as there went but one of two hundred tuns, who stayed in the Countrey about six weekes, with thirty eight men & boyes, had her fraght, which she sold at the first penny for 2100. pounds, besides the fures; so that every poore sayler, that had but a single share, had his charges and sixteene pound ten shillings for his seven moneths worke: but some of the company say, for sixe months in the Hercules, they receeued seventeene pound two shillings a share. Prooffe 9. 1619.

For to make triall this yeare there is gone six or seven sayle from the west Country, onely to fish, three of which are returned; and (as I am certainly informed) haue made so good a voyage, that every sayler for a single share had twenty pounds for his seven moneths worke, which is more then in twenty moneths he should haue gotten, had he gone for wages any where. Now though all the former ships haue not made such good voyages as they expected, by sending opiniated unskilfull men, that had not experienced diligence, to saue that they tooke Prooffe 10. 1620.
nor

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For this next nor take that there was; which now patience and pra-
 yeare 1621. *Elise hath brought to a reasonable kinde of perfection in*
 it is reported *despite of all Detractors, and Calumniationes, the coun-*
 12. or 20. *try yet hath satisfied all, the defect hath beene in their*
 saile is a pre- *vsing or abusing it, not in it selfe, nor me.*
 paring.

Heere I entreate your Honourable leaves to an-
 swer some obiections. Many do thinke it strange,
 if this be true, I have made no more use of it, and
 rest so long without employment. And I think it
 more strange they should tax me before they haue
 tried what I haue done, both by sea and Land as
 well in *Asia*, and *Affrica*, as *Europe* and *America*.
 These fourteene yeres I haue spared neither pains,
 nor money, according to my abilitie, in the disco-
 uery of *Norumbega*, where with some thirty seauen
 men and boyes, the remainder of an hundred and
 fve, against the fury of the Saluages, I began that
 plantation now in *Virginia*; which beginning (here
 and there) cost mee neare fve yeares worke, and
 more then fve hundred pound of my owne estate;
 besides all the dangers, miseries and incomberances,
 and losse of other imployments I endured *gratis*.
 From which blessed Virgin, where I stayed till I left
 fve hundred English, better provided then euer I
 was (ere I returned) sprung the fortunate habitati-
 on of *Somer Iles*.

Bermudas.

This Virgin's sister (called *New England*, an. 1616
 at my humble suite, by our most gracious Prince
Charles) hath beene neare as chargeable to mee and
 my friends; from all which although I neuer got
 shilling but it cost mee a pound, yet I think my
 selfe

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selfe happy to see their prosperities.

If it yet trouble a multitude to proceede vpon these certainties, what thinke you I vndertooke, when nothing was knowne, but that there was a vaste Land? I neuer had power or meanes to do any thing (though more hath beene spent in formall delayes then would haue done the businesse) but in such a penurious and miserable maner, as if I had gone a begging to builde an Vniuersity; where, had men bin as forward to aduenture their purses, as to crop the frutes of my Labours, thousands ere this, had bene bettered by these designes. Thus betwixt the spurte of Desire and the bridle of Reason, I am neare ridden to death in a ring of Despaire; the reines are in your hands, therefore I entreate you to ease mee: and those blame mee (beleeeue) this little may haue taught me, not to be so forward againe at euery motion, vnlesse I intended nothing but to carry newes. For now they dare aduenture a shippe, that, when I went first, would not venture a groat, so they may be at home againe by Michaelmasse; but to the purpose.

By this all men may perceiue the ordinary performance of this voyage is fīue or sixe moneths, the plenty of fish is most certainly approoued; and it is certaine from *Canada* and *New England* hath come neare twenty thousand Beuer skinnes, within these fīue yeares. Now, had each of those shippes transported but sixe or three pigs, as many goates and hens, fruits, plants and feeds as I projected; by this time there might haue beene victuall for a thousand men. But the desire of present
gaine

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gaine (in many) is so violent, and the indeuours of many vndertakers so negligent, euery one so regarding his priuate, that it is hard to effect any publique good, and impossible to bring them into a body, rule, or order, vnlesse both Authoritie and Mony assist experiences: it is not a worke for euery one to plant a Colonie (but when a house is built, it is no hard matter to dwell in it.) This requireth all the best parts of art, iudgement, courage, honesty, constancy, diligence and experience to doe but neare well: and there is a great difference betwixt Saying and Doing. But to conclude, the fishing will go forward if you plant it or no; where by you may transport a colony for no great charge, that in a short time, might prouide such fraughts, to buy of us their dwelling, as I would hope no ship could goe or come emptie from *New England*.

The charge of this is onely salt, nettes, hookes, lines, kniues, Irish rugges, course cloth, beads, hatchets, glasse and such trash, onely for fishing and trade with the Saluages, besides our owne necessarie prouisions, whose indeuours will quickly defray all this charge; and the Saluages haue intreated me to inhabit where I will. Now all those ships haue bin fished within a square of two leagues & not one ship of all these, would yet aduenture further, where questionlesse 500 saile may haue their fraught, better then in *Ifland, Newfoundland*, or elsewhere, and be in their markets before the other can haue their fish in their ships. Because *New Englands* fishing beginneth in mid-February the other not till mid-Maie, the progression hereof tends
much

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much to the aduancement of *Virginia*, and the *Burmudas* : and will be a good friend in time of need to the Inhabitants in *New-found-land*.

The returnes made by the Westerne shippes are commonly diuided into 3 parts; one for the owners of the shippe, another for the maister and his company, the third for the victulers; which course being still permitted will be no hinderance to the plantation, goe there neuer so many, but a meanes of transporting that yearely for little or nothing, which otherwise will cost many a hundred of pounds.

If a ship can gaine, twenty, thirty, fifty in the hundred, nay neare three hundred for 100 in seuen moneths, as you see they haue doone, spending twice so much time in going and coming as in stay-ing there: were I there planted, seeing the varietie of the fishings in their seasons, serueth the most part of the yeare; and with a little labour we might make all the salt we neede vse. I can conceive no reason to distrust, but the doubling and trebling their gaines that are at all the former charge, and can fish but two months in a yeare: and if those do giue twenty, thirty, or forty shillings for an acre of land or ship Carpenters, Forgers of yron &c. that buy all things at a deare rate, grow rich, when they may haue as good of all needfull necessaries for taking (in my opinion) should not grow poore; and no commoditie in *Europe* doth more decay then wood.

Maister *Dee* recordeth in his *Brittish Monarchie*, that King *Edgar* had a nauie of foure thousand saile with

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with which hee yearely made his progresse about this famous Monarchy of Great *Brittany*, largely declaring the benefit thereof: wherevpon it seems he proiected to our most memorable Queene *Elizabeth*, the erecting of a Fleete of three score saile, he called a little Nauy Royall; imitating the admired *Pericles* prince of *Athens*, that could neuer secure that tormented estate, vntill he was Lord and Captaine of the Sea.

At this none neede wonder, for who knowes not, her Royall Maiestie during her life, by the incredible aduentures of her Royall Nauy and valiant Souldiers and Sea-men; notwithstanding all tracheries at home, the protecting and defending *France* and *Holland*, and reconquering *Ireland*, yet all the world, by Sea or Land, both feared, loued, and admired good Queene *Elizabeth*.

Both to maintaine and increase that incomparable honour (God be thanked) to her incomparable Successeur, our most Royal Lord and Soueraigne King *James*, &c. this great Philosopher hath left this to his Maiesty and his kingdomes considerations.

That if the tenths of the Earth be proper to God, it is also due by sea, the Kings highways are common to passe, but not to digge for mines or anie thing, so *Englands* coasts are free to passe, but not to fish, but by his Maiesties prerogative.

His Maiestie of *Spaine*, permits none to passe the Popes order for the East and West *Indies*, but by his permission or at their perills. If all that world be so iustly theirs, it is no iniustice for *England* to make

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as much use of her owne, as strangers doe, that pay to their owne Lords the tenth, and not to the owners of those Liberties any thing, whose subiects may neither take nor sell any in their territories; which small tribute, would maintaine his little Nauy Royall, and not cost his Maiesty a penny; and yet maintaine peace with all forrainers, and allow them more curtesie, then any Nation in the world affords to *England*.

It were shame to alledge, that *Holland* is more worthy to enjoy our fishings as Lords thereof, because they haue more skill to handle it then we, as they can our wooll, and vndressed cloth, notwithstanding all their wars and troublesome disorders.

To get mony to build this Nauy he saith, Who would not spare the hundred penny of his Rents, and the 500 penny of his goods; each seruant that taketh 33.s. 4.d. wages, 4 pence, and euery forrainer seuen yeares of age, 4 pence yearely for 7 yeares; not any of these but yearely they will spend 3 times so much in pride, wantonneffe or some superfluity. And doe any men loue the security of their estates that are true subiects, would not of themselues be humble suiters to his Maiestie, to do this of free will as a voluntary beneuolence, so it may be as honestly and truly imployed as it is proiected, the poorest mechanicke in this Kingdome will gaine by it.

If this be too much, would the honorable Adventurers be pleased to moue his Maiestie, that but the 200 penny of Rents, and the thousandth peny of Goodes might bee thus collected to plant New *England*, and but the tenth fish there taken, leauing
strang-

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strangers as they are. You might build ships of any burden and numbers you please, five times cheaper then you can doe heere, and haue good marchandize for their fraught in this unknowne Land, to the aduancement of Gods glorie, his church and Gospel, and the strengthening and reliefe of a great part of Christendome, without hurt to any: To the terror of Pirates, the amazement of enemies, the assistance of friends, the securing merchants and so much increase of Nauigation, to make *Englands* Trade and Shipping as much as any Nation in the world, besides a hundred other benefits, to the generall good of all true subiects, and would cause thousand yet vnborne, blesse the time, and all them that first put it in practise. Now, lest it should be obscured, as it hath bene, to priuate ends; or so weakely vndertaken, by our ouer-weening incredulitie, that strangers may possesse it, whilst we contend for New *Englands* goods, but not *Englands* good. I present this vnto your Lordship, and to all the Lords in *England*, hoping (by your honorable good liking and approbation,) to moue all the worthy Companies of this noble City, and all the cities and Countries in the whole Land to consider of it, since I can find them wood, and halfe victuall with the aforesaid aduantages, with what facility they may build and maintaine this little Nauy Royall, both with honour, profite and content, and inhabit as good a countrey as any in the world, within that parallel, which with my life, and what I haue, I will indeuour to effect, if God please, and you permit.

As

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As for them whom pride or couetousnes lulleth asleepe in a Cradle of slouthfull carelessefnesse; would they but confider, how all the great Monarchies of the Earth haue been brought to confusion: or but remember the late lamentable experience of *Constantinople*; and how many Cities, Townes, and Prouinces, in the faire rich Kingdomes of *Hungaria*, *Transilvania*, and *Wallachi*; and how many thousands of Princes, Earles, Barons, Knights and Merchants, haue in one day lost goods, liues and honours: or folde for slaues, like beasts in a market place; their wiues, children & seruants slain, or wandering they know not whither: dying, or liuing in all extremities of extreame miseries and calamities. Surely, they would not onely doe this, but giue all they haue, to enjoy peace and libertie at home; or but aduenture their persons abroad, to preuent the conclusions of a conquering foe, who commonly assualteth, and best preuaileth, where he findeth wealth and plenty (most armed) with ignorance and securitie.

Much more I could say, but lest I should be too tedious to your more serious affaires, I humbly craue your honorable and fauorable constructions and pardons, if any thing be amisse.

If any desire to bee further satisfied, they may reade my *Description of Virginia*, and *New England*, and peruse them with their seuerall Mappes; what defect you finde in them, they shall finde supplied in mee, or in my Authors, that thus freely haue throwne my selfe, with my mite into the Treasury of my Countries good, not doubting but God will stirre

NEW ENGLANDS TRIALS.

stirre vp some noble spirits, to consider and examine if *Collumbus* could giue the Spaniards any such certainties for his desaigne, when Queene *Isabell of Spayne* set him forth with fifteene saile: and though I can promise no mines of golde, yet the warrelike Hollanders let vs imitate, but not hate, whose wealth and strength are good testimonies of their treasure gotten by fishing. Therefore (honourable and worthy Countrymen) let not the meannesse of the word Fish distaste you, for it will afford as good golde as the mines of *Guiana*, or *Tubatu*, with lesse hazard and charge, and more certaintie and facilitie: and so I humbly rest.

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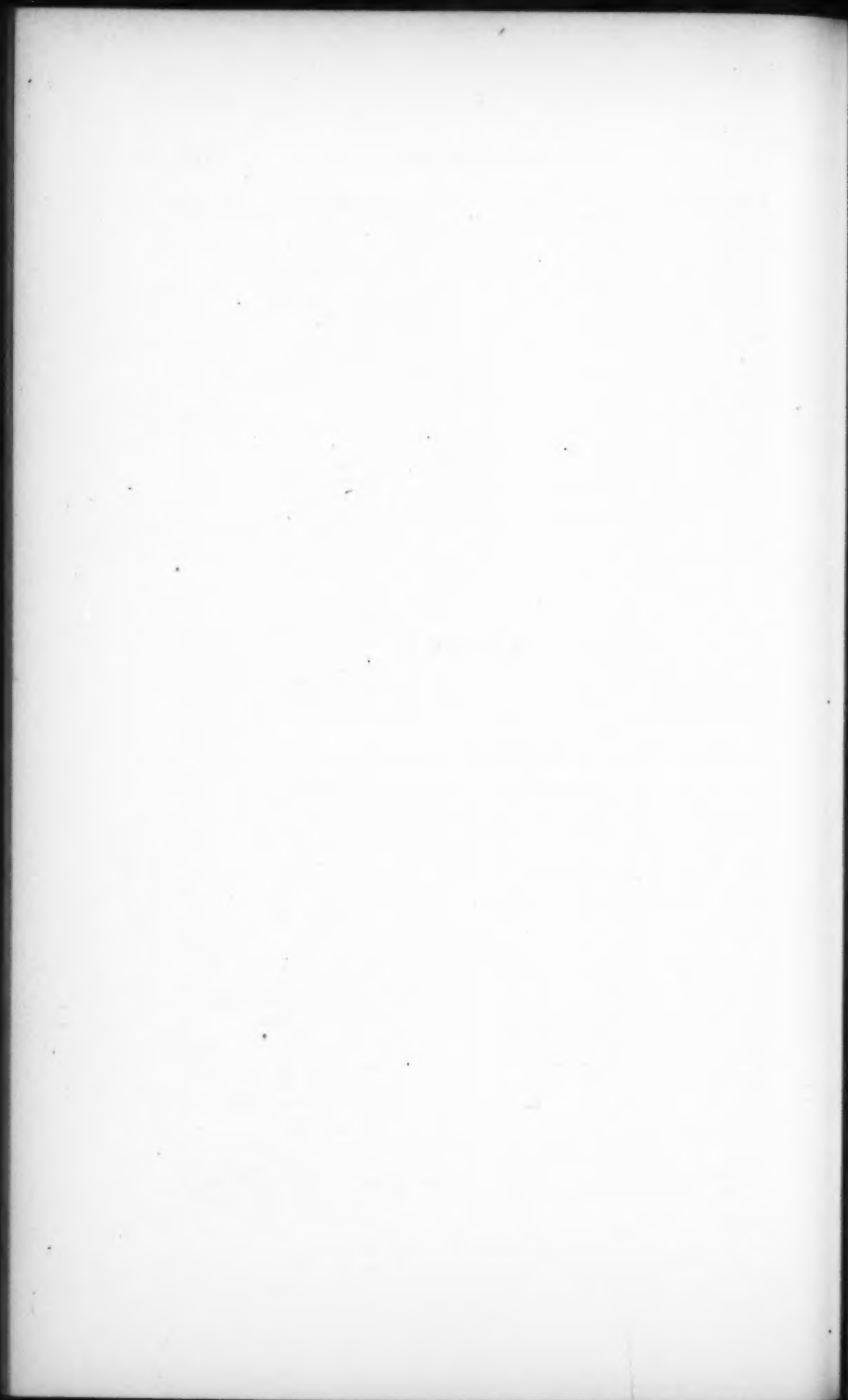
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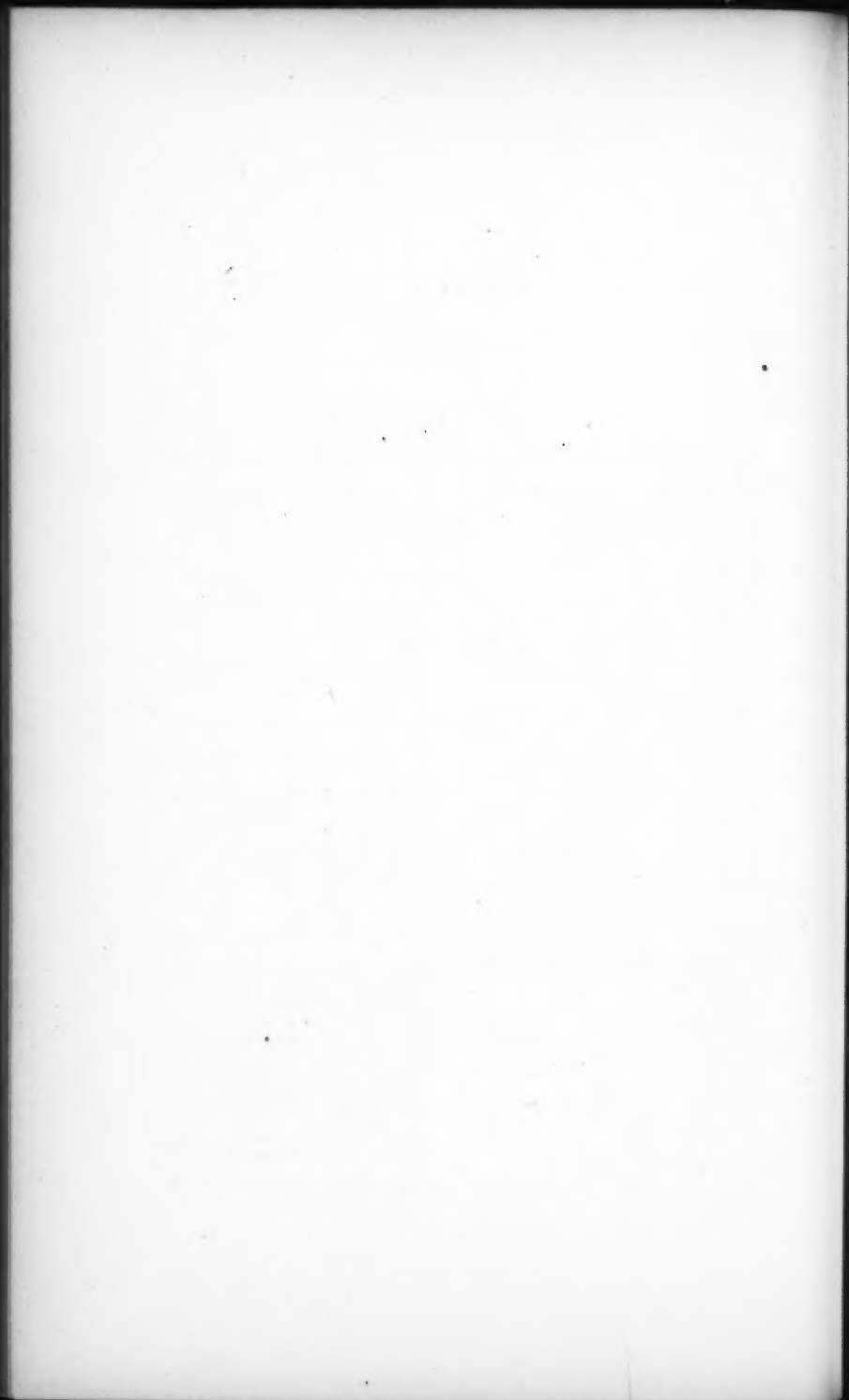
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